History of Bohemia

R. H. Vickers

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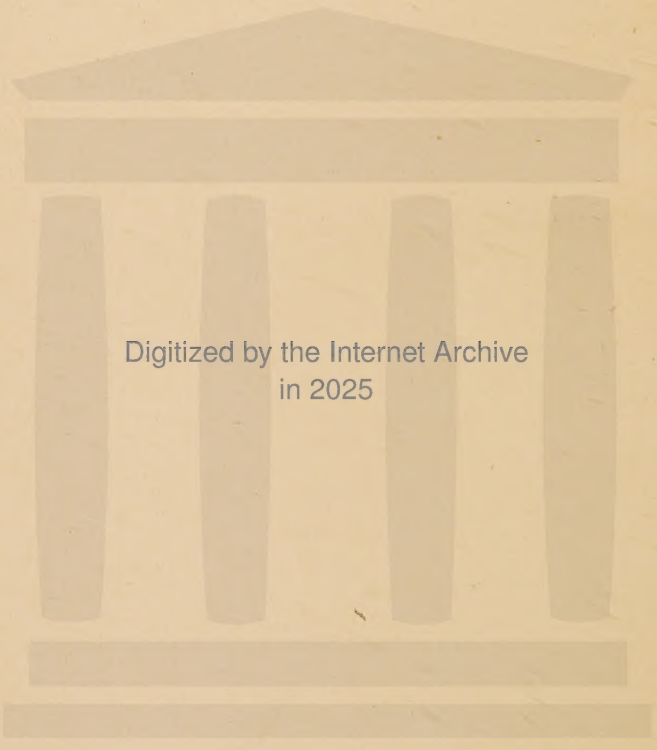
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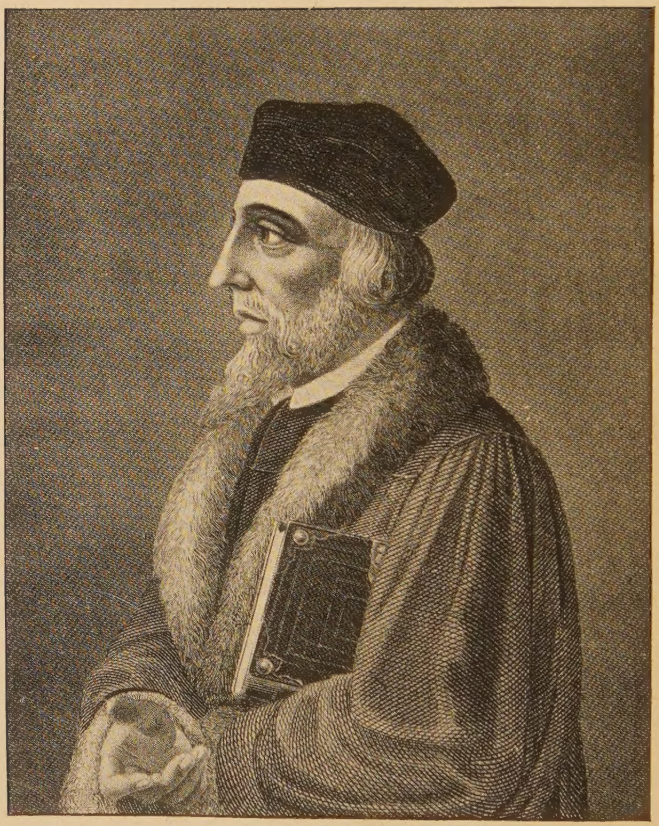

JOHN HUS.

HISTORY OF BOHEMIA

BY ROBERT H. VICKERS

Autnor of "Martyrdoms of Literature," etc., etc.

CHICAGO
CHARLES H. SERGEL COMPANY
MDCCCXCIV

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PREFACE.

Whatever may be the success of this book, the labor expended in the preparation of it has been very great. The unhappy land whose story is here recorded had, until very recently, almost sunk out of observation, and its very name had become understood more as a metonym for literary vagabondage than as expressing the dwelling place of a once great nation. The history of Bohemia is totally unknown to the great majority of English speaking people. But the presence of a large body of Bohemians in the United States, the association of some members of that nation with the very foundation of the American colonies and their experiences in Europe identical with those of the other pioneers of our Commonwealth, render the history of Bohemia's career essential to the education of every American. Citizens will perhaps hear with incredulity the assertion that the civil constitution of Bohemia is the parent of that of England and of our own. Well may the Americans study the story of centuries' struggle to maintain and transmit an institutional system, almost identical with that of the United States, during those dark ages when almost all semblance of a recognition of popular institutions had elsewhere disappeared. To the many struggles of Bohemia we owe the perpetuation of our boasted freedom in an era when only the Bohemian arm was raised in its defense. Lovers and champions of human rights, as Americans are, they may welcome the recital of a tale of rugged heroism in defense of strictly popular principles, five, six, yes, seven centuries before the sail of the Mayflower wafted a similar "body politic" to our shores. Americans will learn with still greater

admiration, and possibly with astonishment, that the spirit that maintained and fought, and held, and almost died many times during six centuries, has never been subdued, though often beaten, and almost crushed into obliteration for two hundred and seventy years. Especially sad is the recital, and replete with narration of agonies certainly unequalled since Jerusalem fell before Titus. So persistent has been the struggle for liberty, for a free mind, and a free body, for popular self-government and national independence, and so fierce, relentless, and barbarous has been the violence employed for the annihilation of these coveted rights, that the spirit of revenge has attempted, with large success, to obliterate the very record of the struggle, lest its purposes and its character should be known. Even the perpetrators of all these horrors against Bohemia have not scrupled to cast out the name of that land as a synonym of vagabondage. Bohemia's early enlightenment and free civil policy in one sense proved its misfortune, inasmuch as the rest of the world was then too barbarous and too cruel either to understand or to tolerate it. Hence the especial difficulty of providing connected materials for a continuous narrative. The enemies of Bohemia have always directed their especial venom against its literature. In every age when its efforts for enlightenment became conspicuous and palpably useful, the good was savagely beaten down and extirpated from the earth. Only by remnants discovered at intervals outside its borders,, from Italy to Sweden, and from Silesia to Scotland, have chroniclers and scholars been able to secure the memorials sufficient for a history. With a shocking brutality of inhumanity the persecutors of Bohemia repeatedly swept every discoverable and accessible vestige of the native literature to utter de-

struction. Again and again has the work of centuries been effaced by the fury of the devastator; and as late as A. D 1849, there were those who traversed the land destroying Bohemia's books with as much vindictiveness as of old, as many persons now citizens of the United States can testify. That this narrative may be the better understood, it is proper here to premise that five principal periods constitute the story of Bohemia:

I. From the foundation of the nation to the death of Otakar II. A. D., 1278.

II. From 1278 to the close of the Hussite wars, 1435.

III. From the Hussite wars to the Reformation period and the calamities of 1545.

IV. From 1545 to the dreadful disasters and cruel sufferings, 1620-1635.

V. From that period to the revival of Bohemian language and life, 1848-1870.

Of these periods the first is necessarily explanatory of the others. It exhibits the origin, character and persistency of the Bohemian civil institutions until the fatal intervention of the house of Habsburg.

The second discloses the causes—many of them hitherto misrepresented—of the Hussite reformation and the splendid achievements which distinguished that great epoch.

The third exhibits the unbroken continuity of the great religious reform until assumed and perpetuated by its strong advocates of the sixteenth century.

The fourth represents Bohemia in bondage and in woe; but still true to her national principles, and silently resolved to re-assert them.

The fifth exhibits the appalling cruelties and calamities of the seventeenth century unexampled and unapproached for barbarity in the annals of any other

nation ancient or modern. No people have ever been made the victims of such atrocious malignity of persecution as the Bohemians in that period. The sufferings of Holland indeed were dreadful—those of Bohemia wholly without parallel.

The Bohemian people are more than entitled to the vindication accorded to them, however imperfectly, in this story. Their nation has been persistently insulted, their name made a mockery, their character maligned, and their most honorable efforts as industrious citizens sedulously calumniated. To the apprehension of most persons a Bohemian means a vagabond, a gypsy, a tramp, an anarchist, a conspirator. The least breath of popular discontent is attributed to Bohemians; and yet they are a most orderly, industrious, peaceable and thrifty people, good citizens in every walk of life.

To exhibit this story in its truth the author has referred to original authorities. In the destruction of Bohemian literature, and the prohibition to publish any work in that language in force for centuries, the silence of the Bohemian tongue is accounted for. Fortunately other languages largely supply its place. Among other authorities,

Cosmas the chronicler of Prague adorned the eleventh century, and his work is extant.

Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum contains valuable materials; both composed in Latin.

Æneas Sylvius, pope Pius II, wrote his history of Bohemia in Latin.

Melchior Goldast has preserved in Latin and German large volumes of most valuable state documents from the tenth century down to the seventeenth. They have been liberally used.

Balbinus also wrote in Latin. His Supplementum contains a large amount of most valuable public rec-

ords from Methodius to Matthias II. of Hungary,—1611—that are wanting in Goldast.

All the German Annalists whose works shed light on our subject are in the same tongue.

Amos Komensky, the illustrious educator and eye witness of the horrors of 1620-1635, wrote his Historia Persecutionum in Latin originally. Every copy of his work is supposed to have been destroyed; but fortunately a Bohemian translation had been secured.

Paulus Stransky another martyr and exile also wrote in Latin and his work is almost the only one known in England. It is replete with details of the institutions, rights, laws, and vicissitudes of Bohemia.

Palacky composed his history, first published, in German—his last volume in Bohemian—a splendid triumph.

Pelzel wrote in German.

No early annalist or historical work of any kind exists in Bohemian. Histories indeed now abound in that language, but all are translations.

The author, however, has freely used the most important of these, including the excellent and recent work of Rezek; and is indebted to the scholarly and pains-taking assistance of thoroughly competent Bohemians who do not care to be here quoted.

The number of works included in the authorities employed is great; but their recapitulation would seem pedantic, as they consist of the well-known works of classic authors familiar to scholars.

In the brief account of the biography of Genghis Khan, I have made use of DeMailla and other authorities, as the subject is exhibited to illustrate the story in a phase generally unknown and to most readers obscure. On that subject I prefer De Mailla, and I have not quoted at second-hand from any writer on Bohemia.

This book being produced partly as a friendly and

profoundly sympathetic offering to the Bohemian people, in token that their wrongs are not wholly forgotten or overlooked, and partly as a free contribution to general historical literature, it has been necessary to adapt the work perhaps more to the general reader than to the Bohemian. Names of cities and persons have been presented in English and also in Bohemian form as more suitable; and the author has endeavored, however imperfectly, to present a work that shall fairly represent the special reverence of Bohemians for details of their own history, and also respect the broader views of the ordinary reader. To draw the line between the taste of the Bohemian who prizes every syllable of his country's story, and the minute deeds of its heroes, and the general student who cares only for a narration of political institutions in their general influence on the fate of nations is perhaps not possible. But sufficient of both has been presented to exhibit the character of the events set forth. Above all things truth has been sought, and it is fully believed expressed, although it may be in some directions distasteful. He who undertakes to write history must set forth history and not merely a sentimental fragment of it.

The real causes of Bohemia's wrongs and downfall have been investigated and exhibited however the statement of them may be regarded. If the real causes of the events be not described the events themselves are of little importance.

This book attempts to occupy a space at present wholly empty in the English language; and if the good the volume can do will only represent a fraction of the many years of toil—though it must be said, enthusiastic toil, involved in it, the writer will be thankful. It is cordially presented as friendship's sympathetic offering to the Bohemian people.

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of these mountain ranges last named is found a small elevated plateau named Labska Louka (Elbewiese) which gives rise to the Labe River or Elbe. The elevation of the principal peaks varies from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. A third chain of primitive mountains called in geography Adlergebirge (Orlicke Hory), constitutes a group apart from the others and is composed of gneiss and mica-schiste.

The Silurian epoch is well represented by the Brdy Hills; and in this formation fossils of crustaceans, cephalopods, and marine zooliths are found in abundance. Still more important are the coal deposits, several of which are still worked with excellent results; and one at least was extensively mined as early as the fifteenth century but is now exhausted.

A third system of mountain elevations occupies a place between the former two. Known under the general title of Stony, this group contains coal, iron and chalk; and furnishes excellent quarry stone in several places. A fourth system consists of numerous hills of volcanic origin which range from 1,000 to 2,000 feet in height.

The river system of Bohemia is abundantly capable of supplying all that is needed for inland navigation. It occupies about a two hundredth part of the surface of the country, and is remarkable for the facility with which it can be made available for boats and barges. But while the portion of water surface available for boats amounts to nearly one hundred and thirty miles in length, the navigable portion extends to about one-third of that distance. The canal system is not extensive and covers only about thirty miles. In general the streams are but tributaries to the Elbe which is the great water way of Bohemia. Many small lakes

diversify the landscape; and they are noticeable for the softness of the water. Very little marsh land exists, and the entire amount does not exceed fifteen hundred acres.

The climate of Bohemia is mild and salubrious, and has always favored the nurture of a very vigorous population. Thunder and hail storms in the mountain regions are frequent and severe, and the transition from winter to summer, and again to winter, is noticeably abrupt; but the summer season partakes much of the character of spring.

The surface is undulating and the soil fertile, and produces with ordinary attention and skill every description of food known, usually, in the center of Europe. Extensive regions are covered with valuable timber forests containing oak, elm, maple, ash, hazel, whitethorn, wild plum, buckthorn, cornel, and wild fruit trees of many kinds. The more elevated regions produce pine and red oak of excellent quality. The mulberry, the chestnut, the poplar, and the acacia, adorn the level country and the river banks in great abundance. The flora of Bohemia is very diversified, and includes many Alpine plants usually discovered only in a warmer latitude. Mines of silver, copper, iron and lead afford the source of a highly remunerative industry; and tin, antimony, zinc, nickel, tungsten, uranium, sulphur, and alum contribute a very important portion of the general wealth.

Carp, pike, perch, salmon in the Elbe, and trout, are found usually in the streams, and in the south form a valuable addition to the food of the people; while the parks and farms are fairly stocked with deer and the usual varieties of game and domestic animals. The natural elements of comfort and wealth are furnished

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Map of

The parts colored red indicate Boh

Bohemia.

emian Population; blue, the German.

HISTORY OF BOHEMIA

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS.

Bohemia is a small and somewhat isolated country situated in the heart of Europe, between 9° 45′ 35″ and 14° 31′ 22″ east of Paris, and 48° 33′ 53″ and 51° 3′ 27″ degrees of north latitude. It is a geographical picture framed with mountains; and the forests, plateaux and plains with their abrupt ravines and spreading undulations, and the numerous streams that direct their bright currents to the central Elbe provide the successive light and shade of the panorama. The various groups of mountains which establish at once the isolation and the compactness of the country fairly represent the principal geological periods of mountain formation. The primitive mountains proper occupy chiefly the south and southeast, and include the Böhmervald, the northern, and the Sumava the southern portion of the great chain which constitutes in general the southern boundary of the country. This chain is composed chiefly of the primitive rocks,—granite, schiste, and mica-schiste.

A second chain of primitive mountains protects the northwest; and is divided into three principal portions, one of which stretches away into Saxony. The formation of this group is chiefly granitic. In the midst

in sufficient abundance to maintain a hardy, robust, enlightened and independent people.

Bohemia is fully supplied not only with the means to feed and invigorate her children, but also with those natural palliatives of disease and debility commonly known as mineral waters. The springs of Töplitz, Karlovary (Carlsbad), Marienbad, Franzensbad, Bilin, Kysibel, and Libverda are all resorted to by the feeble and suffering. The first named locality is a resort of wide celebrity. Two abundant springs of warm water known respectively as the Hauptquelle, and the Steinbadquelle, issue from the porphyry, and form the stream of the Schönau. Numerous other springs are found at different levels in the little valley, and all contain the same mineral properties. These various springs when united form a considerable stream of warm water whose beneficent qualities are sufficient for a far more numerous body of health seekers than resort to them; while the character of warmth has supplied, as usual, the title of the locality.*

While nature has been thus bountiful her beneficence has been liberally imitated. Not alone the wealthy and exalted among men are cared for at Töplitz. Two large establishments are well sustained for the accommodation of those whose only passport to admission is a certificate of their poverty. Hundreds of poor persons find shelter and medical aid in these establishments; and there is another especial hospice for the Jews; and still a fourth for the poor of the locality. So valuable—even indispensable is considered a recourse to the therapeutic power of the springs of Töplitz that the German and Austrian governments main-

* Teplice (Töplitz) means "hot springs" in Bohemian. Teply—warm, hot.

tain large military hospitals at this place, each containing accommodation for many hundred patients.

These natural advantages of soil, climate and position did not escape the scrutiny of the tribes who have occupied Bohemia in succession. In an age when a mountain chain covered with forest, and wholly impassable during the greater portion of the year by any small body of uncivilized wanderers, was justly considered a most valuable bulwark against foreign aggression, and in some directions a complete defense, and among tribes unacquainted with any principle of concern for other interests than their own, the possession of a rich region protected on nearly all sides by mountain barriers, and providing abundant local wealth would be most fiercely disputed by every occupant. The isolation of the successful holder or invader would necessarily create a sense of hostility toward all intrusion which the inhabitant of an open country would not always acquire. As population and unity of tribal feeling would grow under such circumstances every step of progress would naturally create a sense of pride and superiority. The primitive ideas of men in regard to the advantage if not necessity of treating every stranger as an enemy have been in all cases intensified by isolation. This habit of thought, this community of mind constitutes and supplies the golden thread that stretches through the central line of their progress and creates national individuality. Rulers cultivate this feeling, and educate this tendency; and the result is either a fierce and continuous conflict for existence on one side or for mastery on the other; or a complete absorption into the stronger power. Unhappy are the remnants of the former process, permitted only to recall in a wiser epoch the

terrors and the cruelties, the appalling tyrannies that found no other means, and still worse refused to search for other means to reconcile differences but the spread of dissension, and the promotion of slaughter, in a word treachery, the sword, the gibbet and the rack.

National sentiment has always found its earliest as well as its most enduring expression through poetic composition. Music, a twin sister, has always hastened to give aid. The early poetry of Bohemia is therefore no strange phenomenon. Groping, as we must do among the fragmentary relics left to us of what was once a great creation, and obliged to form an estimate from the sculpture of a capital here, a frieze there, and a pedestal in another place, all mutilated, and to gather the character of the structure from the ruins, we are impressed by the simple boldness of the style and the union of strength and skill in the entire composition. If any one of the sixty thousand volumes of histories and poetic narrations, as well as Bibles that formed at once the triumph and the shame of only one of the destroying persecutors who extirpated—for the third time—the entire national literature of Bohemia after the disastrous slaughter of 1620, when even the name of old Bohemia was extinguished, were now presented to us in its completeness, we should have a better memorial of the people than any mere fragments can supply. But literature shelters itself in obscure places; and sufficient has been recovered for comparison out of the wreck of Bohemian literary treasures. Differing in tone and origin as well as in substance from the mediævalism of the Latins against which it struggled for centuries it encouraged its people to resist with all the energy

of their nation the invading spirit of foreign dogma, and a dominating political aggressiveness that sought to elevate itslf on the ruins of Bohemia. In the progress of this long conflict, and into the narrow space of five* thousand square miles were crowded more suffering and more heroism† than into any other equal space in the world.

* In English miles, 20 thousand.

† *Βοιοί Κελτικόν ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον.* Appianus in Celticis I.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY OCCUPANTS. —FIRST ROMAN AGGRESSION.

Necessarily meagre are the materials and scanty are the annals which now form the foundation of any authentic narrative of the earliest Bohemian experience. The wide central region known as Germania included a much more extensive territory than modern Germany when it is first introduced by historic narrative. The boundaries of Germany, properly so called, were understood by early Roman writers to be the Rhine on the west, the Vistula on the east, on the north Sweden and Esthonia, while the Maine and the mountains on the north of Bohemia formed the southern limits. Long before the days of Tacitus the Helvetii occupied the region between the Rhine and Maine, and the Boii the country of the Hercynian forest further to the east.* But the actual location of the Boii, described as the "more remote districts," is too vague to be even an approximation to certainty. The tribes who inhabited the vast region called Germany before and up to the Roman intervention, are included under three principal families: —I. The Slavs to the east, indefinitely. II. The Cimbri on the west; and III, between these the Germans proper, the Suevi of Tacitus. Slavonian tribes were settled in those parts of

* Olim inter Hercyniam sylvam Rhenumque et Mæniam amnes Helvetii, ulterioræ Boji, Gallica utraque gens tenuere. Tacitus, Germ, c, 28.

Germany unknown to the Romans—Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Upper Saxony. They formed, according to Procopius, three separate divisions:—I. The Venedi or Wends who had expelled the Suevian Vandals; II. The Antes, who extended from the Dnieper to the Dniester; III. The Slavonians proper. Eventually these kindred races advanced to the Saal and the Elbe, and their language formed the basis of the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Croatian, Bulgarian, and other dialects. The dwellings, clothing, customs, of these tribes were necessarily rough, as became their situation; but the people were vigorous, athletic, independent and warlike,* while the characteristics of these tribes may be overdrawn by Cæsar,† Strabo,‡ Tacitus,§ and others, yet the universal testimony of all writers concedes the manly virtues of free, albeit uncivilized men, and the valor of patriotic soldiers to all the tribes of these regions.

During the spasmodic migrations that occured somewhere about five hundred years before our era a Keltic or Gallic tribe known as the Boii occupied the district on the banks of the Upper Elbe, and extended themselves over the regions now known as Bavaria, Austria, and Moravia. They probably constituted a portion of the host of Gallic invaders who crossed the Alps about B. C. 388, and subsequently sacked Rome, B. C. 382; and they are supposed to have impressed a record of their presence on the name of Bojonia or Bologna. After the final defeat of their Carthagenian ally, Hannibal, in the year B. C. 191 a

* Germans—men of war. The name Teuton or Deutschen—is probably loud-voiced or rough-voiced, though Diutisc—or Folks Speech is the accepted explanation.

† De Bell, Gall. VI. 21—24. ‡. VII., p. 291. § Germania, pas.

remnant of these tribes wandered back toward the Danube.*

The Keltic invasion spread over Greece to the Hellespont, and Asia Minor; and in Galatia yielded only to the power of Rome.† The aggressiveness of Roman greed and ambition furnished a pressing occasion for the union of native strength; and the talents of Cæsar were as frequently exercised to disunite confederacies as to overcome military prowess in open war. Among others the Helvetii united and obtained an auxiliary force from the Boii; but the fatal engagement between the legions and Helvetians, B. C. 58, broke the power of the latter people and reduced the Boii also to the position of suppliants. At the request of the Ædui, allies of Rome, thirty-two thousand warriors besides the old men, women and children who accompanied them, were admitted within Roman frontiers, and acknowledged the eagle as their symbol for a time.‡

After a short period of ten years the power of the Boii received another crushing blow. The Dacians and Getæ arose to an evanescent prominence under Boerebista. Irritated apparently by a refusal of active alliance, this chieftain directed his arms against the Boii. Their chief Kritaser resisted the aggression.

* T. Livius XXXVI. XXXVII. XXXIX. Strabo Geo, V. 212, 213.

† St. Paul who was a master of the art of suiting his style to the temper of his hearers has left us a lucid analysis of the character of the Kelts in his epistle to the Galatians, not directly or in express words but by his method.

‡ Bell, Gall. 1.28. "Cæsar Boios, petentibus Æduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit, quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea in paris juris libertatisque conditionem utque ipsi erant, receperunt,"

In an engagement supposed to have taken place on the banks of the Boab, the Boii were crushed, and their country so terribly devastated that for a long period it bore only the name of the Boiian waste.* During about half a century the Boii devoted themselves to the unostentatious but wholesome occupation of improving and cultivating the territory still left to them, greatly reduced in area as it was. Many of the towns that gradually grew up in this period may be identified with modern localities; but the identification is obscure. Bohemia proper in Cæsar's day, was known as the Hercynian Forest; and the cities and settlements in the interior were wholly unknown. Bohemia never was included in the Roman Empire. The repose of the Boii continued about half a century. Their restless and energetic neighbors, the Marcomanni† gradually advanced their possessions from the Oder to the Danube along both banks. These formidable borderers attracted the attention and the statescraft of the Emperor Augustus; and the young chieftain of the Marcomanni, Marbod, was induced to commit himself to the power of his mighty rival, and was educated in the Cæsar's palace. This richly endowed and enterprising man employed his opportunities at Rome in the thorough study of Roman civil and military science. He was one of those rare persons who are equally eminent as warriors and statesmen. Returning at length to his native land he bore with him a thorough comprehension of Roman craft, and a full appreciation of Roman power. The dignity of court ceremonial, and the pomp of military

* Strabo V. VII. Plin. Hist. III.

† Men of the March,—Borderers; evidently not the name of the people at all.

display were successfully employed at home not for the acquisition but the maintenance of his supreme authority. Possessed naturally of a lofty character, he appreciated dignity. Roman culture only disclosed the native splendor of the man and enabled him to reflect back on his instructors the full measure of the light he received from them, intensified with an additional sparkle peculiarly his own.

Prevented from extending his ambitious views south of the Danube, but eager for the possession of wide authority, he turned his thoughts toward the weaker tribes on his immediate border. Being well aware of the feeble condition of the Boii he directed his first expedition against them; took possession of their country without difficulty, and made their capital Buianium, henceforward denominated Marobudum, his chief residence. These events are referred to the year 12 B. C. The manners of the Marcomanni and their associates, the Quadi did not materially differ from those of other German tribes. Marbod exerted his influnce to unite all the tribes under him into one nation. He also invited or detained the scattered Roman settlers and encouraged them to continue their commerce and their trades under his protection and in the neighborhood of his own residence. A trained soldier, he created an army of 70,000 foot and 4,000 horse, disciplined in the Roman manner; and thus acquired the position of a formidable neighbor. The tribes of the north, east, and west of Bohemia, the Lygians in Upper Silesia, the Selingi, a branch of the Vandals to the north of the Reisengebirge Mountains, the Burgundians on the Oder and Warta, the Goths on the Vistula, the Semnones in Lusatia and Brandenburg, the Hermunduri in Saxony, and the

Longobards to the north of the Hermunduri, and even the Narisci in the Upper Palatinate, all acknowledged the supremacy and submitted more or less to the direct authority of Marbod.* The rapidity and ease with which this extended authority was acquired are more suggestive of policy than of war; and although historians attribute to Marbod the employment of force as well as skill,† yet it is more probable that conciliation had the larger than the smaller share in his success. His power was known; and as unlettered people are always very observant of individual character, and hence are good judges of it, the individuality of the man may be considered as the real foundation of his supremacy. In his communications with Augustus Marbod was cautious and dignified. He spoke as to an equal; and while he carefully avoided giving offense he maintained his independence. But imperial jealousy disdained to endure so formidable a consolidation of alien strength on the frontier. Marbod's friendly overtures only created ground for pretended grievances; and in the 6th year before our era, Augustus placed two great armies in motion against the Marcomanni. One under Sentius Saturninus military commander in Upper Germany was ordered to march from the Rhine toward the Chatti and the Hercynian Forest, and strike the enemy on the flank, while Tiberius—stepson and successor of Augustus with the principal army was to advance from the Danube and unite his forces with Saturninus in Bohemia.

Tiberius had advanced to within five days march of

* Strabo VII. Tac. Annal, II. Drusus in his expedition to the Elbe in the year 9, B. C., ascribes even a wider influence to Marbod,

† Finitimos omnes aut bello domuit aut conditionibus juris sui fecit. Vell. Pater. II.

his enemy to Carnuntium, (between Vienna and Heimberg;) Saturninus was within an equally short distance,* when the advance was countermanded by imperial orders from Rome.

At this critical juncture for Marbod and his Marchmen, the Roman world was awestruck by the intelligence of a long prepared conspiracy among all the Pannonians and Dalmatians for the murder of Roman settlers without distinction, and the seizure of the fortresses for the conspirators. Even the cold and hardened mind of Augustus was deeply affected by the imminence of this peril. His own acquaintance with the tribes who originated this conspiracy, his knowledge that among such inflammable material, a little spark would speedily spread into a conflagration, rendered him prompt and decisive in delaying aggressive military operations until his internal security was assured. The conviction that in all likelihood a ruler like Marbod would sooner or later become the chief of such a conspiracy was probably the secret reason for the Roman expedition against him; and Augustus well knew that the subjugated Germans had good reason for dissatisfaction and hostility in the grievous exactions of Roman governors. Every Roman settlement from the Danube to Macedonia was menaced; the chief armies were buried in German forests; and with a formidable foe in front and a flaming rebellion threatened in their rear, the peril to Italy was both near and alarming. Barbarian combinations, however, were unequally matched against Roman craft, and the young Kingdom of Bohemia was accorded a

* The modern Germans have studied this splendid display of military genius with great profit.

favor, the privilege conceded to Ulysses of being eaten last.*

Tiberius concluded a treaty of peace and amity with Marbod; and turned his arms against the southern confederacy.† The foresight of Augustus was triumphant.

The position of Liberator which Marbod was unable to assume, was daringly seized in the year A. D. 9 by the young chieftain of the Cherusci known as Arminius or Herman. The Roman general, Quintilius Varus, was enticed into the great Teutonian forest and his three splendid legions almost annihilated. Varus fell by his own hand and his dissevered head was sent to Marbod as a bloody trophy. But true to his prudence or his faith Marbod dispatched the head to Rome accompanied by a special message.

The destruction of Varus and his legions at once constituted Herman undisputed leader of all the German tribes. Henceforth, whoever was not openly arrayed on their side was an enemy. Marbod became suspected of self-seeking and half-heartedness in the German cause. Suspicion of infidelity naturally followed. Hostile feelings were not slow of formation; and open war between Germany and Bohemia was the disastrous result. The Semnones and Longobards, neighbors of the Cherusci were enticed or forced from the support of Marbod; and at length in the year A. D. 17, the rival hosts stood in open array against each other. The leaders trained in the Roman schools were equal in courage, ability and skill. Herman's followers were stimulated by recent success. Marbod's

* Nihil erat jam in Germania quod vinci posset præter gentem Marcomannorum. Vell. Pat. II.

† Tacit, Annal II,

army was thoroughly trained, and led by experienced officers. The defection of the Semnones and Longobards was compensated by the reinforcement of Marbod by Herman's uncle and his division. The old man felt aggrieved at the sudden elevation of his nephew and disdained to serve under his orders. The battle was fought in Upper Saxony, and was fiercely disputed. The right wing of each army was crushed.

Marbod attempted the dangerous maneuver of taking a new position in the presence of his enemy. His movements were misunderstood; and resulted in broken ranks and at length in desertions and flight. Returning to his own dominions the Bohemian prince laid his claims for aid and friendship before the tortuous deceitfulness of Tiberius. With ill concealed satisfaction at the overthrow of one German potentate by another, the Roman replied that "as Marbod had not made an earlier application for aid against the Cherusci, he had forfeited all claim to the assistance now demanded."

Neither mountain fastnesses nor forest wilderness could shield Bohemia like the genius of her discomfited soldier. The alliance of the tribes who acknowledged his power was dissolved at once; and only the Marcomanni and Quadi remained faithful to their allegiance.

Tiberius sent his trusted representative, Drusus, to the Danube, apparently in the interest of peace and conciliation; really with the intent of setting the warring clansmen at still more fatal variance, and hastening the total destruction of the Bohemian prince, formerly both suspected and threatened. Personal malice and revenge supplied the instrument which completed the deadly purposes of Rome. Kattwald, a Gothic chief

formerly dispossessed by Marbod, but generously spared, at length perceived his opportunity to retaliate on his now weak and almost deserted rival. Secretly encouraged and strengthened by Drusus, Kattwald assembled an army, assailed the Marcomanni unexpectedly, seized Marbod's capital and palace, and speedily became master of all the treasures and strong places in the kingdom. Marbod retreated with a remnant of faithful kinsmen within the Roman boundaries in Austria; and thence wrote a dignified and manly letter to Tiberius; and like another Napoleon claimed from his strongest opponent's generosity an asylum which only his misfortunes could induce him to request. The Cæsar replied that Marbod could always find an asylum in Italy as long as he preferred to remain there in quietness; but he was at liberty to depart wherever he thought proper to go if this offer was not acceptable. The city of Ravenna was assigned to the exiled prince, and there like another Cetywayo, Abd-el-Kader, Schamyl, or Dhuleep Singh, he continued for eighteen years* at once a pledge of the inglorious repose of his people, and a living memorial of their departed greatness.

No fact recorded of this series of events more strikingly reflects the well grounded apprehensions of the Romans of the peril to themselves from Marbod's elevation than the success of the latter in restraining Gothic enmity. Originally of Indo-European stock, and bearing in their language distinct traces of an affinity with those nations whose mother tongue could claim descent from the Sanscrit, the Goths had very early penetrated into northern and western Europe. The dialect

* Goldast says: "Obiit post annos viginti." p. 70. But the Roman annalists are more exact.

of Ulphilas in the north, and the names of the English rivers still in common use, as well as of the Nile, all proclaim the presence of Sanscrit speech before the advent of the Keltic tribes. At the period of our history the Gothic power in Pomerania and along the shores of the Baltic was great. From them this inland sea received its name, Sinus Codthanus; and the island of Gothland recalls their memory. Scythians they were called in western Europe; and the name slightly altered is still familiar. Their division into Ostrogoths and Visigoths did not take place until our third century. In the time of Kattwald a reflex movement of Goths from the north seems to have been begun; and the fall of Marbod probably removed the chief obstacle to their migration. The Romans did not know or could not estimate their power; and would have been more secure with their faithful ally Marbod as an obstacle to Gothic invasion.

Neither Kattwald nor either of the other foes whose treachery or violence had effected the overthrow of the Marcomanni long survived the enmity created by his success. Herman was blinded by his own followers and subsequently murdered in less than a year after Marbod's fall, at the early age of thirty-seven.* Drusus died of poison four years later; and his wife was universally adjudged to be his murderess. Kattwald was sent into banishment in Narbonese Gaul; and his people subjected to the rule of a stranger—Vannius, a prince of the Quadi of the well known Tudor family, settled along the Danube within Roman jurisdiction.

Vannius extended his authority eastward until he

* Septem et triginta annos vitæ. Tac., lib. 2. Goldast p. 69.

reached the Dacians and Yazyges between the Borysthenes and the Theiss. The precise limits of his jurisdiction cannot be accurately ascertained. He maintained an alliance with Bebellius, prince of the Hermunduri, and with his sister's sons, Vanjio and Sido, who seem to have ruled conjointly. Sido reigned until the year A. D. 70 when he took part in the Roman civil war on the side of Vespasian. From this period Bohemia and the neighboring provinces are supposed to have enjoyed the rule of several small independent, but allied powers something similar to a Heptarchy, and more resembling the equality of republican administration where several states are united in a confederation. This repose continued until the year A. D. 90, when the pressure of the Dacian war induced Domitian to request military aid from the Quadi and Marcomanni. These people had never been included within the Roman Empire; and the Cæsar had no right to any military contingent. His demand was firmly declined, and the ambassadors of the Bohemians were murdered out of revenge. The Roman tyrant was eventually compelled to purchase a shameful peace by the payment of the first tribute ever exacted from a Roman.

The quiet that ensued was disturbed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius by the second war of the Marcomanni. Ten confederated nationalities united and assailed the Roman provinces. They were in turn impelled by the advancing hosts of the Slavi, and clamored for admission and protection.* Illyricum was over-run, Opitergium destroyed, and Aquileia besieged. Lucius

* Victovalis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus quæ pulsæ a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur bellum inferentibus. Jul. Cap., in Marc. Aurel. Cap. 14.

Verus was hastily recalled from Asia; but the terror in Italy was great and was aggravated by famine and pestilence. The Prætorian Furius Victorinus obtained some successes. The Quadian leader was slain and his followers were compelled to sue for peace, and yielded a complete submission.

But the withdrawal of the Roman legions could not restrain the terror of the unseen enemies still threatening from the East; and the war broke out speedily with more fury than before. One swarm of destroyers from the Rhine reached the borders of Italy but were defeated by Pompeianus and Pertinax.

At length the Emperor took the field in person; drove the invaders over the Danube, established strong castles along the border; and filled them with Roman garrisons. A. D. 174.

Marcus Aurelius had determined to reduce the countries occupied by the Marcomanni, Quadi and Sarmatians, corresponding to Bohemia, Moravia, and Upper Hungary, to the servitude of a Roman province; and again the internal distractions of the Empire compelled the Emperor to suspend the execution of his schemes. The rebellion of Avidius Cassius in the East turned the imperial attention to Syria and Egypt; and peace reigned again along the Danube.

The terms accorded to the tribes were not all equally severe; and the Marcomanni were the most harshly treated. Garrisons containing 20,000 men controlled the strong palaces of the Quadi. The latter were forbidden to approach the Danube within a distance variously stated at one, five and ten miles. Fixed times and places were assigned for fairs and other trading purposes in Noricum, and among the Pannonians; and all Roman prisoners and deserters were surrendered.

But complaints speedily arose of the violent interference of the military with the peaceable occupations of the native peasantry. Remonstrances continued unheeded, and resistance ensued. Marcus Aurelius was exasperated at finding that his triumph was only a delusion.

Again blood flowed and devastation destroyed the simple toil of the people. The death of the Emperor at Vienna, March 17, A. D. 180, prevented the total destruction of the country. The enforced conscription of native youth for military service in Britain and elsewhere exasparated the entire people. But Commodus imposed milder terms of tribute of wheat, arms, and conscripts. A monthly court at a fixed locality for the administration of justice, even though held in the presence of a Roman centurion, gave a semblance of law and right to the relations of victors and vanquished; but the garrisons were gradually removed, and military occupation was finally abandoned. Bohemia as known to us never became a Roman province.

During the succeeding two hundred years frequent irruptions of borderers and the extension of the territory traversed by them gradually extinguished all distinctions of boundaries. The limits of Roman authority were not defined; they insensibly retrograded; and continued broken until the middle of the fourth century. Small native principalities became consolidated; and during the reigns of Caracalla, Alexander Severus, Maximin, Valerian, Gallienus in whose reign the Marcomanni advanced to Ravenna, Aurelian, when a victory of these invaders created a panic and distress in Rome itself, Probus, Diocletian, Constantius II, and Julian, the depredations of the persistent and invinci-

ble northerners were averted or restrained more by the potency of gold than of the sword, and the gold came chiefly from Egypt and Spain.

During this period the original tendencies of Roman civilization were arrested, and their course permanently obstructed; foreigners largely composed the legions; the current of thought was formed by alien minds; the direction of the energies of the populations was toward Rome for its subjugation to alien principles and feelings; and at length all Roman life disappeared in the flood of foreign domination.

An isolated event or two alone remains to signalize this period of Bohemian life, and cast a gleam of light upon its condition: Gallienus concluded a separate treaty with Attal, king of the Marcomanni, in A. D. 261; and took to wife the princess Pipara, daughter of the German ruler. In A. D. 396 Fritigil, queen of the Marcomanni, having heard of the fame of Bishop Ambrose, expressed a wish to be admitted to Christian communion through the good offices of the famous ecclesiastic. The bishop drew up a form of catechism expressly for the instruction of the royal applicant, who in turn prevailed on her consort to conclude a treaty of friendship with the Romans. The death of Ambrose in A. D. 397, probably prevented any extended or permanent effects from following these interesting proceedings.

The quiet development of civil and polite society in Germany and Eastern Europe was again broken and destroyed by the dreadful invasion of the Huns in A. D. 375. Fierce hosts of these barbarians mingled with Goths, Vandals, and Slavs, spread consternation and ruin all over Europe; and tribes somewhat more settled again took the field and "went west" in search

of repose from the locusts of the East. Radagais, a German prince, with a hundred thousand Keltic and German warriors from the Danube and the Rhine assailed Italy. A. D. 406, the Vandals crossed the Rhine, and associated with the Goths, seized Spain in A. D. 429; and soon afterward a Vandal dominion was created in Africa. Between A. D. 430 and 453 the Huns had overrun and subdued all territory as far west as the Rhine. The Hunnish king Roas crushed the Marcomanni and Quadi who had appealed in vain to Rome. Attila, the "Scourge of God" completed the ruin of these people, who are no more known by their distinctive names in history. Their settlements in Bohemia seem to have been left vacant.

The Celtic Boii and the Teutonic Marcomanni had sustained a continuous rule for four hunderd years; and after a most gallant struggle, and only when exhausted by overwhelming disasters, did they yield place to more numerous and mighty successors. Henceforward the Slav tribe of the Chekh appear upon the scene; they immigrated from beyond the Ister; and finding an inviting settlement open to them they quietly took possession; and to this day they occupy the plains and hillsides of Bohemia.

In the middle of the fifth century to which we have now arrived, the Hercynian forest still constituted the chief feature which the broad landscape of the country presented. While the banks of the Rhine were so peaceful and the inhabitants of Gaul and Germany so prosperous that dwellings were freely erected in the open country, and along the river banks, immense herds of cattle grazed along the plains, and it was impossible to tell where Roman dominion ended, it was the proud boast of travelers that the Hercynian

forest could be penetrated in security.* Attila easily supplied himself with an abundance of timber from the same region, on his invasion of the Belgic provinces.

"Cecidit cito secta bipenni
Hercynia in lintres et Rhenum texuit alno.
Et jam terrificis diffuderat Attila turmis
In campos se Belgæ tuos."

Panegyr, Av. 310.

The presence of the same friendly shelter, most probably, secured the Chekh invaders of Bohemia in the obscure possession of their new conquests so effectually that for a lengthened period their presence as a distinct people was unknown except to themselves. The isolation of their tribe has appeared a fertile theme for the ingenuity of modern etymologists and historians in attempts to define the meaning and investigate the origin of the name of the new settlers.†

* Claudian I. Cons. Stil. I. 221 and II. 186. The Hercynian forest spread over Bohemia and a large portion of eastern Germany

† See among others a learned and ingenious dissertation on this subject in Peltzel. Intro., to Hist. of Boh.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE CHEKH.

The generic name of Slavonians has been applied to the great family of tribes who seem to have inhabited the wide regions of Russia and Poland from time immemorial. The dialects into which their speech was divided were all derived from one common language, and naturally sprang up during the dispersions of the people who employed them. About the commencement of our era colonies of this race settled in the level countries of Moldavia and Wallachia; but a more southerly soil and climate had not improved their civilization, or materially affected their mode of life. In complexion they were fairer than their Tartar neighbors, but did not equal the light hue of the Germans. This nomadic Slavonian race dwelt in huts made of rough branches and concealed among the wild underbrush of the river bank and the forest. Their fields yielded an abundance of millet and buckwheat, and their numerous cattle and sheep supplied an opulence of milk, meat and cheese. The Slav tribe of the Chekh, possibly by way of Wallachia but originally from the Volga across the Borysthenes and the Elbe, found its way into the unoccupied district of Bohemia at the period of the breaking up of the Hunic Empire during the confusion that followed the defeat of the Huns by Ætius at the Catalaunian fields or Chalons, in A. D. 450, and the destructive civil war

that ensued on the death of Attila A. D. 453. Ellac, the eldest son, lost his life in battle with the Ostrogoths under Ardaric. His brother Deugchekh maintained a precarious authority on the Danube until a rash invasion of the eastern empire exposed his head at Constantinople. Iruac retired with his Huns into Scythia. On the western border of the Chekh principality the Thuringian kingdom extended from the Hartz Mountains to the Danube. But the Frank King Hermenfrid, A. D. 531, overthrew the Thuringians who had been allies of Attila; and thus the Chekh and the Franks became immediate neighbors.

But permanent repose was not earned without further struggles. A. D. 558 witnessed the advance from the East of a new band of wanderers who lived necessarily by pillage as they advanced, and laid claim to possessions only as they could subdue and retain them. For a time* Bohemia suffered the full measure of their rapacity; but being severely defeated by Sigebert, of Austrasia, in two battles—the second probably in Bohemia, the Chogun Baian was compelled to return in humiliation. By the departure of the Lombards toward Italy, and the destruction of the Gepidæ, Baian became undisputed master from the Alps to the Euxine.

The absence of centralized government for about one hundred and fifty years, until the grandeur of Charlemagne spread lustre over Central Europe, compelled the Chekh to regulate their domestic concerns on the basis of the customs, laws, and precepts which they had introduced originally from the steppes of southeastern Russia. Property in land was their chief

* Gregory of Tours. Paulus Diaconus. Menander, Hist. of Byzant.

wealth; and was contended for with as much zeal and acrimony as in any court in Westminster. The equal subdivision of the soil on the demise of the owner, which may be the most equitable but is not the most expedient principle, was a right claimed by the children of the deceased, or their nearest representatives. Primogeniture was not the national custom; but it was very early contended for. The distribution of the population into village communities necessarily created an impatience of interference on the part of any stranger with the domestic privileges of each member of the little republic. Local and even national councils were formed on the principle of equal rights, and equal representation. The disposition of the inhabitants was fiercely independent; and scenes of turbulence in public assemblies only expressed the rough self-assertion which disdained the admission of inferiority. When union for public purposes became indispensable, neither favoritism nor incapacity could possibly secure the chief dignity. As early as the eighth century, the rights of this free people were expressed in formal laws which, though brief, formed a code as really as those of the twelve tables, and were enforced in regular councils, or courts, each in its appropriate vicinage. Here full and open representation was the inherited right of every class and station in the community. The "kmets," "lechs" and "vladykas," the nobles, knights and burghers constituted the principal divisions; and each was as fully entitled as the others to an equal share in the national deliberations. Yet there are evidences of chief dignity being retained by a princely family; and of the exercise of public authority at the request or by the order of regal pre-eminence. The customs and temper of

the Chekh while in the isolation of their own independence were sufficient to prevent the encroachments of royalty; and the free spirit of the people was never even tampered with, much less subdued, until their vehemence of self-assertion took a fatally mistaken direction in contentions for dogmas that depend as much for their acceptance on personal disposition as on the exercise of the feelings or the reason. A comprehensive principle may be accepted by an entire nation; but the methods of the practical application of that principle must be as various as human social circumstances or temper. A common way of thinking in the application of any rule to the regulation of the multiplied conditions of society can never be enforced, and an effort to do so can only demonstrate a fatal blindness or wickedness in the person who attempts it.

During this period the simple poetic sentiment of the people was gradually evoked from their association with the expressive phenomena of pastoral life. Natural inanimate objects speak by the sentiments they instil; animals are endowed with the human emotions they excite, and thus become imbued with elevated human thoughts and feelings. The poetry of the tribes was free from the distortion of superhuman fable, or inventions substituted for the native graces of the human soul. Humanity with its surroundings of real life and observed natural conditions drew from a fountain of fancy and ethics in the actual world that should adorn its own experience, and nurture the growth of its own creations. Beauty, grace, truth, politeness, and honor men praised and recommended by the example of stream or hill, or by the quaint and gentle sympathy of bird or quadruped.

The mind of the people was formed in the unalloyed school of primitive observation, and ingenuous self-culture; and all attempts to impose a manufactured substitute for nature, or the fictions of idleness and unnaturalness for the truth of actual experience provoked the ire and stimulated the fierceness of minds accustomed to the grand realities of their own surroundings. The Bohemian mind was formed in that school that prepared the way for the great philosophy of induction. The Bohemians had advanced but a short distance in that direction by their own light; but they were on the right path; and the exceeding suitableness of that path to the tendencies and faculties of the human soul created an attachment to their own methods so strong, although unconscious, that no trial or persuasion, no violence or intimidation, no fraud or inducement has ever been able to prevail on those people to relinquish them. In their poetry, their religion, and their politics the free spirit of the Chekh always asserted itself, and would have made them as great as they were eminent if annihilation had not been adopted as a principle against them.

The gray gloom of the sixth century annals is relieved by the brilliant apparition on the Bohemian horizon of the light of a warrior and a statesman. The tribe of Wends * supplied the wisdom and vigor of Samo to resist the aggressions of the Avars. Tradition has conferred on him a Frankish origin. But historic narrative even in its weakness is preferable to rumor; and Samo was probably one of those Hunyadis, Zizkas, Cromwells, Washingtons and Garibaldis who arise from the broad extent of middle life in every

* The people were generally known as Ben-widines, or Ben-winitha. The name Bohemians a century later.

country when public need requires the active display of their appropriate talents. In every national emergency some simple John Smith will be found equal to the occasion. Samo appears to have been invited into Bohemia. Under his direction the enemy were thoroughly repulsed; and Bohemia and Moravia for ever rescued from their control, A. D. 623. The Frank sovereign demanded obedience as from a vassal; but Samo dismissed the ambassador who obtruded himself into his presence in Slav costume. A. D. 630. War ensued and Dagobert suffered defeat. In the following year Dagobert abdicated. The empire established by Samo fell to pieces at his death in A. D. 662; and only the central portion,—Bohemia and Moravia, remained true to his memory.*

* The narrative of Fredegarius, to whom we are indebted for these details, derives more than an appearance of probability from the fact that he recounts Frank misfortunes. Some French writers throw a shade of doubt upon his record; but it is accepted by eminent authorities without question.

CHAPTER IV.

BOHEMIA ASSUMES A PLACE AMONG NATIONS.

The barbarous and vindictive destruction of Bohemian literature in 1414, in 1547, and again more terribly after the battle of Bila Hora in 1620, yet to be narrated, deprived the world of many most precious records of a period when human progress exhibited its most interesting efforts. Among the fragments that have descended to us is one referred to the eighth century entitled the "Judgment of Libussa." This poetic composition, much amplified in details, represents the convocation of the national council and court to decide the quarrel of two brothers who contended for a patrimonial estate. Libussa, who seems to have occupied a position somewhat similar to that of the judges in Israel, is represented as dispatching her messengers to assemble her faithful Kmets, Lekhs and Vladykas in national deliberation, and also to summon the contestants personally—Chrudos and Stahlav before the supreme council. The Lekhs and Vladykas assemble in the Vysehrad; each takes his place according to his age. The princess enters robed in white, and is seated on her father's throne in the midst of the solemn conclave. Beside her stand two holy maids versed in the knowledge of laws divine; one holds the tables of the law, and the other the sword that strikes the guilty. Before them burns the flame that symbols purification, and at their feet is the water

that testifies of innocence, and ablution from guilt.*

The princess states her message: "My faithful Kmets, Lekhs and Vladykas decide between these two brothers who are in contention for the inheritance of their father. After the law of gods immortal† they ought to possess in common, or divide in equal portions. Kmets, Lekhs and Vladykas confirm my judgment if just it seem to you; but if it seem not just, then pronounce another sentence, and terminate these brothers' quarrel."

The historical value of this composition consists in its exhibition of a political condition long established before the eighth century. It became a classic among the Chekh and forcibly expresses the settled laws, customs and constitution of Bohemia. It proclaimed, preserved, and enforced the rights sovereign in the hands of a free, vigorous population. It denotes a recognized throne, an established public law, the preeminence of the legislature above the crown; and the final appeal to the united expression of the law of the land as supreme above both. The Chronicle of Dalemil, a production of a much later date, also refers at length to this famous council. The Bohemians in all ages most stoutly contended for those rights and that free system set forth in both these poems; and their constant claims in all political changes were based on the same hereditary system which these works accurately picture.

* Here fire and water are employed in their primitive character as symbolic agents possessing active remedial potency—as we would employ them at this day Men had not yet descended to the coarse perversion of this idea in the barbarous ordeal by fire and water of later ages.

† This expression can only mean "according to eternal principles of equity": gods did not always refer to beings. Principles were deities.

Libussa was prevailed on, according to the Chronicle, to search for a consort whose capacity for self-assertion would relieve the throne from further peril of contempt for woman's weakness. The expedient of discovering the needed personage by means of the instinct of a horse, saddled but without bridle, dismissed under the mysterious guidance of the god of fate, breathes out a living confidence in ante-christian devotion. The horse still continued the representative of the old cherubic worship among the Germans and other tribes further to the East.* The horse was the emblem of Saxon cherubic preference long after the reason for it had ceased to operate on the steppes; and their ancestors had introduced that cultus with them. The figure of a white horse presented by the bare chalk of the Dorsetshire Hills still attests the force of Saxon admiration for this symbol, sacred in ancient and loved by every manly soul in modern days.

In this instance the horse proved to be as successful as marriage intermediaries usually are, and more fortunate than the principals in marriage protocols and diplomacies frequently prove themselves to be. The charming epic presents to Libussa the person of her future lord, a simple proprietor named Premysl (Przemysl); and their union was the establishment on the Bohemian throne of a long dynasty of vigorous princes who ruled with uncontested prerogative until A. D. 1306. It may be that the perspicacity of Libussa discovered the sterling qualities that distinguished her husband even under the guise of a modest landholder. Though a simple "country gentleman" not Ferdinand and Isabella in their best days exceeded Libussa and Premysl

* A white horse is the symbol of some German princes to this day. King Alfred of England bore it.

in the wisdom and success of their united administration. The rising ground overlooking what is now the site of Prague, where the Hradschin (Hradcany) stands, formed a sufficiently elevated and inviting position for the royal residence; and may have furnished the name of the Bohemian capital.

From the demise of the first Premysl to the tenth century the memory of the people had preserved the names of Nezamysl, Mnata, Wojen, Unislav, Kresomysl, and Neklan as the direct successors of the founder of the dynasty. The reign of the last named duke was turbulent; and an opponent named Vlatislav fiercely contested for chief power. But Neklan's general Cestmir overthrew Vlatislav; and although the hero died of his wounds on the battlefield, Neklan transmitted his authority in his own line. The names of Hostivit and Borivoj, the first Christian prince, close the list to about A. D. 894. The establishment of this dynasty corresponded to the era of Pepin and Charles Martel in France; and it was an age of heroes.

Only occasional notices in obscure writers refer to the Bohemian people. The tribes that then occupied the territories now known as Mecklenburg, Servia, Croatia, Moravia, Poland, Saxony, Bavaria and the surrounding regions were engaged in frequent contests. The alliances and feuds that grew out of the general confusion are dimly alluded to; and were as changeable as the evanescent purposes which created them. The contentions with Poland lasted the longest and produced the most pernicious consequences, because there was most to be fought for.

The Frank frontier was perpetually in danger and not seldom was violated; and the boundaries of Den-

mark, at that time more widely extended than at present, were not sacred from the effects of the rivalries of dukes, and the reclamations of cattle herders. All were equally independent and unforgiving; and haughty words provoked retaliation. The danger to his empire from the proximity of such troublesome neighbors early attracted the attention and concentrated the armies of Charlemagne. The quarrels between the Obodriti and the Saxons induced the former to appeal to Charles for protection. So completely did this prince secure their confidence that they became his faithful allies and fought valiantly in his ranks. In return for this service Charles in the year A. D. 789, led an expedition in person against the Veliti, who had made themselves especially the enemies of the Obodriti. Charles threw two bridges over the Elbe, fortified them, and advanced into the heart of the country. As he approached the capital the aged Duke Dragovit finding himself powerless to resist, submitted in open field to the conqueror; paid tribute, delivered hostages for his obedience, and his people gave proof of the lesson they had learned.

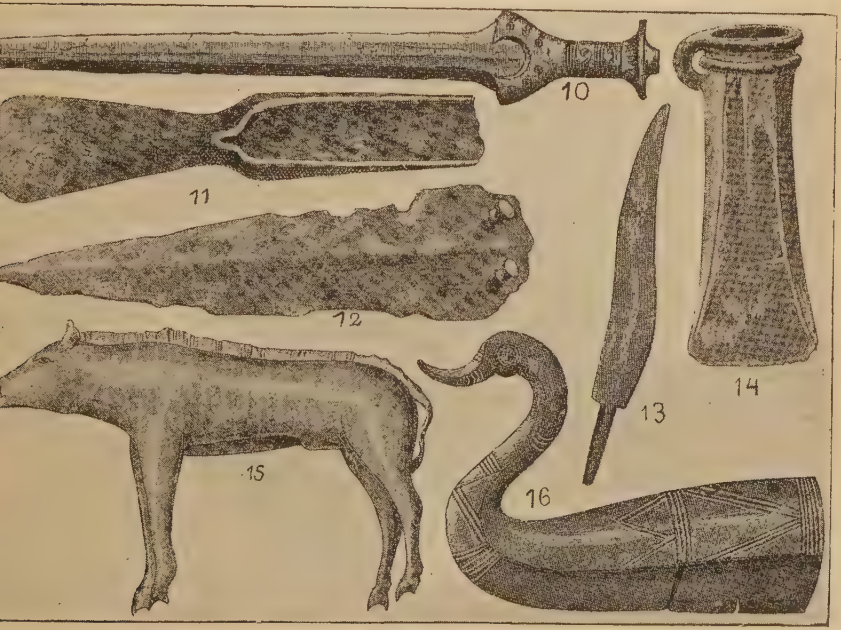
But Charles was not contented with this success. The year A. D. 791 saw three armies in motion for the punishment or subjugation of the Avars in Moravia and Hungary. The first army commanded by Pepin, son of Charles, and by the dukes of Istria and Friulia, advanced toward the south into Pannonia. The second army under Charles himself, marched to the Danube; while the third, with the Saxons and Frisians under Theodoric and Meginfried, penetrated into Bohemia. The purpose of this division of force is clear. The Bohemians were suspected of being more than allies of the Avars, and if they were they

probably had good reason to be, and the Frank troops were dispatched through their country to create a diversion, while the other forces destroyed Pannonia. In this expedition Bohemia remained but little injured; and her pride probably found expression in some reprisals which became the pretext for further aggressions on the part of Charlemagne, crowned emperor of the West at Rome, December 25th, A. D. 800. Great preparations were carried forward for the total subjugation of the only independent state that now remained on the eastern border of Germany. The new latin emperor considered himself insecure so long as a single small principality remained which had never acknowledged fealty to a stranger.

> 'Natio Slavorum, studio satis aspera belli,
> Quos Bohemos vocitant, in se levitate procaci
> Irritans Francos Caroli commoverat iram."
>
> Saxo. Chron. IX. Cent.

Had any more definite cause of offense existed, Eginhard may well be expectd to have stated it. Charles had become the servant of the church, but he failed to perceive his own degradation in being converted into a military executioner under the orders of a hierarchy.

Warlike preparations lasted until the summer of A. D. 805. In that year three great hosts were precipitated upon Bohemia. Charles was now too far advanced in life to take the field in person. One of these divisions commanded by Adolph and Werner advanced by Taus (Domazlice) the second under prince Charles marched from the Rhine to the Egger; while the third composed of Franks, Saxons and North Slavs, directed their march to the Saal and the Elbe, and on their way overwhelmed the Miliceni under their duke,



Early Bohemian Art.

Semil. Still a fourth army was conveyed by the fleet up the Elbe to Magdeburg, and were ordered to hold the Vileti in check and prevent all assistance to the Bohemians. Prince Charles besieged Kaadan; and subsequently all three hosts effected a junction at the Egger.

The Bohemians, whose sturdy valor had been thus dreadfully complimented, were not prepared for so mighty an irruption; and they were totally unable to resist it. Their prowess formed the theme of denunciation at the imperial court; and the apprehensions created by a few had magnified their numbers in the imagination of terrified courtiers. The people fled to the wilds and mountains; and carried on a guerrilla warfare. A chieftain named Bech met his death in one of these petty encounters; and a few forts resisted with success. The Frankish swords won laurels against the unresisting. Trees and vegetables succumbed before the valor of the invaders. For forty days a furious contest was carried on against grass and shrubs. The appetite of the invaders triumphed over grain and fruits; their chargers pranced over every green thing. The open plains were thoroughly humbled, and lay still and prostrate; but the men never sued for peace, never promised even the superscription on a coin, as tribute; and no hostage or the offer of one gave proof of the submissive spirit of Bohemia.*

Violent retaliation might be expected, and it came. French settlements felt the weight of Bohemian hands, and the terrible fury of Bohemian misery; and again

* Sed Slavi invia et saltus penetrantes, se minime ad pugnam præparaverunt. Vastata autem per XL. dies eadem regione, ducem eorum Bechonem occidit. Et dum nec jam pabula equis, aut cibaria exercitui superessent vastata et ad nihilum redacta jam dicta regione, at propria reversus est. Eginhard Ann. Mett.

the Christian emperor issued his commands and a new host obeyed his summons. Again the destroyer wasted the land, and rash resistance was smitten down. Miliduch, a Sorbian prince, fell in fight; his territory yielded a paltry remuneration to the conqueror; but Charles found that the Bohemians refused to starve so long as French villages possessed plenty. The imposition of a tribute upon the nation, and the alleged consent to pay it by the reigning duke may help to explain the civil war between Neklan and Vlatislav alluded to above. Possibly the more fiery noble disdained what he deemed the pusillanimity of his prince. The only account remaining to us of the imposition of tribute is contained in the Life of Charlemagne by Eginhard.*

No proof exists that any tribute was ever paid.

During the long reign of twenty-six years enjoyed by Louis the Pious, the Bohemians had repose. They found in this prince a counselor of whom they stood in need, and an umpire in their domestic contentions. A. D. 814 to 840. The German historian, Müller, does not claim more than "a sort of dependent relation" to the Carlovingian dynasty on the part of the Premysls.

* Vita Kar. M. "Barbaras ac feras nationes ita perdomuit ut eas tributarias efficeret; inter quas fere pracipuæ sunt Welatabi, Sorabi, Boemanni, cum his namque conflixit." These words contain no proof or even assertion; but only an inference. The "charta divisionis imperii" gives the Bohemians to Ludwig but apparently it was Pepin who fixed the tribute. "Pipinus legem instituit ut annuatim Imperatorum successoribus CXX boves electos, et D. Marcas solvamus." This decree refers to the future. Cosmas II, 119.

The people at that time were well acquainted with the use of Silos; a practice which is of recent importation among ourselves giving rise to the term ensilage. The French borrowed it from Algeria.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE; AND WAR WITH LOUIS THE PIOUS.

While these "transient marks of obedience tempted the French historian to extend the empire of Charlemagne to the Baltic and the Vistula," in the words of Edward Gibbon, the success of the Emperor over the Avars of Moravia was more decisive and enduring. In a contest of eight years the entire nobility of the Huns perished. Not a vestige of human habitation attested the recent prosperity; the seat of royalty of the Chagan or Shogoon* was totally extirpated; and the treasures amassed in two hundred years, largely acquired by the conveyance of the commerce of the East to the north and west of Europe, thus breaking the old traffic through France, gratified the rapacity, or flattered the sectarian vanity of the conquerors. The Franks had by this time united the ferocity of intolerance to their native combativeness; and the union of the two impelled their swords as much against a belief that they did not understand, as against a neighboring dominion which was not a menace to their country.

The theocratical relation between the empire and the church—the former securing and guarding the

* A word still retained in Japan although lost in China.

interests of the church with the sword, and the latter consecrating the rapacity that extended its sway and slaughtered its opponents,—received its first great realization under Charlemagne. Though broken down under his sons, the same spirit revived on the consolidation of the new authority that became established in the former seat of power of the Shogoon. The whole land from the Ems to the Raab was wrested from the Avars, who perished as a people. Charles constituted this region an Avarian viceroyalty; and Bavarians—a people of an allied and mixed race were planted there as a garrison of colonists. The territory was annexed to the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg; and became the germ of the Austrian empire.

The remnant of native society in Moravia soon constituted itself "a body politic" under Mojmir, a man of more than ordinary spirit and intelligence. The Frank borders were threatened by a brief period of resistance in Pannonia under Lendevil—818-823; and the Bulgarians exhibited some restiveness in 827-829. But Mojmir consolidated his power; and held pre-eminence even over Bohemia. His rival, Brivina, fled over the Danube, where he was entertained by Louis the Pious, was persuaded to accept baptism, and assigned a lieutenancy in Lower Pannonia; A. D. 830. As early as 836 we find an organized Christian establishment at Olmütz (Olomouc) where Archbishop Adalran presided; and some nobles and others accepted the general creed of Christendom. The patronage of Louis, and the tendencies of public thought under his influence, induced a few of the border lords to relinquish further opposition to the doctrines of two empires; and on the first of January, A. D. 845, fourteen Lechs and their retainers accepted baptism as an evidence of the

friendship they had proffered to Louis during the previous year.*

By the treaty of Verdun in 843, between Lothaire and his brothers, the empire was divided into three portions: Italy, France, and Germany. The dividing line between French and German was thus created. The last was assigned to Lewis the German. Thus the idea of a Christian empire was destroyed forever; and mankind became divided into nations. The Romance people and the German people gradually crystallized into separate shapes; and the same process went on in the far East of Europe also, but more slowly, and in a more fragmentary form. The direct line of Charlemagne first became extinct in Italy. Lothaire, Lewis II, and Lothaire II, had all died before 870; and in the convention of Mersen, the empire was again partitioned between Charles the Bald and Lewis the German. The latter monarch reigned until 876; but the division of his territories among his sons threatened ruin anew to all alike.

Lewis had paid much attention to the administration of his territories; and the independent position assumed by Mojmir in Moravia attracted his notice. Proceeding thither with an armed force in 846, Lewis deposed Mojmir and established his nephew, Rastislav, as duke of Moravia. Returning through Moravia, Lewis attempted to avail himself of the friendship of the converted Lechs whose territories lay on the border. But the nobles and landholders of Bohemia regarded his march as a hostile invasion of their

* "Hludowicus 14 ex ducibus Boemanorum cum hominibus suis Christianam religionem desiderantes suscepit; et in octavis theophaniæ baptizari jussit." The orders of the monarch seem to have supplied sufficient preparation to the neophytes. Rud. Fuld. Ann. I. 364.

country; attacked and destroyed his army; and Lewis himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner, A. D. 846. His entire equipment was seized by the victors.

Lewis determined to avenge his disgrace, and the years 847 and 848 witnessed a renewed attempt against Bohemia. A diversion into Bavaria appears to have distracted the king's purposes; and nothing beyond some skirmishes ensued. But in the following year, 849, a formidable force was despatched against the unyielding enemy. Lewis being too ill to take command, entrusted the expedition to duke Ernst. Thakulph, margrave on the Sorbian frontier, and the chief nobles of Germany swelled the invading ranks with their retainers. The ensuing battle was fierce, and the Bohemians seemed on the point of defeat. In this conjuncture they sent a flag of truce, as we should express it, to Thakulph who was seriously wounded, preferring to treat with him as an officer well acquainted with their language and customs. During the conference some German leaders secretly took the offensive against the inactive Bohemians. The breach of the laws of war stimulated the fiery hearts of the Chekh. In desperate fury they returned the assault; broke the ranks of their enemy; pursued them to their camp, won the entrenchments, and the German host was crushed completely. All the military supplies were taken; and the invaders surrendered their spears and arrows to the victors. This humiliating defeat produced a deep sensation through the whole of Germany.*

The incursions of the Normans on the Baltic coast, and famine and pestilence in Germany compelled

* Rud. Fuld. Ann. I. 366. Prud. Trec. Ann. I. 444. Annales Xantenses II, 229.

Lewis to make peace with Bohemia. The Sorbians felt the weight of his anger; and the waste of their fields effected what the sword could not accomplish*

In Moravia more serious events ensued. Rastislav effected an alliance with the Bulgarians, and also with Constantinople. Lewis attempted to reduce his disobedient vassal; and in A. D. 855 a German army entered Moravia. But the spirit of the invaders indicated the sinking fortunes of the royal house. The intrenchments were assaulted in vain; and only serious German losses marked the conduct of the expedition. Rastislav indemnified himself by the plunder of the trans-danubian principality.†

This period marked the retrogression of the Carlovingian dynasty. Lewis was unable to punish the Sorbians who restored Slavitah, a Bohemian lord, dispossessed by the Bavarians, and Rastislav naturally sustained them. Carloman, son of Lewis who governed Carinthia, formed an alliance with Rastislav against Lewis, 861-863; and Lewis, the younger, effected the complete disruption of the royal house in A. D. 866. Henceforward the union of the Slavs against the Germans became the paramount political sentiment of all the families of Slav descent; of whom the Chehk in Bohemia formed the strongest and most compact section at this period.

* Perditis frugibus, et omni spe victis adempta magis eos fame quam ferro perdomuit. Rud. Fuld. L. C. P. 367.

† Rex, Hludovicus Slavos Marahenses contra Rastizen parem prospere ducto exercitu, sine victoria rediit. Rastiz cum suis insecutus plurima trans Danuvium finitimorum loca prædando vastavit. Rud. Fuld. I. 369.

CHAPTER VI.

SEPARATION OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES AND ITS RELATION TO BOHEMIA. WAR WITH GERMANY.

The epoch on which we have now entered was marked by the momentous divergence of the eastern empire from the western, both in civil and in ecclesiastical polity. The retrospect of past religious dissensions is always distasteful and seldom profitable; but a brief review of those that present themselves cannot here be avoided; for the history of Bohemia henceforward is largely, if not chiefly affected by the result of that divergence.

The western church, having been separated from the state, struggled to establish itself first as an equal, then as an independent, and finally as a paramount authority. The great name of Rome was still associated with a portentous majesty; and as civil strength declined, and the reign of belief became established, doctrines required submission in proportion as edicts ceased to circulate. Faith upreared its head in hope where law had ruled in reason; and a subtle transfer of allegiance from the scepter to the miter was effected.

The opening of the ninth century was distinguished by the contests that raged over the maintenance or the rejection of images. The Latin church energetically sustained them but with many notable exceptions; the Greek patriarchs generally rejected them

with disdain. Leo, the Armenian, being exasperated by the spirit of irreconcilable contention that menaced him from the west, utterly destroyed the images, and adopted severe proceedings against their worshipers.

In 824, Michael, surnamed Balbus, despatched an embassy to Louis the Pious on the subject of images, with a request for the emperor's aid in resisting the intrigue presented at Rome against the peace of the east by the Pope of Rome as the chief adviser of the image worshipers.

The succeeding emperor Theophilus had been imbued with a horror of images; and by his orders they were removed from the churches and destroyed.

Other and more mysterious sources of discussion troubled Christendom on the subject of the details of doctrine. Did the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father alone; or from the Father and the Son; or from the Father by the Son; or how?

The Latins adopted the second of these principles; the Greeks with equal emphasis claimed that the last expression alone was consistent with a salutary theory. Claims of more practical and tangible character were encountered in the demand for the restoration to the Roman See of the churches of Apulia, the revenues of Calabria and Sicily and the extension of its authority over Bulgaria. The treatise attributed to Charlemagne, but prepared probably by Alcuin, is conclusive demonstration of very extensive and authorative rejection of the recent additions to Christian cultus. The decisions of the Council of Aix la-Chapelle, under the direct supervision of Charlemagne; and the openly declared authority of the churchmen who surrounded him produced a profound impression;

more especially as the doctrines of the Roman prelate appeared largely to depend on the admission or rejection of his claims to the Italian and Greek provinces which formed much of the ground of his controversy. Thus the contest assumed at once a theological and a national character. The established convictions of the Greeks, and the unity of their empire combined to concentrate the feelings of the people in hostility to all the pretensions of Rome. Basil the Macedonian, and the patriarch Ignatius, repudiated all concession on the subject of Bulgaria, a Greek Slavonic province. An archbishop was consecrated for that country; the Latin clergy were expelled; and in defiance of Pope John VIII, Bulgaria was permanently attached to the Greek communion.

At the critical moment when the contest concerning images was at its height embassadors arrived from Moravia sent by Rastislav to the Greek court. The real purpose of the embassy was to seek assistance against Lewis the German, with the double purpose of resisting the civil and ecclesiastical intrusion of the Germans. No proposal could have been more welcome. The court advisers selected, in reply to the theological portion of the embassy, two Greeks, natives of Thessalonica, brothers acquainted with the Slavonian language and known as Cyril and Methodius. The former really bore the name of Constantine; but according to ancient custom adopted the religious name of Cyril. He was an educated man of philosophical temper. Methodius was by occupation a painter. Both were imbued with the theological and national sentiments then uppermost in all Greek minds; and both became active propagators of Christian formularies in Moravia, and also in Bulgaria, Dal-

matia and Croatia. They speedily incurred the enmity of the German ecclesiastics. A school was established at Vitvar, and churches erected at Brünn and Olmütz. The preparation of books became necessary; and as the Slavonian was yet unwritten the brothers were compelled to introduce a substantially new alphabet by a suitable modification of an old one by the admission of Armenian and other elements. This Cyrillian alphabet superseded in Moravia, is still employed in Servia and Bulgaria and forms the chief basis of the Russian.* These excellent men were indefatigable. They introduced Christianity under their form both in doctrine and ritual into Bohemia; and laid the foundation of those religious and national views in opposition to Romano-German influences that have peculiarly distinguished Bohemians ever since when free to express their principles. The object of these apostles was to teach, to encourage intelligence, to create free service founded on clear appreciation of the subject, and not to introduce mere ceremonies. The Bohemians have always logically and loyally interpreted the spirit of their Greek teachers; and extended it to its full development in later times. Their influence in the country created displeasure at Rome where union with Germany then formed the prevailing policy. Especial offense was taken at the use of the Slavonian liturgy, which necessarily expressed the Greek doctrine and must have discarded the controverted words "and from the Son" from the creed. The Bohemians even in that day perceived attempts made to dispossess them of their own language by the use of another for church formularies,

* Ginzel "Geschichte der Slawenapostel Cyrill und Methodius." Leimeritz, 1857.

and other public purposes sustained by the Germans. Hence they acquired a devoted attachment to the Cyrillian liturgy. At length a charge of heresy summoned both brothers to Rome. Here Cyril died; and Methodius became archbishop of Moravia. The Slavonian language was adhered to; but a German ecclesiastic named Wiching became suffragan to Methodius for the purpose of suppressing the Slavonian liturgy in time. The passionate attachment of Bohemians to their language as the living expression at once of their origin, their nationality, their independence, and of the wide separation of themselves from the Latins in principles and in government, constrained their duke, Svatopluk, to address a remonstrance to Pope John VIII. on this and other ecclesiastical matters. The reply of John VIII. whom we have already seen anxious to erase the offending word "filioque" from the ritual, is well worthy of reproduction here, so far as it touches the subject of Slavonian language. "Finally we justly praise the Slavonian characters introduced by Constantine the philosopher, in which they chant the praises due to God; and we order that the preaching and works of Christ our God be proclaimed in the same language; since we are admonished to praise God not in three only but in all tongues by the sacred authority which commands, saying, Praise God, all ye nations and laud him all ye peoples; and the Apostles filled with the Holy Spirit spake in all tongues the wonderful words of God; hence the heavenly trumpet of Paul also resounds, admonishing 'Let every tongue confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father,' of which matters also he sufficiently and plainly admonishes us in the first epistle to the Corinthians, that,

speaking with tongues, we may build the church of God. Nor is there anything opposed to sound faith or doctrine in singing the mass in the same Slavonian tongue, or in reading the holy gospel, or the divine selections of the Old and New Testament well translated and explained; or to sing all the other offices of the hours since he who made three principal languages, to-wit, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, himself created also all the others to his praise and glory." Notwithstanding the sound sense and abundant Scripture of this document officially deciding the point submitted, the Slavonian liturgy was condemned after the death of Methodius. It could not be, however, finally suppressed in Moravia and Bohemia until A. D. 1094 when the monastery of Sazava, its last asylum, was destroyed.

The introduction of a new tongue and a strange liturgy gradually supplanted the old doctrine; and while the creed was sung at Rome in the ninth century without the disputed words; while Leo IV. and Benedict VIII. directed that it should be recited in Greek; yet the opposition of Pope Benedict VIII. was overcome by Henry II. of Germany—1014—and from that time the addition "filioque" represented the triumph of Frank and German politics over the aspirations and national and religious conviction of the Slavs in Moravia and Bohemia. But popular attachments cannot be extirpated by a conclave, a curia, or a rescript. The tastes, beliefs, and sympathies of the people had been long established. Resistance to external rule became a faith under the old empire; and the sentiment survived dynasties and triumphed over theologies.

During the pendency of the religious discussion

above alluded to internal commotions introduced Duke Svatopluk to prominence. A chronic condition of war continued between Lewis and Rastislav. In 864 the latter, temporarily defeated, accepted vassalage. In 868 war again raged but without result. The year following the scene of hostilities changed; and a new and formidable antagonist of Lewis appeared in the person of Svatopluk, nephew of Rastislav. The German dispatched three armies against his unbending opponent; one against the Sorbians commanded by Lewis the younger; another under Karloman against Svatopluk, and the third under Karl, youngest son of Lewis, marched direct against Rastislav's strong intrenchments, wasted and burned everything within reach, but failed to shake the firmness or effect any feat of arms against his antagonist who held his lines unharmed. But soon afterward Svatopluk placed himself under the protection of Karloman; and Rastislav in wrath endeavored to ensnare and arrest him. Svatopluk was warned, and in turn entrapped his uncle, who was sent in chains to Lewis. The great Moravian was deprived eventually of his eyes and immured in a cloister. In order to strengthen himself, Svatopluk formed an alliance with Bohemia in 871. But Lewis again took the field and the Chekh were defeated in 872 and their country greatly wasted. Svatopluk succeeded in Moravia; invaded Karloman's dominions; and reduced him to such extremity that he called on Lewis at Metz* to furnish aid, under a kind of threat never to show himself again to his father if it was

* Hludovicus apud Metes, nuntium accepit, quod, nisi citissimo filio suo Carlomanno in marchia contra Wendos subveniret illum ulterius non videret. Qui statim ad Reginsburg perveniens per missos suos Wendos modo quo potuit sibi reconciliavit. Hincmar Reim. I. 496.

not furnished. Lewis concluded a truce at Regensberg with the victors. Svatopluk's sword and the efforts of Methodius combined effected a religious revolution in Bohemia. Boriwoj, the reigning duke, and his duchess, Ludmila, accepted baptism and the Greek rite was established through the country A. D 871. The first church structure erected by Boriwoj was St. Clement's, a short distance north of Prague; and a church of St. Clement occupies the same site to this day. In the same year in which Methodius died, A. D. 885, April 6, Svatopluk stood at the height of his greatness. His young kingdom extended from the Danube to the borders of Carinthia and Pannonia, where Duke Arnulph ruled; and prosperity seemed assured. In 887 Arnulph was chosen emperor; and in 895 died Boriwoj, duke of Bohemia. His sons, Spityhnev and Rastislav, appealed for aid to Arnulph against Mojmir, son of Svatopluk. Arnulph was crowned at Rome in 896; but died in 899 as was suspected of Italian poison. In the same year we find the Bohemians and Moravians combined and engaged in an invasion of Moravia, probably in imperial interest. But a new terror speedily extinguished the small animosities of principalities and compelled united Christendom to arouse itself. Arnulph had unwisely invited the Magyars to lend him aid against Moravia, and in the year 899 a dreadful host of these invaders swept across the eastern frontier of Germany. Defeat followed defeat, and these new destroyers speedily reached Saxony and Lorraine. The king, Lewis the child, was reduced to a tributary; and all was disaster and confusion. The Magyars,—a branch of the Ugrian or Ungrian Turks, marched north as far as Bremen; but soon returned to south Germany.

A victory at Passau in 913, hardly created a check. Conrad, the new emperor, effected nothing; and soon died—918. Henry of Saxony, surnamed the Fowler, restored union; and was enabled to consolidate his empire. The Ungrians had found an unexpected ally in Vratislav, the son of Ludmila of Bohemia, who had renounced Christianity. He married Drahomira, a princess of the Havelli, who instituted a massacre of Christians. Ludmila with her son Vaclav, known afterward as St. Wenceslaus, fled to Henry; and Wenceslaus on doing homage was recognized by Henry as duke of Bohemia, according to some German historians; but the accepted fact is that Ludmila was murdered by her daughter-in-law Drahomira's order, A. D. 927. Ludmila was strangled with her own veil at Tetin whither she had retired to live in seclusion. Native historians represent Spityhnev and Vratislav as pious princes whose devotion was displayed by the erection of church edifices at Prague, Budweis, (Budejovice) and elsewhere. The years 912 and 926 are set down as the date of their demise respectively. Vratislav had been educated by his grandmother Ludmila in his earlier years; and imbibed not only his religious principles from her precepts, but inherited much of her personal disposition, as is usually the case with grandchildren. During Drahomira's regency, Henry of Germany had inflicted severe losses on the Slav tribes of the lower Danube, and reduced them to vassalage to the Empire. Henry's son Thankmar had been insulted in Bohemia by some of the queen regent's followers; war necessarily followed, and Henry appeared before Prague in 928. Wenceslaus had undertaken the government though still a minor of 20; and he was compelled to submit to a yearly trib-

ute of 500 marks of silver, and 120 head of oxen, and to do homage as a vassal. Wenceslaus was a devout prince. He built and endowed churches in all parts of his dominions; read the Slavonian Scriptures; fed and clothed the poor; protected widows and orphans; ransomed priests when made prisoners; administered justice with strict impartiality; and with his own hands reaped and harvested the wheat, and gathered the grapes requisite for the bread and wine of the communion. These memorials are interesting on account of the suggestions they afford of the doctrinal status of the church in Bohemia in the tenth century. Wenceslaus fell under the fratricidal sword of his brother Boleslav in 935; and Drahomira fled to Croatia. Churches were erected in honor of the deceased prince; his portrait was stamped on the coin, engraved on the seals, and emblazoned on the standards of his country; his memory is held in respectful veneration. But the spirit of self abasement spread from the cloister through the country; and for the first time Bohemia abandoned a courageous self-assertion under the imaginative, dreamy and dependent spirit of Wenceslaus.

Otto, elected Emperor A. D. 919, despatched an army of Saxons and Thuringians under command of Count Esech against Boleslav. But the latter was victorious; and after his success proceeded to punish the mutinous noble who had invited German interference. In the year following—938, Otto marched against Bohemia again with a more formidable force; and the reduction of Boleslav to the condition of a vassal spread great joy through Germany, where the frequent successes of the Slav uprisings had produced a feeling of insecurity during the years that this war

lasted. In 946 Boleslav gave hostages for his submission. But the year 950 again witnessed strife. Young Boleslav was besieged in Prague; promised the yearly tribute imposed on his brother, and soon afterwards the common danger from the Magyars united all the forces of Christendom. On the 10th of August, 955, southwest of Augsburg was fought the great and decisive battle that decided the fate of Germany, and humbled the Magyars for ever. The Bohemian contingent and the Suabians were hard pressed by a sudden assault; but Duke Conrad restored the fight; the Turkish camp was stormed; and although thousands fell in very direction, yet the losses seemed hardly to diminish the numbers of the vanquished multitude A subsequent series of engagements with the Bohemians under Boleslav in person, crushed the hopes of the Magyars. Lehil, their chief, was made prisoner; and his followers, with sullen content accepted the settlements in Hungary they had already won.

The marriage of the Bohemian princess Dubravka with Miecislav, duke of Poland in 965, introduced Greek Christianity into the latter country. The Polish prince and many of his people were baptized by a Bohemian pope in 966; and Dubravka journeyed to Poland with an imposing retinue. Boleslav died in 967; and although his reign was inaugurated with fratricidal violence, his temper was greatly needed in the pressing emergencies of the times; and he must be allowed to have added much to his country's greatness.

The irruption of the Magyar invaders in the reign of Spitigniev, destroyed the empire of Moravia; and from this period the fortunes of the two principalities were united under one government. The Bohemian

authority at this epoch extended northeast to the heart of Silesia and Poland; southeast to the neighborhood of Kiew in Russia. Moravia proper and White Croatia were Bohemian provinces. Boleslav was obeyed on both sides of the Carpathians, and over the Bug to Podlachia. But these limits were ill-defined; and advanced or receded with a battle or an incursion. A. D. 967 Boleslav II. surnamed the Pious succeeded to the dukedom; and his duchess Emma is supposed to have been daughter of Conrad of Burgundy. The first care of this prince was for the establishment of ecclesiastical authority over Bohemia in the hands of a resident bishop. Very early in the reign of this prince, Milada, his sister, journeyed to Rome, ("incertum cujus consilio" says Stransky) and returned to Bohemia an avowed supporter of the Latin rite. The princess was the bearer of a bull from Pope John XIII. on the subject of the disuse of the existing Greek ceremonial, and the introduction of the Latin form. From this event is dated the beginning of religious strife in Bohemia; A. D 967. Boleslav having received the pope's letter, assembled the christian chiefs in council; and having explained that missive declared his intention to establish the Roman ceremonial under a bishop of that communion. Boleslav added some instructions to the chieftains before him to follow his example within their own jurisdiction. Forthwith murmurs arose; and as was probably intended, there was a divided sentiment. Some were influenced by respect for the prince and his sister; but the greater number protested against the innovation as opposed to the order and rite established by Cyril and Methodius. But Boleslav persisted; and a compromise smoothed the difficulty for a time.

Henceforward three religious systems struggled for freedom or pre-eminence. The old Paganism still prevailed in a few localities. The nobles who frequented the German court chiefly affected the Latin rite. But the body of the people clung affectionately to their Greek forms.* After some consultation on the subject a slight difficulty presented itself in the existing dependency of Bohemia on the see of Ratisbon. But Wolfgan, bishop of that see, surrendered his authority; and a Saxon monk named Ditmar, skilled in the Bohemian language, and also "multum in aula carus," was selected as first bishop.

On the death of Otto in 973, Henry II. of Bavaria named "the contentious," asserted his claims to the Empire against Otto II; and Miecislav of Poland, his brother-in-law, and Boleslav of Bohemia, united their forces in his aid. But Otto proved too strong. The following year Boleslav and Otto concluded peace which was not afterward violated.

Bishop Ditmar died in 982; and the snem (landtag) assembled, as the ancient and unquestioned guardian of public authority in domestic affairs† for the election of a successor. Vojtech of the house of Slavnik, a Bohemian, of the ancient possessors of Chekh lineage was selected. As the Emperor was then in Italy in-

* Græci ritus sacra tenaciter servabat, Stransky ch. VI. § IV. The inducement to the Princess Maada or Mary is seen in the fact that she returned with the office of abbess of a new convent of Benedictine nuns. Pope John's words confirm Stransky, "Veruntamen non secundum ritus aut Sectæ Bulgariæ Gentis, vel Russiæ, aut Slavonicæ linguæ." Gold. Act. Pub. IV.

† Slaveni et Antæ non uni parent viro; sed ab antiquo in populari imperio (ἐν δημοκρατεια) vitam agunt. Procop De Bell. Goth., l., III., p. 498.

His omnibus qui communiter Lintici vocantur dominus specialiter non præsidet ullus; unanimi consilio ad placitum suimet necessariæ discutientes, in rebus efficiendis omnes concordant. Thittmar, Merseb, ap, Pertz. V. 812.

vestiture of staff and ring was then performed by Otto in person. Adalbert, as Vojtech now styled himself, made strong efforts to supplant the Slavonic ritual in Bohemia and Hungary. He was not sufficiently national in sentiment to suit the tastes of Bohemians; and he took a virulent part in an endeavor then becoming general to abolish clerical marriage, and establish rigid celibacy, contrary to the well established Greek principles and customs of Bohemia. In 989 he retired to Rome and entered a Benedictine monastery. Adalbert returned on the invitation of Boleslav and established a similar institution in Bohemia; but these proceedings created such strong resentment that he retired again. A few years later having wandered among the tribes of Prussia, he met a violent death for a trespass on sacred ground. The see was filled by Christian, and very soon afterward by Thiddag* who preserved his episcopate twenty years. A. D. 998.

Boleslav died A. D. 999. His eldest son was already dead, childless. Boleslav II. succeeded; but the unsettled principles of succession filled the country with confusion and rendered the government of the Premysls during two centuries a long succession of uncertainty and frequently of disaster.

Scarcely had Boleslav II. ceased to breathe when

* Thiddag is the same as Theodatus, called also Medicus Saxo. He is reported to have been indebted for his see to his skill as a necromantic physician; and to have cured Bolislaus I., of paralysis by a bath of wine, herbs, and spices and three living black puppies four weeks old Paulini, Dissert. Hist., p. 198.

Other practitioners of the healing art as understood at that period were not so fortunate; as shown by the instance of Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, who was elected to the see of Canterbury; but was refused consecration for the reason that his profession made him acquainted with feminine physiology, a kind of knowledge held in holy but not in practical horror by the monks and clergy of that—or any other age. De. Abbat. Abendon. Chron. Abingdon II. 287.

Boleslav of Poland surnamed Chrobry or the Brave, besieged Cracow, as being a fortress naturally appertaining to that dukedom. The Bohemians attempted to relieve the place; but were defeated and Cracow became henceforth a Polish possession. With the loss of this fortress the prestige of Bohemian arms received a serious blow; and the outer principalities speedily loosened all connection with the government of Prague. Within a year all the fruits of the valor of the first Boleslav had been reft away; and the dukedom was reduced to Bohemia proper.

Boleslav II, if violent, was brave and skillful; and his vigor was feared and respected. The third Boleslav, named Rufus, inherited apparently only the cruel element of his father's character without its manliness. The barbarous violence practiced toward his brothers drove them and their mother Emma, to the Court of Henry of Bavaria, and the results of these excesses were soon apparent in the increased favor shown to Boleslav Chrobry by the imperial court.* The augmentation of Polish power was accomplished at the expense of Bohemia; and Boleslav Chrobry reigned at least as titular lord paramount from the Baltic to the Danube. But discontent in Bohemia gradually assumed the proportions of open revolt; and the powerful nobles of the Vrsovici encouraged and assisted Vladiwoj, brother of the reigning duke of Poland in aspiring to the crown of Bohemia. Boleslav was compelled to flee with all speed. Henry, markgraf of east Franconia afforded temporary shelter:

* Bohemiorum dux Bolezlaus,—Cognomento Rufus, impietatis auctor immensæ quia potestas consortis et successoris est semper pavida Jaremirum fratrem eunuchizans, junioremque Othelricum in thermis suffocare capiens una cum matre eosdem patriæ expulit Thittmar, Merseb, l. V., p. 793.

but the fugitive eventually withdrew to Schweinfurt on the Main. Chrobry endeavored to prevent umbrage being taken at the increase of power now obtained by his house by submissive promises to Henry II. But court favor was not long required. Vladiwoj reigned but one month, and died in the beginning of A. D. 1003. Jaromir succeeded to the throne of Bohemia and was received with joy. But Boleslav Rufus contrived to obtain the aid of Chrobry; and the latter reinstated Rufus in Bohemia, while Jaromir a second time found himself an exile. Boleslav Rufus had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." Scarcely did he find himself "at home again" than he exhibited the implacability of his temper. Ash Wednesday A. D. 1003 while the population at large were engaged in their observance of the day, Boleslav treacherously invited many of the most prominent persons around him; and especially the Vrsovici who had proved themselves his opponents, and murdered them in cold blood;—himself stabbing his own son-in-law, one of the Vrsovici, through the body with his dagger. The Bohemians had probably lost their old spirit; and now they apealed for aid to Boleslav who had left a force of Polish troops in support of Rufus. Chrobry instantly perceiving an opportunity for effecting his meditated union of all the Slavs under his scepter, removed Boleslav to Poland where he died a few years subsequently. Chrobry took possession of the strong places in Bohemia where his Polish garrisons were already established. But Henry asserted claims also on the part of the empire; and sent ambassadors to Chrobry to signify that war would necessarily ensue if he persisted in his pretensions. Chrobry imperiously refused vassalage; fortified all the strong places

on his western frontier; and concluded a treaty with Hezilo of East Franconia, and other German lords hostile to Henry. But the latter were soon routed by the Germans; and Hezilo compelled to take refuge with Chrobry. The Poles have never been gentle masters, either in Moscow or in Prague; and they earned the fierce hatred of the Bohemians at this time. The banished princes were now regretted. Boleslav had not the qualifications of Cromwell in being either native born or supremely successful. In 1004 Henry assembled an army in Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia; sent his fleet up the Elbe to assail Poland, and marched across the Erzegibirge into Bohemia. Jaromir and Ulrich led the van of the invaders; and Henry became another Monk* in the eyes of the Bohemians. The tones of Jaromir's summons sufficed to blow open the gates of a frontier fortress; and Henry secured a safe entry by this convenient Berwick into the heart of the country. Boleslav was completely surprised. His flank was turned; and he hastened toward Prague to encounter his enemy. In the mean time Ulrich made himself master of Drevis, another strong place; and advancing thence, made a dash against Prague. Ulrich stationed himself on the bridge. A blast of a huntsman's horn was the signal agreed on for the gates to be opened. The Polish guard discovered the assailants and a sharp fight ensued on the bridge. Sobebor, the Polish captain fell; and Ulrich and his three hundred galloped into the town. Other successes were also announced; and Boleslav took to flight. In a few days the Polish power melted completely away and Jaromir "had his own again."

In the following year 1005 war again broke out with

* The ὑ'στέρον πρότέρον here may be excusable.

Poland; but success varied and Henry made peace with Boleslav who retained all his conquests except Bohemia and Lusatia. During several years the Polish prince offered inducements to Jaromir to conclude a close alliance; but past experience and the inextinguishable hatred of the Chekh nobility prevented success. Jaromir continued the steady ally of Germany during the years of even the ill success of Henry. This prince was physically weak but honest, though of but moderate understanding. His brother Ulrich (Oldrich) was the Constantine of the family, strong and self-willed. He well represented the rugged characteristics of the Przemysls; and his daring soul aspired to freedom from subordination. By a bold *coup d'état* Ulrich seized the throne; and Jaromir was compelled a third time to avail himself of the shelter afforded by neighbors to political refugees. Both brothers referred their quarrel to Henry; but they were eventually imprisoned.

Ulrich's first wife was childless; but his second whom he espoused, presumably from dynastic necessity, to all appearance without the formality of a divorce, became the mother of Bretislav whom all Bohemia accepted as the legitimate inheritor of ducal rights, 1014.

In the year 1039 the cultivation of Slavonic literature received marked encouragement from Bretislav.

The Greek religious foundation of Sazawa was extended in influence and enlarged in accommodation; and continued for nearly sixty years to be the chief seat of native thought and learning in Bohemia. But it was also, and to the same extent, an object of jealousy, as the principal impediment to the leavening process which constituted the sole and the insidious policy at that period of Germany and Rome.

CHAPTER VII.

INTERNAL POLITY OF BOHEMIA.

Having presented the history of Bohemia briefly in the preceding pages during a period of about one thousand years, let us now endeavor to study the domestic, social, and industrial life of the several classes of the inhabitants during the same period. As among all nomads the head of each family was the chief person, and his humble residence sheltered his immediate family relations.

As the rude cottage was found too small additions were made until the aggregation formed a village of itself. The family swelled into a tribe. Such villiages became numerous; and each householder or occupant of the complex structure, at once house and village, possessed his plot of ground as his individual share of the common property. The community was regulated by the united voice of the heads of houses, under the chief direction of the elders. When the founder of the village had died, and the number of families and houses formed a village spreading, as peace prevailed, over a larger space, and cultivating a wider surface of the common patrimony, the custom became established, as in all village systems, of electing or appointing one person to superintend the general interests of the whole community. This person was named a "vladyka". He had the general supervision as public steward; and was removed for neglect or inefficiency. He might be one of the younger members; or of the older. He purchased and sold; and looked after the individual as well as the general interests of his village. These vladykas always formed

an essential and the most numerous component of the general council or Snem (landtag); and each was the recognized representative of his village therein. The duke himself was only a vladyka of the entire people."*

The chief leaders of the Chekh on their arrival established a pre-eminence of dignity in their own direct descendants. These chieftains — kmets,—who were all extensive landholders, formed a select council; and exercised the functions of a co-ordinate branch of the government. Between these nobles and the vladykas was a second order, whose members styled lechs were independent proprietors of estates. They constituted a kind of military class and always furnished the best officers in every emergency. These classes had the right to be present and take part in the great council of the nation without question from any man. These three orders suggest the recollection of the division of society prescribed by the Institutes of Menu; and may be referred to the Indo-Caucasian origin of the Slavs. The same principle may be discovered in the recognition of military rank as conferring a title to a share in the deliberations of the national assembly, in the well known writ of King John of England who summoned "quatuor discretos milites" as representatives of their county.

This system of government by the whole people as it stood is the form universally approved by the Slav nations; and is a full illustration of the realization of the dream of Pericles;† and still more clearly by Ath-

* "Quamdiu igitur Czechus in vivis fuit æconomicus fuit in repub. Bojemæ magis quam regius principatus." Stransky.

† "ὀνομα μὲν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κεκληται μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μέν τοὺς νόμους πρός τά ἴδια διάφορ πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον κατά δε τὴν ἀξιῶσιν ὡ ἕκαστος ἐν τῳ εὐδοκιμει. Thucydides II, 37.

enagoras of Syracuse, where the functions of the separate orders of a complete democracy are specifically defined.*

To the same general effect Isokrates holds that special recognition ought to be rendered to men whose possessions, opportunities, and education enable them to devote more time, means and advantages of social training to the public service.

The memory of these principles had undoubtedly descended to the Greeks as a member of that great Aryan family who have given not only laws and institutions but the spirit of development and progress to the whole modern world.† The poetry of Greece and especially the Iliad and Odyssey, and the history of Teutonic and Slavonian peoples generally are replete with illustrations of the prevalence of the same sentiment;—that society is properly constituted in gen-

* *ἐγὼ δὲ φημί πρῶτα μὲν δῆμον ξύμπαν ὠ νόμασθαι ολιγαρχίαν δὲ μέρος, ἔπειτα φύλακας μεν 'αρίστους εἶναι χρημάτων τοὺς πλουσίους, βουλεῦσαι δ'ἂν βέλτιστα τους ξυνετους, κρίναι δ'ἂν 'ακουσαντας ἀριστατους πολλους και ταῦτα ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ μέρη καὶ ξυμπάντα ἐν δημοκρατία 'ισομοιρεῖν.*

† The affinity between the Greeks and Slavs ascertained by the researches of Bergmann and Mullendorf affords another link in the chain that connects the political philosophy of Greek statesmen with the practical life of the Slavs of Bohemia. "They were then" says Mr. Georges Perrot "in spite of many apparent differences of language. customs and civilization, nearly related to the Greeks; and this kinship perhaps contributed without the knowledge of either Greeks or barbarians to facilitate the relations between Hellenes and Scythians." The agricultural Slavs of the Dnieper, the immediate kin of the Chekh, were no doubt the agricultural Scythians of Herodotus.

tle undulations, and is nowhere to be dominated by precipitous impending authority. The manners of the ancient Germans are abundantly described by Tacitus* as expressing the free suffrages of the whole people in the selection of the most suitable counsellors in peace and generals in war. The Bohemian constitution reflects these principles as by a mirror. The possession of captives taken in war introduced a modified slavery; but at no time did the abhorrent system adopted by the brutal Romans prevail among Slavs. "Those persons who are held in captivity among them," says the Emperor Mauricius,† "are not retained in servitude for all time, as among other nations. But a certain period is fixed by agreement of the parties, within which they are allowed to return to their friends on payment of the stipulated sum, or they remain afterward free and friendly with their former masters." Agriculture formed the principal industry of the Slav races. The fields have peopled their heaven with deified farmers. As among ourselves enforced servi-

* Reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt; nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio: De minoribus rebus principes consultant; de majoribus omnes. Mox rex vel princeps prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur. Centum singulis ex plebi comitis, consilium simul, et auctoritas adsunt. De Morib. Germ. c. 7—13.

The primitive and fundamental democratic life of the Slavonian nations is further placed on record by Procopius de Bell. Goth. III. 14.

Ἰσὰ γαρ ἔθνη ταυτα Σλαβηνοί τε και Ἄνται οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρος ἑνος, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοκρατεὶᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βουτεύουσι, κἀι διά τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγματων αει τὰ τε ξυμφορα κἀι τα δυσκολα ἐς κοινον αγεταί.

The Slavonians and Antæ are not ruled by one man but live in a democracy, from old time, and for this reason there is a common interest in all affairs and difficult subjects are managed according to the common judgment.

† Strategic, l. XI. p. 273.

tude was made the penalty for great crime.* It may not be historical that the Germans borrowed the plough from the Slavs, and that pflug is derived from plug. Both terms had a common origin in a common mother tongue. Unlike modern dwellers in rural districts who have become extremely suspicious of strangers in all countries, the sociable instincts of oriental cultivators were hospitable even to the point of permitting the unasked removal of provision requisite for the entertainment of a guest. They had the virtues and the failings of primitive men. They were scrupulous in observing formal promises.† Marriage had become an institution most highly respected; and the fidelity of wives was a most conspicuous feature in the domestic life of this latter period, as it had been of the Teutonic women described by Tacitus. The survival of the husband by the wife accompanied by the immolation of the widow reminds us of the Suttee of India; and may form another trace of the Indo-Caucasian lineage of the Chekh.‡ War was the same then as now. To lie concealed under the water for hours breathing through a reed, is not more barbarous, though it may be less scientific, than to despatch a torpedo through the water to destroy a thousand lives. The man is the torpedo in the former case. During the centuries

* The Monasteries and the Jews made profit from these descriptions of forced labor in later times. "Propter quod captivos et mancipia Christianorum quos mercator Judæus infelici auro emerat" Vita St. Adalb. Pertz VI. 586. The Spaniards sold thousands of Jews and Moors into perpetual slavery at the very period our story has reached; and the Austrians sold many thousands of Bohemians into slavery as late as 1628.

† Servant sua pacta Bohemi et truces. Gens haud spernenda Bohemi; quoted by Stransky Repub. Boh. Chap. IV.

‡ The "three rivers" crossed by the Chekh appear to have been east of the Volga. Σκλαβηνον ἔθνος τὸ περάθεν τοῦ Ἰστρου of Suidas seems conclusive.

preceding German supremacy agriculture and cattle engaged the chief attention of the Bohemians. Wheat and horses formed a large part of their export; and the Russian conqueror, Svatoslav,—A. D. 964-972,—who wished to establish his capital at Pereiaslaf on the Danube writes regarding it: "This place is the central point of my possessions; and abounds in wealth. From Greece come precious stuffs, wine, gold, and all kinds of fruit; from the country of the Tcheques and Hungarians horses and silver; from Russia money, furs, wax, and slaves." Long previous to this period silk had been in use to some extent in Bohemia; and we find Libussa described as reclining on a couch with a silk coverlid.*

Gold was procured from the Bohemian mines until the 15th century. Iron was mined in sufficient quantity and of the best description, and was fashioned not only into ploughshares and sickles, but into swords and spears and heavy battle axes, or rather maces, helmets, cuirasses, and greaves. All the ordinary trades both of smelting metal and of wood work were well known, though implements were rude; and the arts of the goldsmith and the engraver had made progress. Beryl, amethyst, emerald, sapphire, jasper, and some fresh water pearls† furnished more or less employment and profit; while copper, tin, lead and aluminum as well as silver yielded wealth and fostered art and skill.

The political situation in Bohemia being organized on the foundation of associated village communities with a pre-eminence of rank conceded to the wealthier

* Ingressus cubile quod solum habuit, tulit inde sericum pulvinar. Vita St. Adalb., ap Treher p, 77.

† Stransky, Rep. Boj., ch. I.

individual proprietors the result was necessarily republican in essential character. A special summons to individuals was issued; and such was in all probability the earliest mode of issuing writs of parliament.* The elevation of the first Premysl was a concession to the choice of Libussa; and the "prince consort" became an associate in the government. The earliest laws consisted of the customs and accepted rules existing chiefly in the daily habits of the people. Until the twelfth century few written laws existed; such as there were found sufficient expression in runic characters; and the improvement by Cyril and Methodius laid the necessary foundation for a more extensive vocabulary, and precise legal definitions in subjects of advancing civilization above the primitive common law of the people. Formal compilations were subsequently made and preserved; the first printed in one volume by Briccius of Zlitsca. A more satisfactory compilation appeared in 1569; and still another under Maximilian in 1579 published by authority of the estates. The statutes enacted by the estates composed of the great nobles as a kind of senate or aula regia, and the Kmets, Lechs, and Vladykas constituted the governing rule; and each duke on his election was required to constitute himself by oath,† as he had been already nominated as chief executive of the nation. No Bohemian prince ever thought of claiming the chief power by right of inheritance alone.

That the soil was owned by individual inheritance

* See instances of individuals being summoned under Athelstan. Kemble, Saxons in England II. 202.

† Stransky; ch. V. § 8. Rep. Boj. Still more emphatically § 25:—Quod Barones, nobiles, et etiam civitates et tota communitas Regni Bojemiæ ex sua libera et bona voluntate, juxta libertates illius regni elegerunt se in Regem Bojemiæ, non ex aliquo debito"—quoting the coronation oath.

and not by feudal tenure except in a very few cases is universally conceded.* The exceptions were not of Chekh origin; and were practically of no account. Each man possessed the right to fish, hawk, and hunt on his own land, and there was not a shadow between him and heaven on the subject. No tax, tithe or impost could be levied except by the consent of the estates. In the election of prince, age† held first place; but the younger was often the public choice in a time of pressing emergency.‡

The military system of the Slavs was far inferior to that of the Romans. A shield, helmet, and coat of mail probably of leather or hide protected the soldier; and a sword, spear, mace, club with a ball slung at the end, and a lariat constituted the offensive weapons. Each landholder served at his own expense; and wars in those days were extremely destructive of life. Fortresses consisted of circles of palisades, strongly built and with one narrow entrance. In time castles of wood, and about the twelfth century of stone were raised on eminences defended by natural position. The standards of Bohemia were long preserved in the ancient fortress of Vyselirad; and the national colors

* Bona illorum tota Bojemia pleraque omnia heredetaria sunt seu allodalia, perpauca feudalia. Stransky, ch. XI. §, 3.

† The election of the late emperor Nicholas instead of his brother Constantine was strictly in conformity with the principles in the text, and is explained by it.

‡ In Bohemia as in Ireland, Scotland and elsewhere a remnant of an ancient sacred pillar, regarded with profound veneration long after its original symbolism had died, was preserved until A. D. 1142; and probably much later. The Sid Fail of the Irish and the Stone of Destiny at Scone and still in the coronation chair at Westminster all had similar origin. This pillar stone was the original whence the Greek Στήλη, the obelisk and the spire were descended. See for the Sacredness of the Bohemian stone Ven. Chron., in Dobner. Monu. I. 34.

have been white and scarlet since the first establishment of knighthood among them.

The Bohemians were and are a practical people and have always regarded religion, as they have regarded other things, in the light of its application to the actual education of the intelligence as the immortal soil from whose cultivation all moral, social and political food must be derived, directly at least. That which contradicts plain reason cannot be true to the understanding, and must be inconsistent with the right direction of the tastes and feelings.

The development of the divine principle here enunciated, both in religion and politics, constitutes the great drama that Bohemian history presents to the world. To uphold this principle in their public life, they have fought with great and noble determination for a thousand years and more. To uphold that principle in religion the Bohemians endured for centuries more dreadful tyranny than any other people known to mankind. They were the objective point of mighty crusades, they were the victims selected for immolation on the teocalli of bloody sacrifice when the bleeding heart of the nation was torn out from the still palpitating body by the high priests of the Moloch of intolerance. "My son give me thine heart," received an infernal application of perverted signification.

At the period whereon we have now entered the policy of Rome to subjugate all countries who accepted her peculiar communion by means of a common tongue —the Latin, had been definitely inaugurated. This was the language of prescription and authority, although not one syllable of the New Testament doctrine had been written in it by any one of the writers

of that volume. It does not appear that any apostle was ever acquainted with Latin. Jesus Christ spoke in Syriac and no other. By means of Latin a means of communication was at once established between the ecclesiastics of all Latin countries, although the Latin itself had long ceased to be a speech. For this purpose it was employed in all religious ceremonious observances. It acquired a sacred character, all the more because it was dead. Through this language the entire power of the hierarchy could be concentrated. Necessarily a contest arose in every locality where as in Bohemia and in Ireland Greek religion, philosophy and civilization had acquired strong footing. In Bohemia this process was allied with a Germanizing encroachment that rendered it doubly hateful to the great majority of the nation. It was the symbol of alliance with aliens and oppressors. But while it was forced upon the churches in public service it never became the speech of the people even in religion. Latin was the language of religious pomp; German of state ceremonial; but the affections of the people for their dead were always poured forth in their heart language, their own native speech of love and sorrow. They communed with each other around their deceased kindred in the phrases that moved their lives; and thus the native speech became a binding link between themselves and that heaven where they believed their departed rejoiced in the same familiar speech.* But this combination constituted a direct violation

* In templis Sermoni Teutonico plebes docent; in cemeteriis Bohemico." Æneas Sylvius Hist. Boh., c. I. The encroachments are clearly shown by the same writer Germ., c. 47. "Intra ecclesias Teutonico tantum sermone instruere populum sacerdotibus permissum est." Thus the church service was in Latin; the preaching in German; but the people clung to the Slavonic. "In cemeteriis autem Slavonico" says the same writer.

of the compact between Svatopluk and Pope John VIII. The abolition of the Slavonian liturgy, however, gradually concealed the changes in the Greek creed that could be introduced in no other way. The people did not understand one syllable of the Latin. But a secret distrust first and then a hatred of the innovations rankled in the hearts of the Bohemians: and this distrust deepened with years. Silently this contrariety was maintained; and eventually Bohemia became known in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the abode of persons not really affiliated with Rome; and willing to welcome persons who sympathized with Bohemian feelings for similar reasons. During those centuries Bohemia became noiselessly a place of refuge for many such from other places.

At that period Rome was still far from possessing unobstructed dominion, religious or otherwise, even in Italy. In France large populations exhibited a spirit and a philosophy strongly at variance with her teaching. Constantinople was still strong; and her name, her power and her literature reigned paramount in the regions surrounding Bohemia, except on the side of Germany. Many of Rome's prominent doctrines were still repudiated even within her own borders; and extensive opposition to her alleged novelties occupied the religious and learned discussions of Europe. The populations with whom Bohemia traded, sympathized with her resistance to Rome; and when persecution arose in France and along the Rhine, at Cologne, at Metz, Strasburg, Languedoc and elsewhere, the silent sympathy of Bohemia attracted the homeless and the conscientious. The Slavonian mind, lineage, and nationality loathed the alien latinity, partly insinuated, partly forced on them from Germany and Rome. Bohemia never was Roman and never will be.

In addition to the foregoing considerations the principle and the example of a married clergy established by the Greek communion exhibited to the minds of the people a dangerous contrast between the social condition of the clergy as it existed and as it was threatened to be made. The law of celibacy was denounced in all countries, and strenuously resisted in eastern Europe. Essentially vulgar when founded on assumptions of superior holiness, it introduced some new, and aggravated many former evils. The essential conditions of humanity cannot possibly be impure; and a compliance with them is not only in perfect harmony with the highest law of our being, but is the perfection of that being itself. The deprivation of domestic experience and of the cultivation of all the virtues that can only be nurtured in domestic and family life leaves the celibate, man and woman, destitute of the loftiest and most purifying culture that human nature is capable of. Without these virtues in active exercise, and without that elevation of character which they confer, and which nothing else can supply, the unmarried man or woman is maimed in education, and defective in moral training. Many parents—let us hope most parents, have been elevated to a rank of Christian patience, tenderness, emotion, and resignation, as well as self-sacrificing devotion of which the celibate can know nothing. To deprive a man or woman of the opportunity to be virtuous in a direction in which other people are virtuous, and to call that man or woman more virtuous for that reason, is equivalent to cutting off a limb and then asserting that the mangled remainder is more effective as a body. Numerous councils had already complained severely of the intemperate, immoral, and scandalous

lives of bishops and clergy under the law of celibacy. Bishop Adalbert's denunciations of a married clergy formed the chief reason for his enforced retirement from Prague. The clergy not of Bohemia only but of all Slavonian countries, of Lombardy, of Naples, of Germany had always claimed the right of marriage. Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg—contemporary of Cyril and Methodius, contrasted the vices of the celibate with the quiet domestic lives of the married clergy. The Bohemians contended that St. Peter, still an apostle, was a married man; and that St. Paul claimed the right to have a "wife that is a believer, even as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas, and the rest of the apostles."* This Greek principle had become the universal practice in Bohemia. Such was the general condition of the country at the period we have reached; and sufficient political, religious and national fuel existed for a tedious and cruel conflagration when the torch of the destroyer should be applied.

* 1 Cor. IX. Revised version. The corruption of Paul's phrase "ἀδέλφη γυνη literally a wife who is a sister to mean a sister to minister to him without being a wife is so unscholarly that only a desperate cause could suggest it. Paul's meaning is that a church member should marry only a church member.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT ERA OF BRETISLAV—ADMINISTRATION OF BOHEMIA STRICTLY NATIVE AND LOCAL.

The decease of Henry II. of Germany, July 24, and of Boleslav Chrabary in June of the year following, produced results of the most momentous importance to Bohemia. Duke Ulrich could not avoid taking part in the election of Conrad the Frank, as he owed his throne to the interposition of Germany; and he probably did not foresee the consequences to his country that his act involved. Boleslav was succeeded by Miecislav II. surnamed the Idle, who afforded another of the many instances of the manly energy in the father being followed by incompetence in the son; an illustration perhaps of the operation of human instincts, unconsciously seeking alliances in marriage with persons of the opposite character, and producing generally beneficent results in maintaining the equilibrium of the human species.

Betzprem, another son of Chrobry, supposing himself aggrieved by the accession of Miecislav, or claiming a portion of the Polish dominions on the fatal principle of partition, took refuge with Stephen, King of Hungary, his uncle. In 1026 Stephen began war, and devastated the territories of Miecislav not only between the Danube and the Carpathians but all through Moravia itself. On the other hand Conrad powerfully

assisted the prince of Poland. The years 1028, 1029 and 1030 witnessed dreadful devastation of the regions in dispute; but the result was favorable to Stephen; and the Hungarians held Moravia as well as the other conquered territories. The removal of Chrabry by death, and the distraction of Poland by the events just named, afforded Bohemia an opportunity to recover her lost Moravian provinces. For this purpose a powerful force was placed under command of Ulrich's son, Bretislav, a young man of great energy and ability, and the hope of his country. Sweeping like a whirlwind over Moravia, Bretislav everywhere defeated and expelled the Hungarians who had created a wilderness where they found a garden. Public edifices of all descriptions had been destroyed. Every monument of civilized life in Moravia had been broken up; nothing remained but misery and ruin. During this terrible period the Greek churches erected by Cyril were torn down, and even their site obliterated. Books and memorials of all kinds of Bohemian culture were searched out for destruction; and an utter termination put to the most interesting and beautiful period of Moravian history. Bretislav devoted large estates to the erection and maintenance of religious and educational establishments. Churches were built again but on the Roman model. Greek literature disappeared. The Bohemian commander recompensed his officers with extensive possessions in the reconquered country. Zupans, or Castellans, were appointed to maintain order, and exercise local authority; and Marquisates created for the special observation and defense of the border districts. The year 1030 witnessed war again between Kaisar Conrad and Stephen of Hungary. Young Bre-

tislav took part in this war against his father's will; but to the great satisfaction of the Emperor. Ulrich and Bretislav were not reconciled for several years; and the prince seems to have devoted himself to friendly and affectionate ministrations to his fugitive uncle, Jaromir.

In the meantime Conrad interpreted the demeanor of Ulrich during the last war with Hungary as an indication of hostility; and summoned him to his court. The duke paid no attention; but appears to have presented himself under compulsion at Regensburg in 1033. The Emperor ordered a partition of Bohemia between Ulrich and Jaromir; and the former was dismissed on promise of compliance. But no sooner did he find himself at a distance than he disavowed the entire proceedings as duress; had his brother Jaromir blinded; banished his son from Moravia and set the emperor at defiance. Bretislav retired to Henry, duke of Bavaria, who raised an army and restored him. Conrad was too much occupied by other serious events to devote his whole time to Bohemia; and Ulrich continued independent or contumacious until his death in 1037. On this event happening, Jaromir and Bretislav returned to Prague, the former from his residence at Lysa, and the latter from his principality. The unsighted Jaromir, in the presence of all the assembled estates of the country, formally installed Bretislav on the ducal throne after the usual and ancient formalities of election.

The accession of Bretislav constitutes the commencement of a new era in the history of Bohemia. This prince possessed a splendid presence and great qualities. He was a fierce and formidable warrior and eminently judicious and temperate in civil admin-

istration. Full of energy, and of a sound perspicacious judgment, he knew the value of discretion as well as vigor; and he is justly known as the Restorer of Bohemia.

The circumstances of the period were favorable to the projects formed by Bretislav. Miecislav of Poland had died in 1034, and much confusion and civil strife reigned in that country. King Stephen of Hungary was dead; and his successor not yet established in power; and Conrad was much occupied by the contentions in Germany respecting the hereditary tenures of the tenants of the nobles whom he wished to depress by making their sub-feudatories permanent owners of their estates; and by the resistance created by a combination in Italy of which Aribert of Milan was accused of being the leader. This latter chieftain established a precedent of the gravest importance, in arming the citizens of Milan and conferring on them a formal code of laws, and a military organization. This proceeding formed the kernel of that system of free citizenship which revived the municipal spirit of old Rome still latent in Milan and many other cities, and became the animating spirit of all Italian and many other European communities during several centuries;—gave rise in fact, to the system of communes and municipalities which distingishes modern life, and constitutes the most progressive though the most difficult portion of practical government.*

* It is not here forgotten that Spanish municipal institutions arose from the requirements of the moment in the necessity created for a system of order in each locality as the Moors were gradually driven back; and showed the readiness ofmen in adopting regularity of self-governmen t as the occasion arises. The Spaniards, like others, needed only to be let alone; every man being like Figaro ' persuade q'un grand nous fait assez de bien, quand il ne nous fait pas de mal " Barb. de Sev.

Poland felt the first effects of the ambition of Bretislav. The country was in fact defenseless; the factions were engaged in constant strife, and hated each other more than the invaders. Cracow and the other strong places were speedily reduced. Treasures were seized and carried off; churches were rifled and their valuables removed; and the mouldering remains of Saint Adalbert, esteemed of more value to Poland than knowledge, valor, and patriotism all combined, were eagerly coveted by the conquerors to confer a safety on Bohemia such as had begun to be dreamed of since the religious philosophy of Cyril and Methodius had been banished. The plunder and the corpse were accorded a splendid triumphal procession into Prague, where bishops' croziers, altar cloths blazing with gold and precious stones, were accorded the honors of public veneration as on the occasion of a national victory.

The very year of these occurrences—1039, Conrad died; and his son and successor, Henry III. viewed the proceedings of Bretislav in Poland as of more importance than the simple larceny of a corpse. Not being under any personal obligation to the Bohemian duke, Henry regarded the invasion of Poland as a very serious disturbing influence on the eastern border of the empire; and fortunately Henry's great qualities, unlike those of Bretislav in this instance, had not been corrupted by any education that could lead him to regard a skeleton as a tutelary divinity. Pope Benedict IX. affected much indignation at the profanation of the Polish churches, while his bishops were in possession of the plundered pictures and relics; and it was the policy of the papacy to sustain the empire. While still in the heart of Poland, Bretislav

heard of the preparations against him; and at once offered to pay the tribute formally imposed,—of one hundred and twenty oxen, and five hundred marks of silver; but stoutly refused to surrender the Polish provinces or return the treasure or the saint. He sent his son, Spityhnev, to Henry, as pledge of his good intentions.

In the following year, 1040, two German armies crossed the frontier; one under the Kaisar's direct command by the Bœhmerwald, the other under Bardo, archbishop of Mayence, and Ekkard Margrave of Meissen. Bretislav also divided his forces; and having the advantage of knowing the ground, he took a strong position in the forest; and fortified it with works formidable in that period. The Germans here made the attack under great disadvantage. Several of their most distinguished officers were killed before the intrenchments; and after two days' fighting, the Emperor was forced to retire, leaving a large number of his men dead, and many wounded and prisoners. Bretislav immediately hastened to oppose the invaders on the north. Here also his vigor was successful. The Germans lost heavily and withdrew in total discomfiture. At the same time Henry restored Spityhnev to his father in exchange of prisoners. Henry's prestige was in peril; and he determined to avenge his defeat and assert his authority. The following year two armies still stronger were hurled against Bohemia. Guided, it is stated, by a German hermit who had long inhabited the Bœhmerwald and knew all its intricacies, the invaders directed their march further south where the country presented fewer obstacles. Deprived of his natural fortresses, Bretislav could make little resistance; and his enemy was speedily

in the heart of the country. Bretislav's lieutenant in the north, the Zupan Perkos was accused of treachery in making only a show of defense, and in reality of having sold his country. Bretislav was not without hope, as Prague was strong and well supplied. But his prudence came to his aid; and a composition was effected by which he agreed to a tribute for the future as well as the payment of the arrears for three years past; to acknowledge the supremacy of the empire and to surrender the Polish provinces. He succeeded in retaining Moravia where he had rights, as the two states had long been formally united.*

The wish for practical independence had long created a desire in the minds of Bohemian rulers for a controlling authority in ecclesiastical affairs established within Bohemia itself and governed by an archbishop. The insidious and undermining influence of alien politics exerted through foreign archbishops who controlled the bishop of Prague, and introduced into ecclesiastical dignities persons who confounded individual and national feelings, and taught principles foreign to Bohemian interests and independence even in local affairs, had long been found an impediment and an injury. Alien associations were gradually formed by Bohemian

* The conclusion of this peace as described by Aventinus—Annal. Bojoi., lib. 5, fol. 408 et seq, is so obviously distorted and exaggerated that no reliance can be placed on the details he has left. He says that not only Spityhnev but his three brothers were surrendered as hostages and that the right to execute them was conceded to Henry if Bretislav should not adhere to his stipulations. But immediately afterwards the preparations made to remove the obstructions in the Bœhmerwald are described and Bretislav is represented as coming into Henry's presence "pedibus, lachrimabundus, adoperto capite." calceis pedibus detractis, corpus humi prosternit." This abject humiliation was so utterly foreign from the character of Henry and Bretislav, and so inconsistent with the relations that henceforward continued between them that it may be classed among the malignant falsifications of history. The younger princes were not surrendered to Germany at all; and Spityhnev was restored after the first battle.

subjects brought up under foreign influences. Political affiliations were founded, through the intervention of church schools, with other powers that possessed authority enough with ecclesiastical corporations to have men appointed to ruling positions in Bohemia; and alien doctrines and interests were maintained under cover of allegiance to religious institutions, whose chief seat was situated within the dominions of rival and frequently hostile governments. A youth taught to venerate as an "alma mater" an educational establishment, especially if associated with principles of religion inculcated as most sacred, whose chief dignity was derived from an eminence and mayhap a celebrity drawn from the attention and generosity of a foreign authority, would necessarily yield his heart's attachment and devotion to the founders and supporters of the school and the learning that he was taught to love: "where his treasure was, there would his heart be also." Under such circumstances the inculcation of feelings of dissatisfaction with Bohemian institutions and Bohemian laws and rulers would express itself in many ways, and always with more or less acrimony. Especially would this be the case and was the case in Bohemia where the language of the people differed essentially from that which had been introduced covertly under the guise of sacred literature; and where also the existing liturgy and laws that had been handed down from the first teachers were assailed as the source of sedition on the one hand, and heresy on the other, by the representatives of foreign ecclesiastical and political domination. The establishment of a local and if possible a native archepiscopate was therefore a most natural desire on the part of Bohemian rulers. Whether this policy succeeded

as was intended by Bretislav, will be seen hereafter.

The Pope of Rome affected still to feel indignation at the sacrilegious invasion of Polish churches. The duke could obtain only the assembling of a synod to consider the question: the discussions lasted several years; and the affair terminated in the promotion of Prague to an arch-episcopal see, after the expenditure of large sums for the concession. Bretislav, also felt himself obliged perhaps by an express promise to atone for his proceedings in Poland by the creation of a new religious foundation; and the collegiate church of Stara Boleslav (Altbunzlav) owes its origin to this circumstance. But Bretislav was a statesman as well as a patriot; and his wisdom did not permit him to neglect the Slavonian-Greek establishment at Sazava. This foundation which still expressed the native taste in literature, language, and home feeling was richly extended and strengthened A. D. 1053.

From this period Bohemia and Moravia enjoyed internal repose for many years. Bretislav, indeed, took part with Henry III. against Hungary in 1041 in favor of King Peter; but after the latter prince suffered the barbarous but not unusual calamity among princes in that age of being violently deprived of sight, the contest was continued against Andreas, the successor of Peter; and although Henry made three expeditions thither, his success was not equal to his expectations. This contest did not interfere with the quiet progress of Bohemia in wealth and prosperity. The internal administration was conducted with constant care, and much judgment and ability. Every department felt the presence of a master mind; and the justice and firm rule of Bretislav maintained discipline and promoted progress in every portion of his dominions, and through

all branches of the public service. Nowhere was the supremacy of this prince more respected than in his own family; and not one of his five sons ever ventured to assert the slightest claim against the authority of Bretislav. They knew their father too well for that. No monk or bishop ever presumed to suggest an invidious or exceptional demeanor toward the representative of any asserted light from heaven, or against the instructors of any useful art, philosophy, or language; and especially not against the teachers of the ancient and venerated Slavonian. Not Edward I. of England himself when he held up the written proof of suggested treason in the face of the recreant archbishop of Canterbury, and saw the would-be traitor in tears before him*, was better recognized as the sovereign of the land, even against mitred plotters, than was Bretislav in his steadily sustained supremacy over all persons and things, lay and clerical, in his dominions.

Spityhnev had been already constituted lieutenant of his father in Moravia with the courtesy title of duke in 1048; and Bretislav was active in traversing all the border districts, in establishing local fortresses, and commissioning Zupans for the defense of the frontier. Prague was newly fortified; and the whole country placed in the best condition of security that circumstances would allow. The most important service rendered by this distinguished prince to his country from a political point of view, consisted in the change which his authority, wisdom, and influence enabled him to effect in the system of succession to the dukedom. Hitherto the Slavonic custom of division and subdi-

* See the Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury by the Dean of Chichester.

vision of an inheritance was extended to the succession to the crown, as well as private estates. This system, which, as already suggested is not the most expedient either in public or private life, although it contains elements of equity, had been fruitful in quarrels, treason, and bloodshed among the ducal cadets of Bohemia, had at length become dangerous to the unity, and hence to the safety of the country. It had become a peremptory necessity that all petty claims of sovereignty among the sons of the reigning duke should merge in one central authority; and that the junior branches should receive compensatory allowance from local revenues, or from the formal income derived from direct official duties. Bretislav had reached the age of forty-nine years when he promulgated his pragmatic decree fixing the succession to the dukedom in the eldest male member of the family absolutely; and providing dignified provincial positions for the juniors. With this view Spityhnev was formally designated as successor to the dukedom of Bohemia, as lord paramount; his three brothers, Vratislav, Conrad and Otto, were established at Olmütz, Znaim and Brünn respectively; while the youngest, Jaromir, was reserved for a modest bishopric in Prague, like the VIII. Henry of the Tudors in his younger days. But royalty is always contented if only its roots are in fat places. This decree was published with all solemnity, and the required oath of allegiance under it was imposed in due form; but although conceived in foresight and drawn up with much practical wisdom, it failed to reach all the evils it was designed to prevent.

While still in the vigor of his manhood Bretislav was struck down by sickness at Chrudim, and died

there in 1055 in the fiftieth year of his age. The premature decease of this great prince was a serious shock to his countrymen, and a still more dreadful calamity to his family. His vigor and wisdom rendered signal service to Bohemia; and his remains were deposited in the church of St. Vitus in Prague amid universal mourning.

To this prince belongs the honor of consolidating the provinces of Bohemia under one central authority, and thus of completing the work begun by his father. Disdain of submission to alien power found expression in refusal of tribute, or any other token of subservience.

Spityhnev ascended the ducal throne amid the acclamations of all ranks, and with the ancient formalities of election. He was dignified in manners and aspect; and is described as of handsome person, with very black hair, full beard, cheeks fair and ruddy; and full of manly energy and mental resource.* But with all these advantages he was by no means the equal of his father; and had been reared in a school of which the second Ferdinand and the second Philip in a subsequent age are familiar examples, a school new to Bohemia, and a school whose blindness eventually imposed frightful calamities on the country.

The civil and judicial administration of Bohemia, at the accession of Spityhnev, may be here conveniently and briefly described.

The manners of the eleventh century were—if possible, more barbarous than those of the tenth had been. Continual feuds for private interests and for

* Erat vir valde speciosus, cæsarie piu nigrior atra, barba prolixa, facie læta, genœ ejus candidiores nive et parum rubentes per medium. Cosmas Pragen. L., c., p. 429.

Erat vir prudens verum in discriminine. Ibid., p. 134.

the gratification of personal animosity, and destructive wars between classes and peoples rendered Germany, France, and Italy a scene of constant bloodshed and disturbance. No organized system for the administration of justice, and no authority to enforce the decrees of such courts as had a feeble tenure of jurisdiction existed anywhere to which men could appeal with any confidence either for just principles of law, or the vindication of the right by the hand of power. The primitive jurisdictions that had sprung out of the formative elements of earlier mediæval society had become gradually weakened, and in many districts were totally obliterated. The imperial authority had not become consolidated, since the fall of the Carlovingians, so as to be able to inaugurate a system of administration that could penetrate all provinces and reach every hamlet. The feudal barons struggled for increased power over their sub-feudatories; and were obliged to maintain their possessions with the strong hand. Cities and municipalities were not yet called into active and formal participation in public counsels generally; and their internal regulation had become an organized subdivision into rival clans and factions where there was any organization at all. The smaller towns, which had grown up under the shadow of the baronial fortalice that frowned from the neighboring eminence, were necessarily ruled by the lord of the ramparts to whose shelter the people had gradually repaired. The church consisted of some smouldering ecclesiastical ashes and charred embers at Rome, with some burning and illuminating coals still lighted and cheerful in isolated places at a distance. Rome itself was the scene of disgraceful profligacy and degeneracy that had seized on all conditions and callings. Not

only no man looked toward Rome with any respect but all men regarded her with disgust and contempt; and her reformation was undertaken necessarily from without, and by civil rulers who keenly felt their degradation and were ashamed of her shame. Some well intentioned persons struggled to relieve the distress of the times by an appeal to a kind of religious feeling; and the "Truce of God," an institution not of christian origin, and which now called on all christians to lay aside feuds and enmities, obtained only very limited success. An extraordinary injunction issued from the ecclesiastical mind of the time requiring all persons to suspend fighting, public and private, from Wednesday evening of each week until the following Monday morning. A. D. 1043. Probably it was necessary to leave the other three days as a safety valve to prevent a destructive explosion of the entire arrangement. No doubt every Thursday morning the calendar of the primary courts of the period must have contained a heavy list of disfigured eyes, and battered noses as expressive of the chartered pugnacity of the preceding interregnum. Unhappily even such tribunals did not exist. If they had existed the purses of the justices, mostly ecclesiastics, must have grown as plethoric as they do now in similar cases. Neither church nor state seems to have possessed a single principle capable of touching the reason of men; both despised all appeal to men's hearts; and personal flagellation was the most effectual cure for metaphysical distempers in the judgment even of the best men of the day. Henry III. caused a chastisement of this kind to be inflicted on himself whenever it was his duty to assume the imperial crown as the badge of his imperial dignity.

The papacy partook of the general confusion. Three rival popes, each under the usual odium theologicum of his competitors, struggled for the mastery of the "Chair of Peter." The synod of Sutri, A. D. 1046, solemnly vested in Henry the right to nominate the ruler of the Roman hierarchy. Acting under this conceded authority, Henry nominated three popes in succession—Clement II., Damasus II., and Leo IX. The college of cardinals for the first time adopted the practice of electing the pope only during the minority of the succeeding emperor, Henry IV., in 1056; and from that time all reference to the people was abandoned.

During all this confusion and cruelty, not only peace and prosperity reigned in Bohemia, as we have seen, but respect for law and duty, public and private, was seen daily exhibited; and the most formal and detailed procedure was maintained in the administration of justice.

Up to the age of Libussa, and for a long time afterward private differences seem to have been adjusted by the summoning of a court of notables as occasion required. For minor questions the authority of the local magnate was sufficient, and the customs of the people had become so well established that but little direct intervention of power seems to have been needed. Custom becomes a kind of instinct; and needs no enforcement. But formal courts were gradually more and more recognized; and their constitution presented a singular blending of primitive customs, and rules imposed by authority. The gradual formation of a class of judicial functionaries as distinct from the landed proprietors becomes also discernible. The courts fundamentally were organized as higher, lower, and

riparian. The higher courts exercised jurisdiction over offenses connected with landed property. Of this class were—the retention of a serf by one proprietor and the refusal to surrender him on demand by another who claimed to be his suzerain and protector; the reception of a fugitive from justice condemned to a fine or other penalty for breach of territorial law; poaching; interference with boundaries and the evidences of the same; contentions between townsmen and land tenants; violations of forestry laws, and others directly affecting landed interests. These courts had no fixed seat or terms; but were convened as occasion, or the nature of the case, or local convenience required. They were presided over by the more capable of the landholders not interested in the subject at issue; and the presiding judges were never less than two. The mode of summons to the parties is not clear; but in the absence of written documents a message by the representative of a local magistrate would probably suffice. The plaintiff might be expected and the defendant had the option presumably of defending himself. An appeal was permitted to the ducal council before mentioned. The community of interest in the maintenance of justice in such causes of necessity produced a sense of equity in the minds of these judges; and the system was satisfactory. The lower courts took cognizance of "Common Pleas;" and adjudicated matters of private grievance between citizens of all ranks below the nobles. Civil and criminal jurisdiction was possessed by them; and a close resemblance is observable between them both in jurisdiction, causes, and practice, and the county courts in some, if not all of the United States. The original constitution of these courts is referred to A. D.

791. Some parts of the procedure bear a resemblance to the prætorian customs in Rome; and some other parts to the earliest procedure in the English courts where the clerks decided on the form of process, according to the circumstances. The complainant stated his case, the judge in attendance decided on the proper form, summons was issued to the defendant; on his appearance the complaint was explained to him, his defense was noted down, witnesses were produced on both sides, formal arguments on the case were submitted to the court, and sentence was finally given after full hearing of the parties in presence of each other in open court. No secret tribunal ever existed in Bohemia. Justice was always administered in public according to the ancient and unintermitted custom of the people. These courts heard and decided causes in all the cities, towns, and villages of the country; and even members of the nobility interested in questions within the jurisdiction of these tribunals were subject to their authority, so far as those interests went. The local dignitary or consul, with his civic council, constituted the usual court; and sessions were held either weekly, on alternate days, or daily, as population and occasion required. The court was convened either in a public hall or in the open air. A singular system also prevailed of having appeals to separate judges, one after the other, from the lower to the higher, not assembled "in banc," but individually; each with a sworn clerk, decided the case at his own residence; a very primitive but effectual kind of chamber practice. The complaint, process, pleadings and judgment constituted a public record under seal.*

* Quia enim experientia longa explorata est Bojemorum, præsertim nibiliorum, certa in dictis factisque fides, ideo nihil hic visum est esse,

The riparian court held jurisdiction over all causes arising from the inflow and outflow of rivers, from mills, bridges, aqueducts, encroachments, banks, irrigations, and other matters connected immediately with the interests arising from the use of the streams in their natural, or artificial condition. This was a special court; and the judges consisted of persons of known skill and experience in the subjects under litigation; assisted by lawyers versed in the laws of the country and the decisions of past ages. But there is no evidence of trained lawyers in Bohemia before the thirteenth century. The judgment always conformed to the general law; ("dicere ex more solent" says Stransky, and this expression certainly refers to the predominance of custom); but was adjusted to the circumstances of each case. Stransky's language does not necessarily exclude the idea of advocacy; but it strongly implies the contrary.

The jurisdiction of this court was criminal as well as civil. In the former case sentence was pronounced speedily; and in the latter the judgment did not become confirmed unless the litigants accepted it in express terms, or acquiesced silently for six weeks. These riparian courts were founded on a strictly equity principle exceedingly remarkable and praiseworthy considering the period, the confusion of all legal proceed-

quamobrem vel fraus, vel subordinatio, vel perjurium metueretur * * vocantur in hoc judicium, descriptoque legibus, et recepto ordine disceptantur ac deciduntur, caussæ sine discriminine quavis, cum civilestam criminales, editur ab actore actio, decernuntur ab judice processus necessarii, citatur ad tribunal adversarius, libellus producitur, litis sit contestatio, probationes a litigantibus caussæque merita allegantur, disputantur, concluduntur, ultimo ue tandem judicium lata ab judice sententia finitur; et quæ ab utraque parte pro caussa fuerint vel dicta vel pro ducta, ordine describantur legantur, expendantur definiantur, custodiantur. Stransky De Boj. Trib. Jurisdic., in Boj.

ings in all other countries at that time, and the fact that the equity principle and procedure were not established finally even in England for seven hundred years later.*

Bohemia being thus pre-eminently an institutional country, the firm hand of a prince like Bretislav, who was at once a soldier, a magistrate, and a legislator, found little difficulty in maintaining order. The institutions, however, were clearly formative, and in a transition state not to something different, but to the same thing more developed and complete. A wise prince could have extended their benefits while sustaining their popular character; but an innovator or a bigot could easily discover defects which he could pervert to his own purposes. The influence of the reigning prince, exerted directly and through local adherents, could fill the judicial positions with his own creatures, and thus concentrate all power gradually in his own hands. The bar had not yet advanced to the dignity of a commissioned guild of tribunes of the people to stand between power and liberty, and assert the justice due to an accused either in a civil or criminal court, for the maintenance of individual rights before the law in all cases whatsoever; and public sentiment had not yet environed the profession of the law with the halo of popular approval of the dignified and orderly assertion of the principle of equal justice to all men, and free and open investigation of all accusations. We do find, however, frequent mention of a jurisconsultus in connection with municipal governments as the authorized and commissioned legal

* Adhibentur huic judicio adstricti sacramento speciali; et de causis, id genus quod tractunt disciplinâ. experientâ, consuetudinario jure suo, et majorum judicatis. in loco quod innovatum quod est, quod aquum videtur, pronuntiant. Stransky, De Boj. Trib.

advocate of the municipality. Under the last great Hohenstaufen, the profession of public advocate assumed a dignity and acknowledged right to confront the highest accuser, even the self-asserted vicegerent of God himself. His rights, his reasonings, his actions, were all equally combated with a freedom and an authority that prove the high place conceded to the enunciation of the law of civil government by its professed exponents. Unhappily, the practical vindication of the supremacy of that law in all cases was committed to the professional lawyer not in his legal but his knightly capacity; and his rightful contention was for the moment overborne by military errors. But his cause was won before the highest tribunal on earth, that of public opinion more and more solidly confirmed as the centuries roll on. The Bohemians had held their own rights in their own hands because their system was purely native, and had grown with the slow progress of society. But the time was approaching when the want of an organized body of public servants, equally recognized by rulers and people, and possessed of the right of free speech in every presence, and in defense of person and every interest, however humble, established as an integral portion of the community, became the most serious defect in the composition of society. The Bohemians had always been a free people indeed; "but their ancestors never did draw the line between prerogative and liberty." Their isolation and their confidence in themselves deprived them of the knowledge of dangers which were already working, because no example of the effect of the causes that created the dangers had been then represented to them. When they discovered the danger it was too late to prevent it. Happy

for other nations if they take warning from Bohemia!

During his enforced residence in Germany, Spityhnev conceived a fierce hatred of the Germans; and his accession afforded him so many opportunities for exhibiting this feeling that the duchess dowager retired from court; and took up her residence with her younger son, Vratislav, in Moravia. This circumstance probably gave occasion for an early exhibition of a rebellious tendency against the sole supremacy of Spityhnev; and the renewal of family discord. Vratislav paid very little, if any, attention to his brother's authority, and ruled in practical independence for some time. But the pragmatic decree of Bretislav was too recent to be allowed to fall into desuetude by the first prince who succeeded to its provisions.

Spityhnev marched to Moravia, and under pretense of invitation to a public snem (reichstag) after the usual custom, seized three hundred of the most eminent persons whom he detained as hostages for the submission of the rest. Vratislav fled to Hungary; but his duchess and his two younger brothers were led back to Bohemia under escort. The duchess was subjected to very harsh treatment and died shortly afterward. Vratislav subsequently married a daughter of Andreas of Hungary through whose intervention probably a reconciliation was effected with Spityhnev. Vratislav was restored to his position in Moravia where he observed at least outwardly a proper deference to his brother. Spityhnev's art of government consisted in a close attendance on church ordinances, and in an enforcement of similar attention on all persons in his dominions. He was the servant and follower as he had been the pupil of the Roman hierarchy. The opportunity for final triumph over their

Greek-Slavonian rivals presented by the subserviency of the reigning duke was not lost on his spiritual directors. Charges were preferred against the community at Sazava which were probably quite as unfounded or as well founded during the reign of Bretislav, or at any time for a hundred years, as they were when made; but a prince equally one-sided and submissive had not previously held rule. The usual cry of heresy was raised against the institution that had preserved the memory and the doctrines as well as learning, both Greek and Slavonian of Cyril and Methodius. The ear of the prince was readily gained. The tenants of the doomed institution were condemned; they retired to Hungary; and the Latin rite supplanted the Slavonian in the very home of a Slavonian people. *

Under similar influences Spityhnev was induced to expect an exchange of a monarch's crown for a ducal coronet, if he made proper application. To this end he bound himself to the payment of one hundred marks in silver yearly to the pope's treasury. The money was sent,—good coin such as had been stipulated; but instead of a crown the pope—Nicholas II. —sent him a choir cap of ermine, in mockery of contempt for the frail ambition of a prince who could sell himself and his country for a bauble and a title, 1059. Less than two years afterwards Spityhnev died at the untimely age of thirty years, having well earned the rather dubiously creditable title of "Father

* Instigante zelo diaboli, multi œmuli ficitia venenosa detractiornum conspirantes, in curia ducis contra vitum, abbatem atque aures principes favor abiliter compositis mendaciis obfuscantes, Scificet dicentes per Slavonicas literas hæresis secta, hypocrisisque esse aperte irretitos ae omnino perversos; quamobrem ejectis iis, in loco evrum latinœ auctoritatas abbatem et fratres etc. Chron. Sazaviense l., c., p. 97

of the Clergy." His additional eponym of "Father of the Widows" rests on an exceedingly slender foundation.*

* In connection with the election of this prince a most interesting expression is employed by Cosmas;—'Spitigneum omnes Bohemiæ gentis magni et parri, communi consilio et voluntate pari eligunt sibi in ducem cantentes Kyrieeleison (*Κύριε ἐλεῆσον*) cantilenam dulcem.' Here is a most valuable remnant of the Greek liturgy still retained with its old Greek title, and probably its Greek words. Cosmas p. 129.

CHAPTER IX.

VRATISLAV.—GREGORY VII.—BOHEMIA BECOMES A KINGDOM.

Spityhnev was succeeded as chief ruler of Bohemia by his brother Vratislav II. who had held the title and rank of duke of Olmütz. This prince divided Moravia among his brothers Conrad and Otto;—the former receiving Brüun, and the latter—named the Handsome, the province of Olmütz. In this distribution Jaromir, the youngest was unprovided for. Hastening home to claim his share, he expected to obtain the appanage decreed to him by his father in case the ecclesiastical function for which he was destined should prove distasteful. But the enterprise presented to his active spirit by war and the chase suited the prince better than the monotony of cassock and breviary.

Vratislav succeeded in captivating a brief submission with the bait of the see and emoluments of Prague on the death of the present incumbent Sever; and Jaromir even accepted ordination as a deacon. But "blood will tell" in princes as in peasants; and cowl and crozier were speedily abandoned forever. With a few spirits as untamed as his own for companions the militant deacon sought congenial employment from the King of Poland.

From 1051 to 1058 the latter country was ruled by Casimir I. At the close of that period Boleslav the second also named "The Brave" succeeded. At that

time Hungary was distracted by civil commotion between King Andreas and his brother Bela; the latter affecting to think himself aggrieved by the coronation of Solomon, son of Andreas, as heir apparent. As usual the innocent peasantry suffered grievously in this quarrel in which they received all the blows.* Intricate family relations between the various contestants and their abettors aggravated the strife. Bela had married Richsa, sister of Casimir of Poland. Vratislav of Bohemia was brother-in-law of young Solomon, and son-in-law of King Andreas. Accordingly when Boleslav besieged Gratz in revenge for the countenance given to Solomon, a Bohemian force surrounded the Poles and left few to narrate how it all happened. Andreas, however, was unsuccessful. He fell in 1061, and Bela reigned peacefully until his death in 1063. Eventually an arrangement was effected through the intervention of Henry IV. of Germany. Solomon became King of Hungary; and took as his queen Sophia, sister of the German prince. Vratislav lost his Hungarian princess in 1062, and his second consort was Svatislava or Svatava, sister of Boleslav; thus affording excellent opportunities for farther family alliances and commotion.

Among the earliest cares of Vratislav II. was the creation of the see of Olomouc (Olmütz.) Some difficulty was experienced in providing suitable maintenance. But a residence and endowment were at length secured; the see of Prague indemnified; a final contract effected between Bretislav, Otto, Conrad and Bishop Sever in 1062; in the following year the new see was formally established; and John, a Benedictine monk of the monastery of Brevenov, was conse-

* Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi. See Virgil.

crated first bishop by Siegfried, archbishop of Mayence.

But policy toward ecclesiastics did not eradicate the native fierceness of the Przemysls from the soul of Vratislav. His brother Spityhnev's widow, Ida of Witin, and her children, were driven out of the country; Jaromir was indebted to the intervention of Gregory VII. for even a slender subsistence in Bohemia; and a certain nobleman who had treated Vratislav's princess harshly in former years was banished with short shrift. But Vratislav did one good thing that endeared him to his people: he restored the monks of Sazava, under their Abbot Vitus, in 1064; and Bohemia again enjoyed the congenial literature of her early glory, and her Slavonian protest against Roman doctrinal intrusiveness and domination—for a time. Vratislav sought a confirmation of this brotherhood, and permission for the continued use of the Slavonian liturgy from the Pope. But the latter replied that the holy Scripture would be brought into contempt if read in the vernacular tongue of the people. All history had disproved this pretense. The early church, to whom the epistles were addressed to be read in the vernacular; the auditors of the divine preacher himself whose New Testament consisted exclusively in the vernacular addresses of the great Master—addresses which now constitute the chief portion of the second revelation; the scattered brethren who carried their parchment bibles with them in their wandering as the most precious treasures; the christians of Antioch, Socotra, Abyssinia, Aden, Perim, Malabar, Ceylon, the Houng-ho, and the Burrampootra; the martyrs of Chosroes, the victims of Saladin; the countless sufferers of Albi; the despairing children of the valleys

"Whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold."

the faithful Lollards, Huguenots, and Camisards, and all the countless good whose open Bible was at once their glory and their reproach,—all—all venerated the written word in all their varied vernacular, and treasured it as a priceless legacy to be sheltered from the destroyer as more sacred than life itself.

In December, 1067, Bishop Sever died having served his see thirty-seven years, many of them marked by serious political vicissitudes. The princes Conrad and Otto at once recalled Jaromir; and strongly urged Vratislav to confirm him in the see of Prague. But the prince was apprehensive of a combination of his family thus strongly reinforced and had formed a secret wish to establish his court chaplain, Lanzo, on the episcopal throne. Under this united feeling of dynastic and political alarm Vratislav renounced all individual right to make the appointment; and declared that an election lay with the snem (Landtag) composed of Zupans, Pans and Vladykas, or nobles, gentlemen and knights, assisted by such ecclesiastics of distinction as enjoyed the right to participate in such an election. The date of these transactions 1068, being about one hundred and forty years earlier than the famous parliament of Simon de Montfort, and one hundred and ten years before the vaunted authorship of the "representation of the commons"* in the states general by Philip the Fair of France, forms an important historical link between the modern practice and the ancient.

This famous meeting was attended by the representa-

* "Ce roi * * est cependant le restaurateur des assemblees populaires de la France, et l'Auteur de la representation des communes dans les etats generaux." Sismondi Hist., des Fr. V. 589.

tives clothed in full armor of the day, and convened under the open sky on the glebe land of Dohenin near the northern border of Bohemia. In the center of the camp sat Duke Vratislav, surrounded by his brothers and the chief dignitaries of the state. Next to them in circles sat the nobles, cultivators and ecclesiastics in the order named, and the knights in another semicircle enclosing the assembly. The significance of this arrangement is obvious, and marks a very ancient system when a military caste had the real task of protecting the entire community. It was the solemn conclave of a free people in the full form of ancient national usage.

Vratislav prematurely proceeded to invest Lanzo with staff and ring in token of his election. Forthwith the assembly became tumultuous. Clamors arose; swords were drawn, and the assembly broke up in confusion, the greater portion taking part with Jaromir, son of their native and favorite duke against Lanzo a stranger, and a court favorite—nothing more. The malcontents at once marched to Opocno where they constructed a formidable camp. By a timely concession Vratislav withdrew his favor from Lanzo, and consented to the election of Jaromir. At the end of the same month, June, 1068, the prince received investiture of ring and staff from Henry IV; was consecrated bishop by Siegfried at Mayence, and according to a custom not long before introduced into the church, adopted the name of Gebhard. The new prelate lived on friendly terms with his brothers; but he was a merry priest and a jolly, fond of practical pranks, and his calling spread but a thin veneering over his innate haughtiness and lust of power.

Disputes in regard to the allowance of one hundred

marks of silver to the bishop of Prague out of the funds of the province of Olmütz in lieu of the episcopal residence assigned to the latter dignitary within Moravia led to serious troubles; and both parties appealed to Pope Alexander II. This event led to the embassy of the first papal legate ever dispatched to Bohemia. When this personage, named Rudolph, reached Prague, he assumed the most extravagant demeanor. Vratislav assembled his nobles and prelates as a supreme council of the nation. Jaromir refused to recognize the legate, and was put under ban of the church. But this sentence provoked such strong condemnation that the legate contented himself with the deprivation of Jaromir of all his episcopal functions. The prince bishop who was entitled to his hundred marks, was compelled to withdraw from Bohemia, and his rival of Olmütz administered his diocese.

The demise of Alexander II., April 22, 1073, placed Gregory VII. in the papal chair; and the war of investitures began. Vratislav naturally embraced the cause of Henry and sent numerous battalions to his aid. Siegfried seized the opportunity to revive some old complaints against Vratislav, in the interest of Gregory, and the duke was placed under episcopal ban. This age was as fertile of such proceedings as the great fern era was of the materials of our coal beds. The memory of that period and the dense profusion of painful events which its history presents, form a kind of historical coal seam of great thickness and density and most dreadfully inflammable still. It will probably provide the materials for the fires of ecclesiastical controversy for a thousand years. Some scattered specimens of the same growth are still extant, and constitute the chief religious flora of some

regions to this day. If the world had not been blessed with the mercifully violent upheavals that buried the great mass far beneath the surface, our world must still have been filled with fierce and formidable creatures with a monstrous appetite for flesh and blood.

The following year, 1074, saw the arrival of two legates in Bohemia, who remained many months under pretense of arranging the details of church affairs. But the disputes with Gregory continued, and finally all parties, the bishops of Prague and Olmütz, the princes Otto and Conrad, and Vratislav himself were summoned to Rome.

Jaromir found a very influential friend in the countess Matilda whose grandmother was sister of Jaromir, both daughters of Herman, duke of Swabia. As Gregory was a veritable Orloff, and the countess not altogether averse to the ways of Catharine, the papal ear was reached with the least possible effort. Not surprising is it then that Jaromir advanced rapidly in favor, and was soon dispatched to Bohemia in full possession of his dignity and its emoluments. The pope had gained his object in subjecting the Bohemian people directly to papal authority.

During the fierce struggle between Henry IV. and the Saxons, Vratislav lent powerful aid to his imperial friend; and in the dreadful battle fought at Langensalza in June, 1074, when the Saxons seemed to have gained decided advantage, a fierce charge made by the Bohemian prince at the head of the Chekh cavalry decided the hard contested fight, and drove the Saxons into that fatal flight that crushed their turbulent spirit and rendered Henry unresisted master of the German throne. In this engagement for the first time the Bohemians recognized the valor of English troops, who

charged beside them in the great effort of the day. Five years later Henry again experienced the firm devotion of Vratislav in the memorable contest between Henry and the combined German princes under Rudolph of Swabia. At Merseberg Vratislav found himself closely hemmed in, and must have succumbed had not Viprecht one of his generals broken the Saxon line. Three days later Rudolph died of his wounds and the war closed.

Up to the year 1075 a very friendly feeling had prevailed between Vratislav and Pope Gregory; and the former had successfully requested preferment for his nephew Frederick, son of Spityhnev II. But in the year last mentioned the relations between the courts suddenly changed, and the two friends became irreconcilable enemies. In 1081, Henry undertook a war of retaliation against Gregory, pressed his foe hard in Rome, and drove him, though still unsubdued, into his fatal exile at Salerno. For this expedition against his country's persecutor Vratislav contributed four thousand marks in silver, a well appointed division under his son Boriwoj, with the illustrious Viprecht of Groitsch as the real commander. With so much stern devotion did these men fight against the hated priest, and the still more hated Roman, that only nine men returned to Bohemia after three years' service. They were among the foremost to storm the leonine city in 1083, and their gallant commander was recompensed with the hand of the princess Yutta, or Judith, and a rich estate in land in the district of which Dresden subsequently became the capital.

In the meantime in 1081, Margraf Leopold of Austria had allied himself with Gregory against Henry. In conjunction with Altman, bishop of Passau, and

Herman of Luxembourg, he laid siege to the imperial city of Augsburg. Henry sent a request from Italy to Vratislav to protect his territories against this diversion in his rear. This war was the beginning of strife between Austria and Bohemia; and has never been forgotten by either. Vratislav was prompt to lend powerful support to his imperial ally, in conjunction with his brother and the forces of Otto, bishop of Rensberg. With a strong force from Bohemia and Moravia, Vratislav assailed the besiegers; and a fierce battle was fought on the 12th of May at Mainberg. Vratislav arranged his Bavarians on the right, the Moravians under his brother Conrad on the left, and led the Bohemians in the center in person. The Austrians were hewn down with dreadful slaughter. The fugitives were fiercely pursued, and immense stores of every kind fell to the victors. This splendid achievement really subdued Gregory, and delivered Rome to his antagonist; on the same principles as a more recent victory on Bohemian soil wrested Rome forever from the grasp of Gregory's successor. These events afford the key to the truculent animosity which was in subsequent centuries directed by Roman hatred and Austrian vindictiveness against the political and religious independence of Bohemia.

Returning in triumph from Italy Henry was not unmindful nor ungrateful. In a solemn reichstag at Mayence in the end of April, 1086, the royal dignity was conferred on Vratislav amid scenes of the greatest rejoicing and enthusiasm, the Emperor with his own hand placing the crown on the head of the gallant recipient. Engelhart, archbishop of Treves performed the ceremony of anointing with the accustomed formalities; and the shout went up through all Bo-

hemia, "Health, victory, and benediction forever to the illustrious and good Vratislav, anointed of God, King of Bohemia and of Poland." The claim of sovereignity over the latter country was well founded to a certain extent at this period, for Vratislav really ruled Polish territory on this side of the Oder. For the rest the title was as good as that of the English kings over France in the eighteenth century. Royal territory has been practically "in partibus" very often.*

In the following year the cathedral of Vysehraad was consecrated under royal rescript with the names of John of Tusculum, cardinal, Englebert archbishop of Treves, Jaromir bishop of Prague, Weczel bishop of Olmütz, and Meuno bishop of Merseburg as attesting signitaries. This foundation was made independent of local episcopal jurisdiction; and was directly subject to the Pope of Rome; and so continued until the Hussite revolution, and with some diminution of authority down to later times.

During this—1086—and the following years the first indications were observed of the relief of Bohemia from all semblance of tributary subordination to Germany. All chronicles express the belief that the sum of four thousand silver marks, and the military battalion furnished by Vratislav for the expedition to Italy, were really a commutation of the yearly allowance paid into the imperial treasury. From this period all trace of such payment disappeared. But notwithstanding the dignity conferred on the reigning prince the elevation of Vratislav to kingly eminence was not received with universal favor. Much of the old sturdy

* It must be remembered however that Bohemia collected a regular tribute from all Poland at this period.

spirit of independence, and of equality of real rank, though one was leader in war and administration in peace, still survived among the nobility. The pope Clement III. made some difficulties; but a payment of one hundred marks nominally for a mitre, was accepted in lieu of the peter-pence demand, which was directly refused under that humiliating title.

Political cares did not diminish with accession of rank. The march of Merseberg was conferred on Vratislav by imperial edict; and Bretislav the eldest son of the Bohemian king was placed in control of the new acquisition and of the fortress erected for its defense. During the expedition for this purpose Vratislav was wounded early with severe effect, by Beneda, a Bohemian knight, who had fled to Poland, and now was in Merseberg apparently with the intention of executing some private revenge on the new sovereign. The king was rescued by another knight; and was obliged at once to direct his attention to intestine troubles in Moravia.

Duke Otto died shortly before his brother's coronation. His sons Svatopluk and Otto took possession of the late duke's province and attempted to induce their uncle Conrad to assert the independence of Moravia. Vratislav expelled the young scapegraces from their estates. They fled to Conrad to Brünn and Vratislav besieged the town.

A misunderstanding arose during this siege that led to an estrangement between the king and his son. Field-marshal Zderad seems to have entertained an opinion of the prince's prowess similar to that of the constable of France of the valorousness of the Dauphin as described by Shakespeare.* Some words from

* Henry V., Act III., Sc. VII.

the old soldier who stood high in the esteem of Vratislav, no feeble judge of an officer's merit, provoked the resentment of the prince, who demanded a death penalty. The request was peremptorily refused, and the prince and his immediate followers retired from the camp. By the intervention of Conrad's consort Walburgis amity was restored; and Vratislav retired. Bretislav erected a camp not far from Kœniggrätz; and shortly afterwards withdrew to Ladislav of Hungary with about two thousand followers, to whom a small territory on the "land of Goshen" principle was assigned.

Very early after these occurrences died Jaromir, bishop of Prague. The confirmation of his successor was attended with difficulty arising from the new relations subsisting between the emperor, the king of Bohemia, and the pope of Rome. The choice of Vratislav fell on Cosmas, a namesake and contemporary of the first and most illustrious chronicler of Bohemia; a writer who takes rank with the most eminent historians who have rescued the obscure annals of their country's early history from the crass oblivion of rudeness and contention. The selection of Cosmas reflected honor on the wisdom and patriotism of Vratislav. But toward the close of the year 1091, Cosmas, and Andreas selected for the see of Olmütz were dispatched together under escort of a count palatine to the emperor to Mantua. On the 4th of January the following year the usual investiture took place at the imperial residence. Some objection was raised by the bishop of Münster; but the Kaiser declared roundly that he would oblige his royal friend first and consider technicalities afterward. The bishops elect remained in Verona until March, and then returned under protec-

tion of their escort, Count Rapoto. But the king did not survive to greet his episcopal friends. A fall from his horse in January 1092, during a hunting tour speedily proved fatal. The mortal remains of a great ruler and warrior were deposited amid profound mourning in the recently erected collegiate church of Vysehraad.

Vratislav was a wise and valiant prince; one of the few great soldiers who united political sagacity and manly human feeling to brilliant military talents.

During the reign of Vratislav Bohemia made great progress. The troops of Englishmen, Flemings, Frenchmen, Danes and Germans employed in her wars familiarized western Europe with her polity, her patriotism, and her prowess. The ancient municipal and electoral institutions which gave expression to the voice of her whole people in public parliament were explained, and no doubt lauded by thousands of brave and observant men from the Alps to the Tweed; and the sentiments that inspired her undaunted population were repeated with admiration, and treasured up to form the foundations of kindred national constitutions in the empires and island homes of the far west. The fellowship of comrades in war is a sacred feeling; and the national aspirations which impel a struggling people to the perils of an armed contest, become the beacon principles that soon blaze from the political cliffs and duns of their sympathizing allies During the eleventh century Europe had not yet completely emerged from the "primus inter pares" principle among her princes. The old fraternity of race and origin was still a strong and stubborn feeling. The essential tribal relation of European populations governed the policy of the great masses. The elective law was the fundamental law, though vio-

lated in many notable instances; and as towns were few and charters scantily established, each landholder was a ruler in his own independent right. The increase of agricultural population on the large tracts owned by individual families, at a time when the soil was very sparsely occupied, gave pre-eminence to the representatives of the original proprietors, and lordships became common in course of time. But the sentiment of individual right was universal; and the struggles of small nations in the assertion of the common law of independence were necessarily approved and applauded whenever the partakers in those struggles conveyed the tidings among their kinsmen. Soldiers are always keen observers; and in an age when knights and troubadours, or adventurers and bards abounded, the ambitions, valor, glories, and aspirations of Bohemia certainly formed no inconsiderable share in the evening narrations in verse and prose, that stirred the soul of the ambitious knight, fired the ardent expectation of the stripling, awoke the sympathy of the gentler maiden, and nourished the mind of the thinking statesman and patriot in the quiet homes along the Rhine, the Loire, the Thames, the Danube and the Tiber. We marvel when we find the sentiments expressed in the clash of arms in one age re-echoed in another where we least expect to find them. Histories were few in those days; but memory was strong and enquiry eager. Be it also remembered that during seven centuries Bohemia produced a very large proportion of the silver that supplied Europe not only with the basis of commerce but with the pay of soldiers; and not until the still more affluent supply from America suddenly enriched, and largely stupefied Europe also in the sixteenth century, did Bohemia

lose her place as the source of the chief silver wealth of Europe. She could and did command the services of great armies when more populous and extensive countries were exhausted of men and means because she could pay stout adventurers from everywhere. In that respect Bohemia was the best known country in the world.

Like other warriors in every age from Rameses to Theodosius and Napoleon, Vratislav was the firm friend of knowledge and of law. In his reign the arts and sciences were cultivated up to the full measure of the progress of the age. The coins struck by his order take high rank in design and execution. Painting was cultivated especially among the brethren who still retained the sentiment of Greek freedom and research in the convent of Sazava. The last abbot of that establishment, Bozetech, was well skilled in painting, sculpture, carving and lathe work; and the celebrated picture of the Virgin sent by the archdukes to the bishop of Passau in 1081, "Wonderfully executed in the Greek style," was but one sample of the art-skilfulness of the period.

The native Chekh were almost exclusively agriculturists whose wealth consisted chiefly of horses and cattle. Jews, Italians and Germans monopolized commerce; and the first named were then, as they still are, principally devoted to those pursuits that present the least obstacle to a change of abode. Hence they avoided all occupations necessarily interwoven with the integral constitution of the social life of the time. They took the cream, and kept aloof from those burdens connected with building up the framework of society. They never attempted to introduce any new idea, or supply motive power to enlarge the machinery

of society. Their principle was devoted then, as it is now, to those practical details immediately associated with profits in trade. While others, and especially their Christian neighbors, expended much time and strength on sentimentalism and superstition, and neglected the elements of practical knowledge, as far too often they do still, the Jews studied the principles of finance, interest, discount, the rules that govern commercial relations. Hence while Christians dreamed of spiritual beings and divine interventions, the Jews investigated the means of making profit on exchanges, at home and abroad. They necessarily succeeded; and as sentimentalism is no match for skill in barter, they grew rich. Hence they were hated as they now are in Russia, because Christian practical ignorance was not equal to Jewish practical knowledge. The only remedy is a less exclusive study of sentimentalism on the part of Christians. In other words, during the period under review and for a long time afterward, the Christian system did not permit Christians to be the equals of Jews in business details. Hence the Jews worked on the edges of all industries, and withdrew the movable wealth from all. Their ignorant neighbors wondered, or became furiously aggressive according to the temper of the time. The Jews' residence in Prague was in the judengarten; and the ancient synagogue, still religiously preserved even to the dust under which it moulders, reminds every visitor to the city of the life within a life, and yet apart from it, that then specially distinguished a Jewish from every other community. The quarrels in the ducal family, and the contentions for political aspirations created a very large portion of the wealth of the Jews. They lent money for quarrels on the pledge of those lustrous

pearls that are the emblems of modesty and peace.*

Constant war, and the irritation arising from German colonizing intrusiveness, then an active national policy in Germany, provoked a fierce retaliatory spirit, that found expression in the expedition against Merseberg. Thousands of the Saxon population of every age and sex were torn from their homes and sold into servitude in Hungary, a circumstance that explains the presence of the German element to this day among the surrounding Magyar population.

As trades and handicrafts were at that period by no means universal and family surnames were chiefly derived from occupations, and the name of a village or district could provide a distinct appellation for very few persons, we need not wonder that in Bohemia, as elsewhere in central and western Europe, family surnames in the eleventh century were commonly unknown.†

To Vratislav succeeded his brother Conrad then far advanced in life. The only act of his reign now remembered was a request to Henry IV. for the union of the bishoprics of Prague and Olmütz. But as the imperial word had been already pledged to the present occupants of those sees, it could not be revoked. Conrad died in 1092; and his immediate family in a few years became extinct.‡

* Ibi judæi auro et argento plenissimi; ibi ex omni gento negotiatores ditissimi; ibi monetarii opulentissimi: Cosmas. L. II., p. 185.

† Very few if any of the Norman invaders of England under William in 1066 had any family name, and even Howard, a Saxon surname—is a modernization of Hog-ward. Seward is the Se-ward or Coast-guard of king Alfred.

‡ Chronicon Sazaviende in Scrip., ver. Boj. Cosmas Prag. Pulkawa, Chron. Pegav. Bruno de Bel. Sax. Dalemil, vita Altman. Ep. Pater ap, Pertz I.

CHAPTER X.

CLERICAL CELIBACY INTRODUCED INTO BOHEMIA—FIRST CRUSADE—CIVIL WAR—EDUCATION—GREAT VICTORY OVER THE GERMANS—RELIGIOUS SECTS.

Bretislav, eldest son of the late King Vratislav, took formal possession of the crown in September 1092. The commencement of his reign, after the customary public election, enthronization and festivities, was marked by a singular decree expelling from Bohemia the unwelcome people described as "soothsayers, sorcerers, and cheats," (Betruger,) who had acquired much influence over the simple folk by pretended divining arts in groves and woods. They were expelled from the country; and their haunts burned. These people were probably a tribe of gypsies who had associated their practices of stealing and fortune telling with the remnants of the old paganism. These wanderers came into prominence early in the fifteenth century; but bands of them had been found in Hungary, Poland and northern Greece long previous to that time. Their patois language was composed of Hungarian, Slavonian and Greek words; and some German was added at a later period. Even in the eleventh century their origin had been forgotten. Possibly the decease of the dreaded King Vratislav encouraged a migration into Bohemia. Their native place must have been east of Hungary.

Bretislav directed his energies against Poland. But

as Vladislav, the prince regnant, was then involved in a contest with the Prussians he was unwilling to contend with two formidable adversaries at the same time; and therefore a peace was concluded by which Poland again submitted to the tribute claimed by Bohemia with all arrears then due; and young Boleslav, a child of seven, was entrusted to Bretislav as a hostage for the faithful observance of his father's engagements.

Meanwhile the bishops elect of Prague and Olmütz remained without consecration; and serious irregularities appeared imminent as the consequence. Objections had been made to the selection of Cosmas; and further opposition was now experienced. The bishop elect enjoyed the unbroken confidence of all the intelligent classes in Bohemia; and had enjoyed it for nearly half a century. He was in all probability a married man; as may be inferred from the argument used by Bretislav in favor of Hermann, his chaplain, as successor to Cosmas himself after his decease in 1098, against objections to his foreign birth, that "not having been brought up in Bohemia and therefore not accustomed to the domestic habits of the Bohemian clergy the care of his children would not distract his attention;* a piece of thoroughly Roman casuistry. But in 1094 the iconoclasts of marriage were abroad; and with furious decretal axes, and denunciatory hammers they broke down the domestic sanctuaries, which the virtues of the apostles themselves had sanctioned by their own example. It is now necessary to recapitulate briefly the chief events in the great controversy

* Et quia hospes est plus ecclesiæ prodest; non enim parentela exhauriet, non liberorum cura aggravabit; non cognatorum turba despoliet. Cos. Prag. Chron. Lib III. Ann. 1098. Clearly married life was the rule among the Bohemian clergy of that day,

that so powerfully influenced the destinies of Bohemia.

A spirit of gnostic paganism, which found expression partly in hostility to the body and its divine formation, had early taken possession of certain zealots in the church. In imitation of the more logical oriental religious mendicants and fakirs, with whom dirt was equivalent to holiness, who smeared ashes and other viler things on their faces, and defiled themselves with all uncleanness in demonstration of their subjugation of the senses,* the Christian ascetics perverted the very institution of their own existence by endeavors to root out the faculties and instincts that render man capable of virtue and love, and fill him with the warm feelings of kindly zeal in tender sympathy with social and domestic loves and duties. The body came to be regarded, most illogically and stupidly, as an enemy to be crushed by every severity; and when it became like charcoal as to all feelings, when it was no longer a body but a shape with every human attribute burned out of it, it was supposed to have attained perfection. Modern knowledge and wisdom have taught men the dignity, loveliness, and value of the body, have revealed its advance in virtue in proportion to its natural completeness and healthy action, and consecrated its wonders as the basis of all active good.

Rome adopted the principle of converting the clergy of every country into an ecclesiastical police as far removed as possible from the laity in social sympathies. Everywhere the married priests were denounced. Synods decreed, and pulpits thundered. In Spain, France, Italy, England, Germany the ban of the church was hurled against married priests and their families.

* Especially of smell.

Preferments were denied to the sons of the clergy. Henry III. of Germany, in honest zeal lent himself unconsciously to the creation of the new tyranny, and refused consent to the election of Cuno to the see of Reichstett, although recommended by Gebhard, bishop of Ratisbon in 1042, on the ground that Cuno was the son of a priest. The zeal of emperor and pope was still further stimulated by Damian then an ascetic at Avillana, and enjoying great reputation for sanctity. Germany was soon filled with denunciations of clerical marriage. In 1049 at the Council of Mayence the severest penalties were fulminated against the peaceable homes of the best ministers. The "nefanda sacerdotum conjugia" were denounced as in all degrees accursed. The hand of Hildebrand the moving spring of everything at the court of Leo IX. is clearly discernible in the proceedings at Mayence, and all through Europe henceforward. At a council held at Rheims about the same time, the marriage of priests had been also denounced, but without avail. The language used is clear proof that marriage was universal among French priests. "The presbyters were forbidden to have wives."* Nay with an excess of barbarism the shame and bitterness of slavery were heaped on the unhappy women. The prelates of Italy abstained from imposing penalties on the men and turned their venom on the wives. At a council held at Rome in 1051 the confiding women whose God given love was honorably bestowed according to the prevailing law and the universal sanctions of time and of society, who saw their own sons priests, found themselves sud-

* Tanden Leo Papa in Gallias A. D. 1049 venit. Tunc ibidem generale concilium tenuit, et inter reliqua ecclesiæ commoda quæ instituit presbyteris arma ferre et conjuges habere prohibuit.' Orderic. Vit. P. II. Lib. V. C. 15.

denly made helots and criminals, cast out from all society, degraded and scorned, and declared *Slaves* to the Cathedral church of Lateran; while all the bishops in Europe were directed to apply the same awful scourge within their jurisdiction, and make the wives of the clergy slaves to the churches in every diocese * Many of these women were of gentle birth, gifted, dignified and unimpeachable. In 1053, an attempt to hold a similar council at Mantua for the same purpose was frustrated by the followers of the prelates and clergy, and the pope himself nearly became a victim to the missiles of his angry assailants.

Rome was still in the possession of a married priesthood. Synod after synod was convened but without success. Nicholas II. at once seconded Damian and Hildebrand. In 1059 a new council denounced a married clergy, and adopted the novel system of rendering the laity at once the judges and executioners of their pastors. This power was deliberately conferred, with the intention of revoking it when the laity should have placed over their own heads a power which they could no longer resist. From this time the wives of priests are no longer named "conjuges," as they had been commonly styled previously; they are stigmatized as "concubinæ". At Milfi, in Southern Italy, where sacerdotal marriages were universal, another council was held ;† and the bishop of Trani was deposed as a warning to the rest. In Tours and Vienne the ancient seat of Greek literature, language, and christian civilization in France, similar decrees were promul-

* Damiani opusc. XVIII. Diss. II. C, 7.

† Hic ecclesiastica propter ad partes illas tractanda negotia venit; namque Sacerdotes, Levitæ, Clericus omnis hac regione palam se conjugio sociabant. Gulielmi Appuli de Normann.

gated; 1060; open legislation and friendly exhortation were equally put in practice against the prelates; but the latter stoutly declared that they would not submit to the deprivation of their privileges as men and as Christians.

In the same year, 1060, again Nicholas promulgated a decree requiring priests to abandon their wives; but no provision was made for the maintenance of the women and their children. In Tuscany the most prominent and learned ecclesiastics sustained the propriety and legality of their marriage; declared it consonant to the ancient canons, and challenged the production of any argument in opposition to it. At this period the election of Alexander II. as one pope, and of Honorius II. as another pope created contesting factions; the marriage or celibacy of the clergy created a party cry; and the success of the one or the other decided the right or the wrong of the ecclesiastical question. With the aid of the Lombards, Honorius besieged his rival in Rome. But his party as a political body became divided; and in 1067 Alexander secured the supremacy. Although Damian habitually stigmatized the women as harlots, and the husbands as fornicators, he was forced to admit the conjugal fidelity and dignity of the women, and the pious devotion to their duties on the part of the men.

The Piedmontese clergy were declared by himself to be a "chorus of angels and an illustrious senate* of the church."

In Dalmatia conjugal presbyters performed all the functions of the church; and the decrees against mar-

* Qui dum ad me confluerunt, tanquam chorus angelicus et velut conspicuus ecclesiæ videbatur enitere senatus. Opusc. XVIII. Diss, II. Pref.

riage were suspended because if enforced the entire ministration of the public services would have ceased.* The Venetians were more easily reached; and in their case no indulgence was allowed.

Up to the middle of the eleventh century marriage was universal among the clergy of Milan. The dissensions that distracted the city eventually divided the factions among the adherents, and opponents of celibacy. The nobles and married clergy on one side, and the humbler citizens more easily influenced by superficial fallacies on the other. Dissensions similar to those at Milan also shook Lucca, Parma, Reggio, and other Italian cities; and the question—to marry or not to marry, was deferred. In 1085 Henry IV. assembled his princes and prelates at Mayence, and celibacy of the clergy was declared the law of the empire. Urban II. repeated the decree of servitude against the wives of clerics, and offered the women themselves as bribes to those seculars who should enforce the infamous judgment.†

During this century the English clergy were also as a rule married men. The bishop of Litchfield is especially noted as having a wife and children according to ordinary church customs always maintained hitherto. At a council held in Winchester, 1076, priests were permitted to retain their wives, because Norman power could not then enforce a contrary decision. Unmarried men were forbidden to marry; at a great council in London in 1102, the new doctrine was violently denounced as un-christian and vicious.

* "Omnes ecclesiæ a divinis officiis vacassent." Bathyani. Leg. Eccles. Hungar. I. 407.

† Quod si ab episcopo commoniti non se correxerunt principibus licentiam indulgemus ut eorum feminis mancipent servituti." Synod Mefit. Ann. 1089, Can. 12.

The canons of this council prove that all efforts to enforce celibacy were denounced as criminal, and anti-christian; and one very suggestive provision was introduced, that sons should not inherit their father's churches.* This enactment was directly applicable to Ireland at that time; for in that island, under the old Greek custom still prevailing there, the abbacies of many if not all of the great monastic establishments, each representing a clan, had become hereditary. In all countries in Europe the cry of celibacy became universal.

In Hungary the rules affecting the clergy corresponded with those of the Greek church. Celibacy was first imposed in Dalmatia on the occasion of the assumption of the royal title by Duke Demetrius, Dalmatia being then a province of Hungary. 1076. Nevertheless the clergy of Dalmatia followed their ancient law for at least a century later. The annals of the Synod of Dalmatia held in 1199 contain clear allusions to the universality of this condition of things.† Up to the same period the clergy of Poland were universally married men‡. Still a century later the Swedish clergy were all married.§

In Denmark and Friesland the same Greek principle prevailed as late as the fourteenth century. In the latter province the deans were all married men, and on one occasion surrendered their children as hostages during a dispute with their bishop. Deaneries

* Can. 8. "Ut filii presbyterorum non sint heredes ecclesiarum patrum suorum." Wilkins I. 382.

† In partibus Dalmatiæ et Diocletiæ Sacerdotes et uxorem habere et ecclesias tenere, dicuntur. Synod Dalmatiæ 1199. Bathyani II. 289—90.

‡ Harduin T. VI. P. II., p. 1937.

§ Thomassin Discip,, de l'Eglise. P. IV. Lib. I., c. 45.

and benefices were commonly transmitted from father to son for generations.

From this brief recital of the great controversy will be explained the position of the church of Bohemia during the same period. In that kingdom the domestic life of the clergy was the same as in all the surrounding countries. Bohemia had maintained her pristine rules in that respect; and those rules prevailed in all portions of the dependencies of the eastern empire, and its immediate extensions in Christian rites. It is true that Roman ecclesiasticism had become the policy of the court as the price by which ambition was promoted; but primitive customs and principles were still kept alive around the hospitable board of the Bohemian thegn; and national sentiments were fed over a meal of boar or venison where the welcome gossip, trader or news-bearer received his recompense followed by a pallet of oak leaves round the great hearth of the common hall. No doubt the hamlets of Bohemia in the eleventh century, and the quiet homes of the rural clergy heard with astonishment and indignation the outrages perpetrated on the faithful and the pastors of other lands, and the truculence of inhumanity heaped on their unoffending wives and children. It is in such scenes and among such humble homes that imperishable memories are accumulated. When at last the storm in all its fury burst over Bohemia itself the shock was terrible.

That the minds of the people had always been familiarized with the married life of priests is evidenced by the fact that Cosmas, the chronicler, a well known married man with a family, was elevated to the deanery of Prague during the very effervescence of the contest concerning celibacy in the disturbed countries of

Europe. This excellent man was made priest in 1099, and his family grew up around him in the quiet virtue of domestic duties. His devoted wife, Boseteha, who during a long life had proved herself a meet consort for a learned and pious priest, was withdrawn by death in 1118; and her husband records the departure of his faithful helpmate in words which show that domestic joy, and loving assistance and sympathy in his pastoral duties had always been his happy lot with her. Surely no simpler or more appropriate epitaph was ever engraved on the tomb of a loved and lost one than the gentle words;

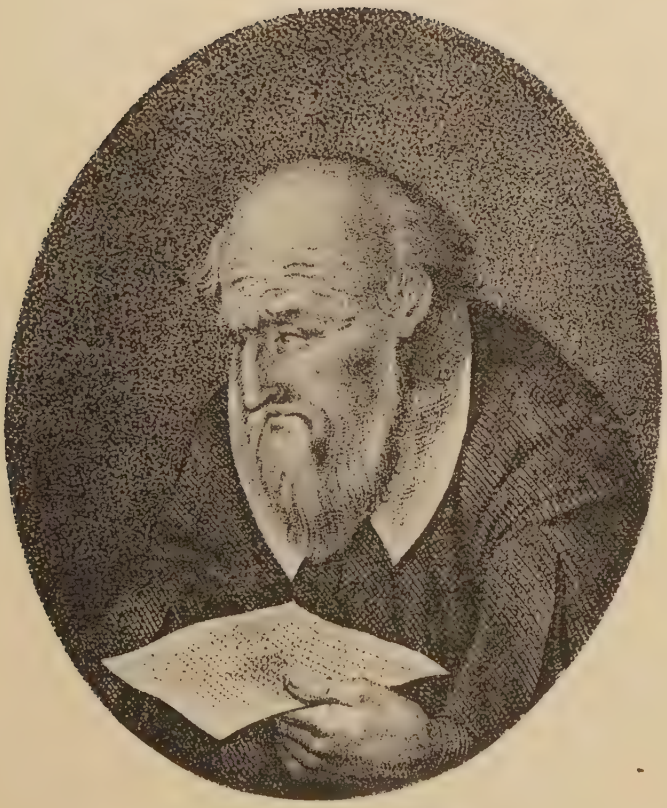
"Rerum cunctarum comes indimota mearum"
"Bis Februi quinis obiit Boseteha Kalendis"

"Companion of my life most dear
Good Boseteha left me here
Twice fifth of February's Kalends drear."

During the long reign of Vratislav the convent of Sazava continued its chequered struggle for recognition as an integral portion of the formal church organization. But the known unfavorable reply of Gregory VII. to Vratislav's application created a feeling of coldness among some of the advocates of Bohemian literature. The temper of the time, the loss of favor of the prince, the dominant court influence, created opportunities for hostility. Toward the close of 1096 the establishment was closed to the Greek rite. The books were scattered, and eventually lost and destroyed; and Latin became the sole means of addressing heaven in Bohemia.*

The first year of Bretislav's reign found Bohemia and Poland at war on account of arrears of trib-

* See the reply of Pope John VIII., to Svatopluk already noticed.



Cosmas, Dean of Prague.

ute due from the latter. With such dreadful fury was the brief struggle carried on that on this side of the Oder in all Selesia not a habitation remained. The Polish prince and his allies—Ladislav of Hungary and a noble of Moravia were speedily reduced; and the diversion directed against Moravia by the king's son and nephew completed the discomfiture of the Poles. Sixty marks of gold and one thousand of silver satisfied present demands; and security was given for future good behavior.

The religio-military enthusiasm that convulsed all Europe and a part of Asia and Africa in the year 1096 despatched a host of undisciplined pilgrims through Eastern Europe toward the holy land. France, Germany, Italy and England poured forth their multitudes across Bohemia and Hungary. The Jews of Prague felt the first effects of this fanatical fury. Under threat of death they were compelled to accept baptism. Bowing their heads to the storm, and accepting a rite that symbolizes cleanliness, the Jews submitted in outward obedience, as the supple grass or the tough reed bends to the passing blast. Bretislav was then in Silesia and no authority existed equal to the occasion at Prague. The unwelcome visitors were dismissed as rapidly as possible. Apprehensive of another swarm from the same hive the Jews prepared to emigrate. Bretislav was unwilling that the portable wealth of the Jews should be all suddenly removed from the country; and he seized and confiscated it. The country could not afford to lose at once the chief portion of its coin. Bretislav probably reasoned that a people of alien race, necessarily excluded by their very birth from intrinsic identification with the great body of citizens, could not be permitted to draw off

the cream while the native toilers were allowed only the skimmed milk of the general wealth.

Family dissension between the royal dukes soon disturbed Bohemia, Poland, Moravia, and Hungary. Bretislav disregarded the pragmatic sanction that conferred the crown on the eldest survivor. He selected Borziwoj as his successor in disregard of his brother Conrad's son Ulrich. Bretislav fell by the hand of an assassin while on a hunting expedition in 1100 and Borziwoj at once seized the government. Ulrich appealed to Henry IV., who extended his "moral support," accepted his money, but requested him to fight his own battles. Ulrich and his kinsmen collected a force in Austria and Bavaria; but on the eve of battle these mercenaries deserted, and Ulrich seized their booty and supplies. After this disappointment Ulrich retired to Moravia and lived in peace.

The river Regen saw Borziwoj and Leopold, duke of Austria, united in support of Henry IV. against the rebellion of young Henry. But the defection of the selfish Austrian deprived the old Emperor of one wing of his army, and the Bohemian prince prudently retreated. Henry IV. wandered away from the scene of his downfall crushed in spirit and almost unattended. Directing his lonely way through Bohemia and Saxony, the Emperor reached the Rhine cities where again he was placed on the throne by the generous aid of the citizens who had known his favor. He breathed his last at Lüttich in 1106, August 7.

About this period Svatopluk of Moravia completed his preparations against Bohemia in his own interest; and he invaded the latter country toward the close of 1105. The strong places were at first faithfully held; and for a time the invader was unsuccessful. But

Svatopluk excelled in intrigue; his adherents increased, and Borziwoj saw his power melt away. In the early summer of 1107 Svatopluk was installed in Prague. Borziwoj appealed to Henry V. and this monarch exacted a compensation in money in return for aid, material or moral. Svatopluk was summoned to appear and answer for himself, and was imprisoned forthwith. Finding the power of money in politics Svatopluk bid still higher than his competitor; and ten thousand silver marks became the price of the Bohemian throne. To raise this sum of money every method of rapacity was employed; the altars were ransacked, the women were despoiled of their ornaments, and private accumulations were remorselessly pillaged. Naturally the heaviest exactions fell on the Jews; and still the promised sum was not forthcoming. But Svatopluk's infant son was named Henry; and the German monarch concluded to remit the balance due, and take payment in the skill and valor of his successful ally against King Koloman of Hungary. The united Poles and Hungarians found an ally in Borziwoj; and the latter led an invading force into Bohemia. The powerful clan of Vrsovici had been entrusted with the defense of the country; but they yielded so easily that treachery was more than suspected. Borziwoj for three days wasted and destroyed his own land; and these tidings were soon conveyed to Svatopluk before Presburg. In his dreadful wrath the returning chief vowed every member of the Vrsovici to death; but prudently concealed his design. Henceforth they were all McGregors to him. Not with more art and duplicity did Mahmoud destroy the Janissaries, or Mehemet Ali the Mamelukes in a subsequent age than did Svatopluk proceed against the

Vrsovici. In one hall in the ancient but now obliterated burg of Vratislav they were almost all massacred together.*

Koloman meantime fell on Moravia and Svatopluk hastened to its defense but lost an eye in a thicket and was obliged to return. Next year he gained some success against Hungary; and the year following we find him an ally of Henry V. in the disastrous expedition against Poland. While returning to his quarters from the imperial tent the brave but truculent Svatopluk was assassinated by a partizan of the Vrsovici. His iron valor and military resource secured the strong confidence and attachment of his army; and his death was greatly lamented. Many candidates claimed the succession; but Duke Vladislav was recognized and became sovereign in October, 1109. During these proceedings Bohemia was greatly wasted, and impoverished. Vratislav, Bretislav, Borziwoj and Swatopluk all purchased German favor and paid full and more than full value for it. The empire made no interference with their internal management or external quarrels and was far more dependent on their friendship than capable of conferring favor.

Vladislav received an invitation to attend Henry at Ratisbon;† but he had only reached Pilsen when tidings were brought that Borziwoj had made a sudden incursion against Prague. Being secretly encouraged and now openly assisted by adherents in the city, Borziwoj easily obtained possession. Forthwith the greatest confusion prevailed. Many citizens retired

* This act was committed under the direct instigation of Henry V. "Rex (Henriucs) Suetipolco consuluit, ut omnes primates, qui Wosowice dicebantur decollaret, illeque paruit. Chron Pegavius. vita Viperti l., c., p 23.

† Stransky,

with their families and movable property; but the partizans of the new τυράννος at once plundered the houses of the refugees. The fortress of Vysehraad was also seized. Bohemia and Moravia were at that moment divided and convulsed by the rival and contesting factions of Vladislav, Borziwoj, and Otto of Olmütz, brother of Svatopluk, aided by Count Macek, who seems to have arisen from humble station to become by force of character almost an umpire between factions. Vladislav united his force with Otto and Macek before Vysehraad; but in the meantime Henry had summoned all parties before himself for final adjustment of the dispute. Borziwoj was condemned, and Vladislav, finding himself again master of Prague, proceeded to wreak his vengeance on the faction who had despoiled his friends. The country was thus plunged into most cruel civil war, wherein fathers and sons, brothers and brothers found themselves contending with each other in deadly strife over the thresholds of their own doors, and over the bodies of kindred slaughtered in the fury of partizan animosity. Boleslav of Poland intensified and widened the strife by active interference in Bohemia on behalf of Borziwoj; and young Sobieslav burned and destroyed apparently in mere wantonness, believing that victory was no victory if not accompanied by waste and destruction. At length in A. D. 1113, Vladislav and Macek succeeded in expelling Sobieslav; and the war closed for a time. In the same year Otto, surnamed the Black, was confirmed in his dominion over Olmütz, and having married the duke's sister, Sophia Countess of Berg, lived henceforth in peace with Bohemia.

In 1115 a general pacification was effected between

the chief branches of the house of Przemysl; and Vladislav, Sobieslav, Otto, and Boleslav of Poland held a meeting in Silesia where amity was mutually established. The depth of this alliance was demonstrated in the following year. Stephen II. had succeeded Koloman as King of Hungary. A dispute arose between the followers of Vladislav and Stephen on the occasion of a meeting between the two sovereigns. Blows succeeded; a general battle followed; and Otto and Sobieslav by a desperate attack on the Hungarian camp gained a complete victory, and "to the victors belonged the spoils." Reprisals followed against Moravia and even Austria; but at length in 1119 a united effort of the Bohemians and Austrians effectually cleared the country of the intruders. The following year a sudden revolution placed Borziwoj again for a brief space of time in power at Prague; but a few years later this prince died in exile.* Before the close of his life Vladislav's authority was well established; and his power was felt not only over all the subjects of the realm in common respect, but on all the members of his own restless family. He died on the 12th of April, 1125. Vladislav was a good prince, strong in mental and physical qualities; the turbulence of his time did not render him vindictive, and the stern vicissitudes of war, often unfavorable and oppressive to him personally, did not render him cruel. His frankness and manly openness of disposition secured him strong friendships even in the darkest prospects of his life. This experience speaks equally in praise of the generous self-sacrifice that distinguished the

* "Sed non diuturnum fuit hoc Berziwogii gaudium. Offensa namque Germanorum in aula ejus multitudine proceres Bojemi mag istratum ei denuo abrogant; et Wladislav res suas iterum (an 1120-submittunt." Stransky Boj. Rep., c. VIII. s. XXV.

great body of his countrymen who admired and sustained him. During his reign Bohemia partook of the general movement then beginning to be felt in Europe toward the revival of letters. Many schools were established in the country. Cosmas, dean of Prague, imitated the example of many chroniclers whose assiduity has preserved for us the annals of that troubled period. The light of learning began to spread again. Law and politics were studied and treatises written. Theology assumed many phases in the minds of separate communities. Old principles were again asserted; and the intercourse of nations brought to light numerous bodies of worshipers who had retained the faiths and formulæ of earlier ages. An unbroken series of religious links was found to have connected the twelfth with the primitive centuries; and the martyrs of succeeding ages were only the descendants of the obscure believers whom the discords of princes, and the contentions of popes had left untouched in the obscure retreats where they had long lingered. The most startling dogmas of modern creeds were not yet formulated as articles of faith; and the simple inquiries of modest fraternities were more directed to the individual relations of men with the unseen, and with each other, than with the haughty claims of dignitaries or hierarchies.

The quarter of a century last reviewed was eminently productive of vigorous reasoning on politics and religion in Bohemia as elsewhere. The Kmets, Lechs, and Vladykas of that land who observed public affairs had found one Roman prelate intrusive enough to prescribe domestic policy to their hero prince; and they had seen the same prelate driven from his place, and dying a fugitive and an exile. The lesson of resistance

to the successors of the same prelate was not lost. They saw the son and successor of the modern Roman emperor encouraged in parricidal rebellion against his father by the professed teachers of filial respect and obedience, a circumstance exceedingly common in the eldest sons of princes in those days. They had seen popes and anti-popes excommunicating each other, and waging furious war for the most sacred dignities. Their respect for a theocracy was not thereby increased. They had observed thrice-sworn oaths absolved and all the obligations of nature and religion deliberately violated under the direct advice and encouragement of the chief prelate in western christendom; and they had seen righteous retribution visited on the head of the instigator of all this evil—Pope Paschal II. by the hand of the same Henry V., the vicious pupil of a vindictive teacher. The admiration of Bohemians for pope and emperor was not augmented. On the contrary the veneration of the people for their own institutions in politics and religion was certainly strengthened. The distant dwellers beyond the Böhmerwald heard with astonishment and disgust of the vices and profligacy abounding in those very seats presided over by foreign aspirants who assumed in Bohemia a spirit of arrogant dictation. The feeling thus created became intensified as the centuries rolled on. The sharp contrast between the religious disorders surrounding the papal chair and the pretensions to superior sanctity and authority of the occupants of that chair did not escape attention. In the midst of all this bloodshed and contention Bohemians learned to view with respect and welcome the unobtrusive tenets and lives of the many obscure brothers and disciples who were found in Lombardy, France,

Moravia, Germany, Belgium, Dalmatia, and who traveled in peace and charity on their errand of quiet devotion, and assertion of what they deemed the primitive gospel. Such quiet remnants had never disappeared totally from Europe; and at this period had become numerous and enterprising. Bohemian, Polish and Hungarian traders knew of these communities especially in Italy and Southern France not at all as separatists, but as the messengers of what they alleged to be the primitive creed of Christianity unadulterated by modern incrustations. Bohemians in their journeys for war and trade necessarily came in contact with these professors in Germany and Italy; and each already possessed much sympathy for the principles of the other. The quiet propagandists most probably made friends and disciples among the sturdy troopers of Vratislav and Svatopluk, especially as both parties had good reason to complain of ecclesiastical innovations in religion, and aggressiveness in politics. The way was prepared daily for the wider distribution of the principles of these votaries toward the close of this and through all the following century in Bohemia and elsewhere. The prevalence of a large anti-Roman spirit east of Germany was well known, especially as many of the princes of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary afforded welcome and shelter to men driven from their homes in France and Germany by the persecutions that raged all through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially in the cities along the Rhine.*

* Religiosi ex Galliis, Germain aque profligati, Petri Waldi discipuli, viri tum pietate tum Sacrarum literarum scientia spectatissimi (An 1176) in Bojemiam venirent; et permultos ex qualis qualis tum adhuc. Græci observantiæ incolas familiares sibi facerent, Stransky Boj. Rep., ch. VI., sec. V, et refer.

Why all these persecuted people fled to Bohemia and Poland and Dalmatia is explained by the well known fact that these countries had not been Romanized; and still maintained an attitude decidedly anti-papal. The fugitives found the populations ready to sympathize with them at once.

The growth of municipalities and chartered liberties in Germany, Italy, Spain, France and England, corresponded to the essential principles of Bohemian institutions. As the Chekh nationality was the first constituted, so it continued the longest,* amid the general breakup that followed the supremacy of the theocratic principle in the church, and speedily also in the state as the image and silhouette of the church.

The reign of Sobieslav who succeeded to the throne was marked by proofs of the influence of the advancing forces of education, and civil and formal liberty. Henry V. was followed by Lothaire II. of Saxony, elected on the field of Kamba, August 24, 1125, in the presence of a tumultuous assembly of sixty thousand men. Otto of Olmütz at once applied to the new emperor for recognition as Bohemian sovereign. But Sobieslav declared when the tidings of this new alliance reached him, "I hope by the mercy of God and the aid of Saint Wenzel and Saint Adalbert that our land shall never fall into the power of the stranger." The German army advanced by way of Kulm in the valley of Töplitz; and the utter defeat of his forces, the death of many of his princes, bishops and abbots, and above all the fall of Otto himself with all his immediate followers convinced Lothaire of the dreadful temerity of his enterprise. The Emperor himself was surrounded, and his entire force killed or taken.

* See Hallam—Middle Ages.

This great battle was an anticipation of Hohenlinden, and fought under similar circumstances. The imperial troops were entangled in the woods, and slaughtered ere they could extricate themselves. In the morning of that fatal 18th of February, 1126,

> "All bloodless lay the untrodden snow."

In the evening;—

> 'And there lay the steed with his nostril all wide
> But through it there rolled not the breath of his pride;
> And the foam of his gasping lay white on the turf
> And as cold as the spray of the rock beating surf,
>
> "And there lay the rider distorted and pale
> With the dew on his brow and the rust on his mail."

The chivalry of Germany had fallen before the free tillers of the allodial farms of Bohemia.

But Sobieslav was too prudent not to avail himself of this most favorable opportunity to cultivate the friendship of his formidable contemporary. Lothaire became an honored guest at Vysehraad; and the favor of the Emperor was secured in support of Sobieslav's son as successor in Bohemia. The kingdom was also confirmed in all its national rights and privileges under its own constitution and antonomy. In return a Bohemian army lent powerful aid to Lothaire in his disputes with Conrad the Frank.

During this reign several frontier fortresses were erected. The homely wooden structures that constituted the dwellings of Prague and elsewhere, were as far as possible replaced by more stately edifices of stone built in the Italian style. Up to this time a polished stone floor did not exist in the country and the introduction of one into Vysehraad was regarded as a marvel of progress.

Sobieslav strove to conciliate the kings of Poland

and Hungary; and the members of his own family fully acknowledged his suzerainty. Prevailing domestic peace rendered the occasion favorable for the assembling of all the councillors of the kingdom; and in 1130 a full parliament and court judicial combined was held at Vysehraad. This assembly was attended by three thousand men, each in his place a representative. The proceedings were opened with a royal speech from Sobieslav in person; and the estates were requested to arrange the articles of accusation of certain conspirators who were men of high rank. Some underwent the punishment of the wheel; others protested innocence and endured the hot iron ordeal. But not escaping unharmed they were beheaded. Prince Bretislav in whose interest this crime had been attempted was, according to the custom of the time deprived of sight. Taking advantage of contention between Poland and Hungary, Sobieslav marched against the former in 1132 to exact payment of the tribute now over due. During this expedition and another the following year, Silesia was dreadfully wasted; hundreds of villages destroyed; and plunder of every kind carried off to Bohemia. Emperor Lothaire asked and obtained auxiliaries for his expedition into Italy in 1137; but he died in December of that year. The same good relations were maintained with Conrad of Hohenstaufen during his quarrels with Henry the Proud, and the Saxons; and at the siege of Wiensberg, December 21, 1140, the Bohemian auxiliaries found themselves shouting for "Waiblingen" against "Welf." Two years previously Sobieslav had assembled a Snem (Landtag) at Latzka, where partly by requests and partly by menaces* he persuaded the assembly to ratify the

* Pelzel I. 93.

selection of his son Vladislav as heir to the throne. Sobieslav died February 14, 1110, and his devoted consort Adeleid on the 15th of September following.

This reign was marked by the foundation of several Roman conventual establishments; and the addition of the Pumonstratensians to the Benedictines. But this circumstance did not for the time much influence the established order, inasmuch as Heinrich Zdik, son of dean Cosmas the chronicler, was elected and without any difficulty consecrated bishop of Olmütz. The native exclusiveness was still very strong; and Sobieslav was enabled, and to all appearance, forced by public opinion to interdict the holding of all public offices by foreigners.

Vladislav II. succeeded;* but the discontents against the growing power of the crown that were scarcely altered in the former reign now found formidable expression. The great barons said, as others have said since, that the "royal authority was increasing, and ought to be diminished." Under the leadership of Nazerat who was then the Earl of Salisbury of Bohemia, the barons confederated; and assumed to elect Conrad of Znaim to the throne. But Vladislav was made of sterner stuff than his enemies anticipated.† A desperate fight occurred at Prague wherein many were sacrificed on both sides, and Nazerat killed. Conrad could not obtain decisive advantage, and Vladislav defended the city. The confederates pressed the siege with vigor; but their efforts were unavailing, although a portion of the city was burned.

The bishop of Olmütz thundered an interdict against

* This Prince does not appear to have finally secured the royal dignity for nineteen years—until A. D. 1139.

† "Vir ingenio validus, viribus propollens, consilio, manu, acieque magnus" is the contemporary description.

the barons; and Pope Innocent II. sustained it. The nobles on their part declared the bishop a public enemy, and appropriated his revenues. In the year following Vladislav assembled his forces; and falling furiously on the confederates routed them completely. The chief offenders were compelled to humble themselves before the angry prince with swords hanging at their necks; but their lives were spared, and Conrad, Otto, and Vratislav were restored to their possessions. In 1143 Pope Innocent II. despatched Cardinal Guido to Bohemia to reform the clergy; but after two years and a half he found little accomplished to his mind. His mission was not popular; the memory of similar visitations in other lands was recent and odious; and passive resistance obstructed all his proceedings. The marriage of the Bohemian clergy was one of the chief objects of the cardinal's visit. All married priests were required to abandon their wives or their benefices. The clergy of Bohemia regarded their marriage as perfectly lawful and canonical. Jurata, provost of Prague—formerly chancellor of Vratislav I.—the dean Peter; Hugo, provost of Vyserhaad; Thomas, dean of Olmütz, and many others, the most learned pious, and exemplary of all the priesthood, men who enjoyed national reputation as Christian ministers, and the most conversant with canonical law, were all married men, as their predecessors from St. Peter down had been.

The administrative attention of Vladislav was engaged in Moravia when on a sudden the whole of christendom was deafened by a shriek for another crusade. The successful assault on the fortress of Edessa, the christian stronghold that defended Jerusalem strategically, stimulated christendom. Godfrey

of Bouillon's kingdom was overthrown; and all Europe was loudly ordered rather than entreated by Eugenius III. to take arms. The tornado of excitement that convulsed western Europe on the fall of Edessa swept over Bohemia. Prince and noble, Zupan and Vladayka were all equally impelled eastward. Prelates and nobles from the Adriatic to the Baltic crowded to the standards of Louis VII. and Conrad; Vladislav and his brother Henry, his nephew Spityhnev, and a great array of followers assembled under Conrad in Austria. Only a small portion of this great host reached Palestine. The chancellor Bartholomew fell and Marshal Zurik was made prisoner and never heard of again. Vladislav separated from the French in Asia Minor and returned by Constantinople and Kiew. During this disastrous expedition zealots were taught that the mundane blessings of order, foresight, discipline, and a commissariat, as well as the philosophy and worldly wisdom necessary for the command of an army, cannot be supplied by empty fanaticism and ignorance, however fervid in devotions. The cry, "The army of the Lord" creates neither bread nor strategy. Rarely has an overthrow been more dreadful. The Bohemians returned in deep disgust at the blind infatuation that set conceited fanaticism where precise military arrangements ought to have been.

The election of Frederic Barbarossa to the German throne constitutes an epoch in the story of Bohemia. To great talents and energy Frederic united a splendid presence and vast possessions. He was the incarnation of concentrated imperialism. In the furtherance of his ambition to restore the empire of the west to its unlimited supremacy, he allied himself with Vladislav and the pope, both of whom had conten-

tions different from his, and he disappointed both. Not from love for Eugenius did Frederic cross the Alps. His design was to crush utterly the strong spirit of political and philosophical independence that had arisen in Europe. The power and opulence of the free cities could have presented great obstacles; but their jealousies and contentions were equal to an alliance with the invader.

Before proceeding on his second expedition Frederic prudently effected a settlement of the dispute between Henry of Bavaria and Henry of Austria up to that time a marquisate of the former. By the fatal suggestion of Vladislav the march was severed from the other territory of Bavaria; and from this date the dukedom of Austria assumed a definitive membership among the states of Europe; September 11th, 1156. The price of Vladislav's assistance was an engagement to confirm the kingly dignity; and at a diet held at Ratisbon, 11th of January, 1158, the promise was fulfilled and Vladislav obtained recognition as King of Bohemia. On this occasion the royal cognizance was changed from an eagle to a lion; and in this form it has continued.* But the service ren-

* Ab eodem igitur Cæsare Ratisbonæ principum imperii conventum agente, creatus propterea est Rex et (sicut Hostivitus olim) salutatus Imperii socius, pro Aquila Leonem in insignibus gestandum accepit." Stransky Reip. Boj. De Prin XXVII.

On the subject of this change from an eagle to a lion much quaint learning has been expended. All agree that the eagle was black on a white field. Some assert that Chekh and Lekh were brothers, and that Lekh assumed the white eagle afterwards. Some refer the assumption of the lion to Bretislav when he became son-in-law of Otto II. Others again declare that the cognizance in 1370 was three flames with a black eagle in the midst, all on a white field This eagle is referred to a victory over Aureolus a Roman consul in Illyricum. The three flames again are pronounced a misinterpretation of three bands with wavy lines to signify the three rivers crossed by the Chekh, and that these were borne on a round shield. These bands were the cognizance of Boleslaus II., both on his shield, his banner, and his seal. Frederic I., certainly conferred on King Vladislav a

dered against the young and prosperous cities could not have been tasteful to the Bohemian. The pope favored the cities, not from any love for them or the spirit that animated their recent politics, but as convenient allies for his own purposes. Vladislav eventually found favor with none.

With deep regret must this story record the fact that a Bohemian force took part in two most tragic events during this reign in Italy. The painful historical episode presented by the rise, the greatness, the premature economies, and the dreadful fall of Arnold of Brescia necessarily produced in Bohemia an impression both profound and continuous. The same political ethics, the same actual relations between Church and State that had ruled Bohemia for five centuries at least, had found eloquent expression from the political apostle of Italy, and cordial acceptance from the most intelligent and progressive of her manufacturing and mercantile communities. Practical good sense instead of abstract theories and theocratic delusions, had become the governing principle; and Arnold applied the same rule to the subordination and duties of ecclesiastics. His political philosophy was simply "Each man in his place;" and for these doctrines he was consigned to a cruel and ignominious murder, by a coarse priesthood, and the ferocity of an autocratic barbarian. The cities eventually triumphed over Frederic and all his panoplies. Even Milan rose from her obliteration before his

banner bearing on a white field a *tawny* lion. The astrologers placed Bohemia under the sign Leo; and denominated the people Leonistœ. The lion denotes Bohemia. As to the forked tail again, some assert that it refers to the great courage of the nation, the tail of the lion being so hard as to strike fire with flint! Others again say it refers to the qualities of courage and firmness. The principles of heraldry would explain the double tail as referring to the two fold kingdom of Bohemia and Moravia.

eyes;* the logic of Arnold lived on in the free life of every self-governing community; and in no place with more tenacity of adhesion than among the institutional population who preserved the national laws and manners along the banks of the Moldau and the Elbe.

Royal dignities did not confer either happiness or success on Vlatislav. The old national separateness was being obliterated in some quarters. The free alliances with Russian, Serbian and Greek families that had distinguished Chekh nobles and princes were in many cases found to be less politic, perhaps less possible, under the unifying force of crusading impulses, and the crushing autocracy of the formidable empire of the West. Under the sense if not the very terms of his understanding with Frederic, Vlatislav provided a strong contingent of troops for each invasion of Italy undertaken by the imperious Frederic. The ten thousand Bohemians who had marched by the way of Trent to the field of Roncaglia were rapidly smitten down by disease and the waste of war. As usual they had borne themselves like strong men, although their valor was wasted against the natural allies of their nation. The few who returned with Vlatislav to Prague in September, 1158, must have carried with them to their homes strange and thrilling tales of the popular ex-

* Possibly Macchiavelli may have had the memorable scene to April 27, 1167, when the inhabitants of other cities escorted the people of Milan back to its ruins, as to another Jerusalem, before his memory when he wrote, "And whoever becomes master of a city that has been accustomed to liberty, and does not destroy it, must expect himself to be ruined by it, for they will always resort to rebellion in the name of liberty and their ancient institutions, which will never be effaced from their memory, either by the lapse of time, or by benefits bestowed by the new master. No matter what he may do, or what precautions he may take, if he does not separate and disperse the inhabitants, they will on the first occasion invoke the name of liberty, and the memory of their ancient institutions, as was done by Pisa after having been held over a hundred years in subjection by the Florentines." The Prince, chap. V. A ferocious sentiment, and one that signally failed in the very instance presented in illustration of it.

citement, the universal enthusiasm created by the doctrines of Arnold. The electric force of his appeals, the fervor that resulted in men's minds, the revolution in sentiment and policy which he had created, and the new life that he stimulated must have formed a theme of endless discussion in Bohemia, by the men who had visited the scenes, and witnessed the results of his manly and reasonable expostulations. And yet they had been commissioned to smite it all down, and aid in consigning its gifted promoter to an ignominious double death. Not once only but again and again Bohemian auxiliaries were summoned and sent to coerce the reformatory Italians; but the duty was distasteful to Vlatislav; and his brother Diepold and his son Frederic were sent forward on the unwelcome mission. In 1162 Vlatislav was himself a participator, however, in the general proceedings that led to the barbarous burning of Arnold. He did not share personally in the razing of Milan: although one thousand Bohemians assisted in the siege.

It is probable that pressure from the West formed a chief reason for interference in the disputes that arose in 1164 between Hungary and Constantinople. Vlatislav lent aid to the former in the interest of Stephen III, brother-in law of young Frederic and Svatopluk of Bohemia. Through the vigorous support of his auxiliaries Stephen succeeded, and was placed firmly on the throne of Constantinople. This expedition was wise political strategy. A marriage arrangement between Vlatislav's granddaughter and Peter Comnenus, grandson of the emperor, was a further result of the good understanding which it was hoped would strengthen Bohemia on that side.

Again a Bohemian force marched in aid of Frederic

in his contention with Italy in 1167. But in that year Diepold and bishop Daniel died of the plague at the siege of Ancona.

The death of this prelate severed the bond that had united the German and Bohemian courts. His successor Gotthard died almost immediately; and the next choice was Adalbert a person displeasing to Frederic. The aims of the German and the Chekh were not found to be identical; and cold distrust was the result on both sides. Finding himself growing in years, and touched with infirmities, Vlatislav was anxious to secure the peaceable succession of his son Frederic. He knew the temper of his kindred; and he knew also that Frederic would not scruple to take advantage of family dissensions among the Premysls to promote his own despotism. In order the better to secure the succession to his son Vlatislav abdicated in 1173; and retired to a residence within the monastery of Strahov, where he hoped to end his days in peace Finally he retired to the estates of his queen in Thuringia where he died in 1174, surrounded by his family.

Vlatislav's campaign as a crusader necessarily made him and his officers familiar with the combination of religious and military ardor that resulted in the embodiment of the Knights Hospitalers in 1120; the Templars in 1128; the order of St. James of the sword in 1173; the orders of Avis, 1147, and St. Michael, 1167, in Portugal; and finally the Teutonic order, 1190, the most formidable and practically successful of all. He probably enjoyed an acquaintance with some of the members of one or more of these orders. The same spirit was imbibed by Bohemian knighthood and was often turned to good account.

The expansion of thought that resulted from the formal constitution of universities as schools of learning on their own foundation and distinct at length from monastic establishments, rendered the rise of great men, and the bold discussion of great questions inevitable; and the reign of Vlatislav derived lustre from this circumstance. The literary monarchism of William of Champeaux, though obscured for a time by the rival glories of Abelard, attracted European attention, and scholars from every nation to Paris, between A. D. 1100 and the accession of Vlatislav. The Bohemian youths who heard and were inspired by him, became grown and matured men under the last named prince, and diffused their new knowledge all around them. Bologna too arose and declared her genius and culture, and her lectures were within the reach of the youth of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia. The alleged fortunate discovery of a MS. copy of the Pandects at Amalfi, during the sack of that city by the Pisans in 1135 was another circumstance that in its results rendered the period of Vlatislav's reign one of important progress toward the general diffusion of knowledge on the most intimate and profound human relations.

In spiritual affairs no uniform rule of faith or practice existed during this century. Although no organized body or community stood openly separate, yet there existed in very many localities populations maintaining doctrines that widely differed from those professed by the more conspicuous churches. These various beliefs were held by persons who regarded themselves as belonging to the one great church, and had no thought of separating from it. The sufferings inflicted on those persons whose views on some divine

things were held from very ancient times, by individuals and even congregations scattered through the general body, some among laity, others in the episcopal body, and still more among the canonical clergy, gradually created outward distinctions, and excited animosities that had never existed so long as the individuals and congregations that had transmitted these principles, and continued more or less obscure, were left unmolested. The valleys of the Cottian Alps, the remote retreats in Hungary and Bohemia, the coasts of the Red Sea, the island of Socotra, the fiery rock of Aden, with its trading post, ancient in the days of Rameses, the mountains of Abyssinia, the ramparts of Mosul, the fertile fields of verdant Malabar, had all sheltered the representatives of ancient faiths in unbroken descent from the martyrs of Diocletian and Chosroes. Persecution unto blood and fire produced lines of separation well defined, compelled disciplined association in defense of those beliefs that had become the life as well as the emblem of their freedom, and stereotyped these faiths in the hearts of believers forever. The revival of free discussion during the reign of Vlatislav encouraged an emergence from their retreats of those persons who had retained these tenets; societies assumed distinct organization and became active; and the latent leaven of free thought and speculation that had worked in the minds of many generations of poor worshipers, became at once the animating principle of multitudes. By the eleventh century these communities had formulated well defined confessions of faith; by the twelfth these confessions again had been embodied in as clearly stated propositions as any of the principles that marked the founders of the church. These propositions seemed to

some ecclesiastics to be new because they contrasted with others that had gradually obliterated the earlier and simpler doctrines. The era that produced the Nobla Leyczon (A. D. 1100) was not deficient in clearness of apprehension on controverted questions; and the convictions that had remained passively independent, though hidden among the great body of believers, in regions aside from the great thoroughfares for centuries, assumed a contrariant and resisting attitude when assailed by dogmas believed by the compulsory separatists to be as new as they were repulsive. The independent political position and the national strength exhibited by Bohemia and Hungary during the greater part of the twelfth century, naturally invited the confidence of persons oppressed for conscience sake in cities more exposed to imperial and Roman influence. We are not surprised then to find alliances of fraternal feeling, and of open religious profession becoming conspicuous between the fraternities of Italy and France, and the surviving members of the Greek and affiliated communities who still were numerous in Bohemia and Hungary during the reign of Vlatislav. As soon as Peter Waldo had obtained some organization among his followers, many of these latter sought congenial fellowship among the brethren of the Eastern principalities; and although it is stated by an eminent historian* that Peter Waldo himself passed into Bohemia, the fact is obscure, albeit by no means improbable. His disciples certainly did pass into Bohemia about the close of Vlatislav's reign, and immediately afterward. Events to be yet narrated most clearly prove that although conventual establishments had increased in number, yet their

* D'Aubigné. Ch. in Hung.

inmates were only companies of a foreign garrison. The language and sympathies of the people were still strongly local; the assumed jurisdiction of Rome was held to be intrusive and lately tyrannical; the customs of the clergy and of the people were retained against councils and threats; and the real life of Bohemia was the old life nurtured by the established institutions.

CHAPTER XI.

INTERFERENCE OF BARBAROSSA IN BOHEMIA—DEATH OF THAT PRINCE—CLERICAL CELIBACY—AND CONNECTION OF THIS SUBJECT WITH THE HUSSITE REFORMATION—INCREASE AND SPREAD OF SECTS—PREMYSL OTAKAR I.—CARDINAL GUIDO AND THE CUMANIANS—ANDREAS, THE THOMAS À BECKET OF BOHEMIA.

Vlatislav had scarcely resigned his power when the expected contest began between the claimants for the succession. Ulrich of Moravia, son of Sobieslav the first, appealed to Frederic Barbarossa for the release from prison of his elder brother, Sobieslav, who had been a prisoner of state for many years. The emperor at once seized the coveted opportunity. Both parties were summoned to his court; and as Frederic, son of Vlatislav did not owe his title to the imperial will, he was displaced, and his rival Sobieslav placed on the Bohemian throne. The new sovereign promised to provide for all the needs of the old king in his retirement; but Vlatislav loathed what he deemed elemosynary; and retired as above narrated to his queen's territories. Young Frederic had incautiously advanced to the emperor's presence and was detained there.

Assistance in future wars against Italy formed part of the price of Sobieslav's recognition. The first campaign, however, under this agreement in 1170 was disastrous and few Bohemians returned—those few in a sorry plight. Barbarossa next quarreled with the

duke of Austria, on account of his aid and comfort given to Adalbert archbishop of Salzburg the steadfast friend of pope Alexander III. the enemy of imperial pretensions. Sobieslav was summoned from Italy; and with a great host collected in Poland, Hungary and Russia, he advanced against Henry. The Austrian dukedom was wasted; villages and churches destroyed and immense quantities of plunder carried away. This violence naturally drew down on the emperor's ally an excommunicating curse from Alexander. The death of Henry in 1177 and civil commotion in Hungary created a diversion that compelled a suspension of strife on that side; and the interval was seized by young Frederic of Bohemia, who was now at large, to ally himself with Leopold the new Austrian duke against Sobieslav.

Meanwhile the disastrous defeat at Legnano in 1176 where the fervor of the Italian youth around their *Carroccio,* sacred emblem of their republican liberties, for the first time crushed the German valor, and frustrated the efforts of Barbarossa, through a quarter of a century, to destroy the freedom of the Italian cities, humbled the emperor even to the feet of his own vassals, and released the Bohemian auxiliaries from the thralldom of enforced combat against their natural allies.

Sobieslav at once found himself confronted with the angry alliance of young Frederic and Leopold, both of whom had mortal injuries to avenge. In 1178 Sobieslav was completely outgeneraled by his antagonists. His army was disadvantageously posted; and partly melted away and partly was destroyed. Prague was at once besieged by the allies; and as the citizens could not favor Sobieslav who had been forced upon them by a

foreign despot, the city speedily surrendered; and Sobieslav's queen, Elizabeth of Poland, was made prisoner but at once restored to liberty. Both parties prepared for a final struggle; and in the following year 1179, in a desperate combat almost under the walls of Prague Sobieslav was totally worsted, and at once became a fugitive and an outlaw. He died miserably in about a year and was buried beside his father. The result of this contest placed Moravia as well as Bohemia under the sole authority of Frederic. The title of "Prince of the Rustics" has been bestowed on both of these princes, but of right appears to belong to Sobieslav. He is said to have been uniformly kind and humane; rivaling St. Louis in justice and affability to the poor. During the double decade ending with 1182 many changes had taken place in the occupancy of the sees of Prague and Olmütz. The last named year witnessed the elevation of Henry Bretislav of the ducal house to the see of Prague. From this date, for some time, the election of bishops became limited to the direct vote of the clergy, the prince confirming, and to the people being left the empty honor of shouting a ratification outside the windows. The transition from election by the clergy to appointment by the master of the clergy was an easy step.

Duke Frederic had engaged to pay a large sum of money to the imperial treasury in return for recognition in his own sovereignty. The exaction was, no doubt, defended on the ground of feudal dependence. In reality the demand was a kind of imperial blackmail wrung from the weaker party as the price of being let alone some of the time. In order to raise the required sum severe extortion became necessary; and

the measures adopted created a revolution in public sentiment, which speedily took decisive form in an invitation to Conrad Otto of Moravia to seize the throne. Frederic became a fugitive and appealed of course, to his big brother for reinstatement. Barbarossa summoned both parties before himself to Regensburg; and in that city in presence of a full reichstag, conferred the throne on Frederic, threatening the Bohemian lords with the axe in case of remonstrance. The dissatisfaction felt at these proceedings produced another popular claimant in the person of Vaclav (Wenzel) son of Sobieslav I. Prague was besieged by the malcontents; but Frederic obtained timely aid from Archbishop Adalbert of Salzburg and his trusty friend, Leopold of Austria; and Wenzel's effort failed utterly. One year later the new marquis of Moravia felt the weight of Frederic's animosity; and this latest appointee of Barbarossa had reason to regret the complications that wasted his master's strength in a hopeless contest in Italy. In fact a well grounded apprehension of the weight of the emperor's personal character constituted the chief bond between Bohemia and the German throne. A determination to shake off all dependence manifested itself on every favorable occasion. Conrad raised an army in Germany and Bavaria; but in a severe battle in 1185 these forces were completely crushed and the identity of Bohemia and Moravia as one state was again fully established.

The unsettled provision for distributing ecclesiastical revenues entailed more alarming consequences. Heinrich Bretislav of Prague thundered a ban against Diepold II. who governed Chrudin, and other provinces; but both parties were compelled to await the emperor's

return from Italy. A diet was immediately summoned on his arrival; and after presentation of the claims on both sides the assembly not only decided in favor of the bishop, but constituted his see a direct imperial fief, and the occupant a prince of the empire with the right to receive the regalia from the emperor in person. This was the most subversive and dangerous interference yet attempted with the internal affairs of the Bohemian jurisdiction; and amounted to a dismemberment of the government.

Hardly had these arrangements been concluded when the clamor for a new crusade filled men's ears; and hurled armies against the dreaded Saracen. Saladin had recovered Jerusalem in October, 1187, and the fanatical zeal of Europe was again aroused to acts of insane violence in the name of peace and charity. The aged emperor girt himself for this fresh enterprise and summoned his princes, dukes, and spiritual lords around him. In 1189 the preparations in Bohemia were completed; the allied host assembled in Austria; but the demise of Duke Frederic who had been a zealous friend of the Hospitalers, transferred the command to Diepold II., named by Conrad Otto to that dignity. How many iron bars were cleft by vigorous Bohemian arms to astonish the aborigines of Syria, and how many silk kerchiefs were deftly sliced by the dexterity of Saladin cannot now be known; but great deeds of valor were performed on the loose robed turbaned paynim, with the chief result of eradicating from all Arabia, from Sinai to Perim, and from Perim to Bab-el-mandeb, almost every vestige of the many flourishing christian communities who had hitherto enjoyed a quiet, perhaps contemptuous toleration.

When the Arab warriors advanced to confront the mailed invaders before Accon and Jerusalem, they utterly suppressed, and as far as possible exterminated all possible allies of the christian destroyers in their rear; and from that period only an obscure remnant, dimly known as "Men of the Cross" have retained in silence and concealment, a shadowy reminiscence of the communities who had hitherto preserved the faith, and the books, and the hallowed memories of Antioch.

A freshet in the Seliph broke the unity, and destroyed the vitality of the great expedition; and the warrior life of the mighty host almost expired with the "bubbling cry" of the great Frederic as he sank beneath the swollen stream on that dark 10th of June, 1190.

Henry VI. was engaged in preparations to take possession of his wife's inheritance the Norman kingdom of Italy, when the tidings from Palestine placed the wider dominion of the empire before him. Henry had been brought up among the troubadours and minnesingers of his father's court, as well as among knights and men at arms. But his character was cold, calculating and cruel. He possessed his father's love of power; but it was unclothed by those larger and more intellectual qualities that gave greatness to Barbarossa. His first act of authority in his father's absence, was to commission Conrad Otto to restore peace in Meissen where marquis Otto and his son rivaled each other in attempts to destroy the sustenance of both. The Bohemian forces surpassed both parties in capacity for plunder; and the fire subsided from want of fuel. On assuming the imperial crown, Henry did not forget his Italian interests; and Conrad Otto

accompanied him with a contingent, which was of great importance to Henry at that moment. The coronation ceremony was performed by Celestine III. in 1191; and Conrad was the first Bohemian prince who participated in that formality. The expedition was disastrous. Some cities were reduced; but Conrad died before Naples in September; and Henry was glad to escape with his life and a remnant of his followers. The gloomy message from Italy produced a melancholy foreboding in Bohemia; and the opportunity called rival claimants for the crown before the nation. On one side appeared Wenzel, son of Sobieslav I., and on the other Przemysl Otakar, son of Vlatislav. The latter aspirant found powerful support in Bishop Heinrich Bretislav. During the contention the bishop preceded Henry to Regensburg and offered a payment of six thousand marks of silver for the recognition of Otakar. The article on sale was knocked down to the highest bidder, and possession, as symbolized by the royal banner, was transferred to the purchaser, through his ecclesiastical chapman, who became surety for payment. His commission was not probably at first intended to be *del credere*, but he accepted the responsibility rather than lose the trade. Otakar soon incurred the enmity of the kaisar and his lords by interposing in a quarrel between Count Albert of Bogen and Count Ortenburg, giving aid to the former against the Duke of Bavaria who sustained the other party. The reichstag pronounced against Otakar and his friend. Meanwhile the stipulated price of the Bohemian crown was left unpaid. The bishop attempted to evade a suit and an execution by undertaking a pilgrimage to Compostella; but officers intercepted and detained him, and a portion of the stipulated sum

was paid.* But as Otakar could not provide the balance, the property was by a rough equity decreed to belong to the man who had paid for it. Heinrich himself was invested with the regalia as sovereign of Bohemia in 1193; and at once set forward to secure his purchase. Otakar allied himself with Henry the Lion; but his followers, valorous enough while the enemy were at a distance, deserted in troops before the banners of the crozier. Prague resisted for some time; but after a siege of five months surrendered on the suggestion of Otakar, who would not inflict hopeless suffering on his adherents. The prince bishop speedily demonstrated his subordination by dispatching an army to subdue the marquis of Meissen for a breach of his feodality to the empire. The bishop's health soon failed under the pressure of state anxieties; and in 1196 Otakar made an unsuccessful effort to recover his dominions.

The following year was marked by the arrival of Cardinal Peter of Capua in Bohemia, whose mission was directed chiefly against the marriage of the clergy which was still customary outside the monastic establishments. Threatening demonstrations were produced by his proceedings; and his life was endangered; but the law of celibacy was proclaimed again after more than a century had elapsed in vain efforts to suppress the ancient honored custom of marriage among the parochial clergy of Bohemia. Two years later the synod of Dalmatia gave public expression and record to the notorious fact that all the secular clergy were married in those regions.† In the same year this cardinal

* Clearly the legal principle of arresting fraudulent debtors was well known; and the ecclesiastical character of the rogue made no difference.

† In partibus Dalmatiæ et Diocletiæ Sacerdotes et uxorem habere

visited Poland; and at the synod of Lanciski the clergy were again commanded to discontinue their ancient and universal custom of marriage.*

Seventy years later the clergy of Hungary were still married; but as in all its dealings with this country, and others where Greek influence still prevailed, much tenderness was exercised; and during more than a century the canons were allowed to remain suspended because they could not be enforced. A little computation will easily connect the close of that interval with men who saw the beginnings of the Hussite reformation in Bohemia. In fact the connection between the Greek influence in Bohemia, Poland, Hungary and Dalmatia and the Hussite reformation was never broken. The latter was the uninterrupted continuation of the former.

Henrich designated Vlatislav, youngest son of the great king of that name as his successor. By an agreement a peaceable partition was effected by which Otakar obtained Moravia, and Vlatislav was secured the undisputed throne of Bohemia. A brief reign of five months closed his quiet career; and by universal consent the united government was entrusted to Otakar, whose character became developed as one of the greatest princes of the age. This prince obtained the cognomen of the "Victorious" and the "Golden" and he restored the primitive dignity of the Bohemian crown by obtaining from the kaisar at a reichstag held at Mayence, a solemn recognition of the right of the Bohemian people to elect their own sovereign by free

et ecclesias tenere dicuntur. Batthyani II. 289. Synod of Dalmatia, 1199.

* "Tum facta synodo provinciali, sacerdotibus imperavit ut concubinas et uxores, quibus tunc passim libere utebantur ab se abdicarent." Stravolsc Concil. Epit., ad Hard. T. VI. P. II. 1937.

suffrage in the customary form, and that only persons so elected should become Kings of Bohemia.* A. D. 1199.

During all the revolutions in social order, and dynastic establishments in Europe during this century, and after all vicissitudes, Bohemia retained her ancient limits, her established forms of internal institutions, and her institutional individuality. The struggles of men for independent thought and action in religious relations also constituted the twelfth century a period of serious transition, unrest, and restoration. The church itself was far from possessing an established position either in philosophical or dogmatic theology. The discussions of the schools indicated the absence of practical subjects of dissertation; and the efforts of ingenuous minds to work out fixed principles in which faith and intellect could unite.

The lives of the so-called orthodox prelates and clergy called forth constant protests from all classes; while the growing arrogance of their pretensions provoked increasing investigation of their doctrine and their status. The people instead of being instructed were amused with fables that cultivated credulity; while the mendicant orders fattened in idleness where the people starved. Multitudes complained that universal laxity of morals kept pace with alleged corruptions of doctrine; and demands for reform never ceased to be heard.

We cannot then be surprised that in all the countries surrounding Bohemia and in Bohemia itself, numerous communities arose of persons who sought

* A Cæsare Philippo comitiis Moguntinis inpetravit previlegium solenne, ut qui posthac rerum in Bojemia potituri essent suffragiis populi liberis pro more iecti, reges essent omnes." Stransky Reip. Boj. XXXIV, De Princip,

spiritual consolation and intellectual relief in researches and tenets outside those at that time encouraged and inculcated by established ecclesiastical authority. In every century from the beginning of the Christian era there had been such. In many countries none could tell what the authorized doctrines of the church were; inasmuch as discussions frequently crystallized new articles of faith not previously sanctioned. In western Europe the authority of the Roman church was far from being established anywhere; and her advanced guard was only pushing its way against much stubborn resistance. Persons who had been for centuries known or stigmatized as Paulicians, corrupted into Publicani, reached Italy from Syria and Bulgaria, and at length became very numerous in Lombardy, Insubria and Milan where they had been long established. In Bulgaria and Slavonia they were governed by a pontiff of their own down to the days of Hus; and their tenets, lives, and claims must have been well known in Bohemia. Teaching in the same language they certainly had hearers directly or indirectly among the Bohemians. They had become alienated from the Greeks in the ninth century when pictures were allowed in Greek churches. Many other communities under the name of Paterini*, Cathari,† Albigenses,‡ and other titles, were distributed through southern France, in northern Italy, in Bosnia and Croatia, at Metz in large numbers, in Normandy and Germany, in Avignon, and even in England in 1159.§ The Vau-

* Men of the cup—from patera a cup.

† *Καθάροι*—the pure,

‡ Because condemned at Albi in Aquitaine in 1176.

§ Mabillonii Analecta T. III., p. 452. Ed. Nov. 1473 in D,Agrentre, l. c. p. 33.

dois, who called themselves Vaudes in the Nobla Leyczon, and were distinct in origin and in some of their tenets from the Waldenses of Lyons, and Vienne, and Toulouse, formed a separate community in the Cottian Alps* where they had simply continued to occupy their old settlements, and to profess their old creed undisturbed. All these persons found sympathizers among the Greek communities in Bohemia, Hungary, Bosnia, Dalmatia and Servia where they were almost free from molestation.

The distribution of these fraternities was greatly facilitated and guided by the great highways from Russia and Constantinople to Bremen and Bruges. One great highway extended from the Rhine to Constantinople by Soest, Corvei, Gandersheim, Brunswick and Magdeburg, through the Slavonic countries to Kiew. Better known routes led over St. Gothard, the Wormser, and the Brenner between Italy and Germany. One of these routes ran by Basle, Strasburg, Mayence and Cologne to the Netherlands, and the German Ocean, and thence by water via Wisby in the island of Gothland to Riga. Another led by Regensburg, the Main, and the Rhine, to north Germany, Bremen and Hamburg. Another more direct route led from Constantinople along the Danube to Hungary, thence to Bohemia. By way of Cologne, Ghent, Bruges, and Brussels merchandise passed to London. During the period of commercial activity, stimulated by the success of Venice, Genoa, Amalfi, in the Levant, the stream of new philosophical and religious doctrines was introduced and distributed. Up to the

* Mountainous regions were described by Peter of Clugny in 1127 as Latibula, or lurking places, where dissentients had always found a refuge. The phrase amounts to a valuable admission of the antiquity of the Vaudois in those very Latibula.

thirteenth century Hungary possessed much power along the Dalmatian coast, and during the twelfth century controlled Zara and several other cities originally claimed by Venice; and by this route much eastern wealth passed to Hungary. During the same period much merchandise was conveyed through Carinthia to Bohemia, although this trade was eventually diverted to the Tyrol. The value of this traffic was very great and constituted Venice the great entrepot between the Orient by Alexandria and eastern Europe. As this religious and mercantile current flowed it deposited more or less freight of both kinds. It is well known that all the independent professors were always as zealous in distributing their sentiments as in selling their wares. The men who bartered silk and shawls from China and India spoke of the rich robe to be given by the heavenly bridegroom; the traders in cinnamon and spices told of the myrrh and frankincense that heralded the purifying and preserving faiths and truths revealed from a far land to the waiting sons of men; the vendors of Damascus blades reasoned of "the dividing asunder of soul and spirit" by the divine message which was sharper against evil than any two-edged sword; the wine of Italy symbolized that sacred "fruit of the vine" which was to be "drunk by all" who would imbibe the spirit of him who was the "true vine" on earth. Every trader who visited a homestead bearing his pack of merchandise first completed his traffic in wares such as he bore and were suitable; and always accepted brief hospitality as part recompense: and as the stranger sat in the evening gloom by the burning log, and peradventure was expected to relate the latest intelligence he bore, he invariably discoursed more or less from a

small volume that he carried in his vesture; and read and explained it as the divine message always most new, and always of chiefest import. All eastern Europe knew the presence of these men and every hamlet and household knew of them and what they read and taught. They were invariably possessed of copies of the Scriptures. The Bohemian vladyka who entertained these travelers was familiar with Pole and Russ, and Magyar, with Greek and Teuton; and Bohemia always possessed thousands who had marched and camped among Poles, Italians, Germans. The subjects agitating these nations were perfectly well known; and the pretensions of every man to public place were thoroughly discussed. Persecution for conscience sake had never been heard of in his nation; and as the claimants of liberty were his familiar companions against aliens frequently of very bad repute at home, his sympathies went out to the humble like himself who only asked what their fathers had always enjoyed. During this period the temper and tendency of Bohemian thought was eastern; all national interests were eastern; and most of the marriage alliances of the nobles were additional bonds connecting them with the east. Vlatislav as a "German hater,"* gathered up the full tone of mind of his countrymen in himself. The marriage of his daughters with Waldemar, king of Denmark, in 1162 formed another bond between the professors of Greek rites in the two countries. The Danes had received Christianity two centuries before this period; and were declared by Cardinal St. Sabina the legate of Innocent IV. to be still Greek schismatics in 1248; and the council of Schening held in that

* Stransky.

year was especially convened with reference to the abolition of Greek rites and customs.*

During this century a step of great importance in the courts of justice originated with Bela III. of Hungary, who established the practice of handing in all complaints in writing. This circumstance renders the year 1173, a landmark date of interest to the lawyer as well as the historian. From that year the increase of a body of men devoted to the study and exposition of law as a science was necessarily accelerated. The supply of persons capable of presenting claims before the courts in a form wherein the legal merits were clearly set forth, and the assistance derived from the same source in all the subsequent proceedings, naturally created a demand for the services of such persons. The independent tone also necessarily conceded to the advocate of rights before every tribunal gradually raised up a bulwark betwen power and petition that is the central strength of every community.

Otakar allied himself with Philip, son of Barbarossa; and took the field at the head of a strong force in his favor; and Philip confirmed his friend in the possession of the royal title in perpetuity. The same year —1198, saw the elevation to the papal chair of the most remarkable man of the age—the gloomy monk Lothair Conti—Innocent III. Otakar had married the Princess Adele, daughter of Otto of Meissen; but whether under a caprice similar to that which moved Philip Augustus of France to reject Ingeburga of Denmark in 1196, or under scruples about consanguin-

* Prima intentio et cura cardinalis Sabinensis in hoc concilio erat revocare Suecos, et Gothos a schismate Græcorum in quo presbyteri et sacerdotes, ductis publicis uxoribus. consensisse videbantur. Thomassin Discip., de l'Eglise. P. IV. Lib. I., c. 45. Paschal II. Epist. 497.

ity, Otakar obtained a divorce, although his marriage had been blessed with a numerous family; and soon afterward united himself with Constance of Hungary. This proceeding involved him in serious political embarrassments, at a time when he did not need them. Daniel the bishop of Prague accepted investiture from Otakar; but the clergy objected. At the same time Innocent pronounced in favor of Otto the Welf against Philip. Daniel appealed to Rome and was sent back triumphant; and in 1201 Otakar transferred his support to Otto. The reasons assigned for this step were the encouragement of intrigues against Otakar at Philip's court. During two years all the regions from the Alps to the Vistula were traversed by agents of the contending parties. The wild tribes of the plains of Poland and the steppes of Russia were enlisted and turned loose against the farmers and villagers of Thuringia and Saxony. In 1203 Philip marched with a strong force into the former province; but the cry of Cardinal Guido for help against this new Saladin was heard on the Danube and the Volga; and the wild Turkish Comans, fierce nomads of south-eastern Russia were enlisted by the pope to destroy the christian settlements of Europe. It is possible that the memory of this expedition was perpetuated among these wild tribes who subsequently formed a portion of the desolating army of Mongols or Mughals, who made Europe tremble thirty-eight years later. Emerich of Hungary advanced rapidly with the hope of redeeming his Kingdom from the feudal stain imposed by Henry III. His followers recalled the tradition of the Huns of old by their motley array. Otakar led his host against the Swabian, who was compelled to retire before this two-fold invasion. But the states

of the archbishop of Magdeburg were made the objects of the baffled fury of the destroying swarms. For weeks the slaughter and destruction did not abate; and the cardinal found ample gratification in the devastation inflicted on the domains of the churchman who had opposed the wishes of his master, Innocent. Otakar received the crown of Bohemia again from Cardinal Guido this year. The Saxons of Meissen were next punished for waste committed in Bohemia. Otakar's services were recompensed by an order to the bishops of Prague and Olmütz to render him all obedience so long as he should serve Innocent's purpose. At this period the domains of the empire were lavished on adherents. Fiefs and farms, offices and titles purchased influence more or less stable. Next year, 1204, Philip again advanced against Thuringa, and neither Otakar nor Otto could resist. Otakar took some steps to be reconciled to Philip and Adele, but the birth of a prince in 1205 renewed his determination. Adele appealed to Rome; but as her former husband was at that moment fighting Innocent's battle, the pope had no ear for her griefs. The unhappy lady died of a broken heart a few years later.

The assassination of Philip by Count Otto of Wittelsbach in June, 1208, plunged Germany into consternation. Philip's queen suddenly died. Frederic son of Henry VI. was a mere boy, away in Italy; and no organized opposition could be made to the accession of Otto. At that date, as at the present, men rendered political services solely in the expectation of the "spoils of office." Philip's murderer had aspired to the hand of the emperor's daughter; but being one of the fiercest men of the time Philip was not persuaded to consent. Next Otto sought the hand of a

daughter of the duke of Poland but there also his aspirations failed. Being thus repulsed from the "White House" Otto determined on revenge; and entering Philip's chamber at Bamberg while the emperor slept, struck him with his sword, inflicting a mortal wound. The assassin was overtaken and slaughtered, and his act rendered future emperors cautious in the distribution of favors.

Otto married Beatrice, Philip's surviving daughter, and soon afterward marched into Italy. No sooner did he claim his imperial jurisdiction than Innocent's fury blazed. Otto was expected to renounce large territorial possessions in return for papal favor; but he regarded his imperal dignity as a trust to be maintained in full. The ban of the church was hurled against him forthwith. Innocent also intrigued in favor of young Frederic, son of Henry VI; and princes and barons were soon of his party. Otakar also adhered to young Frederic, as did Herman of Thuringia and the archbishops of Mayence and Magdeburg. At this juncture the support of the able, experienced, and energetic king of Bohemia was a prize to be purchased at a high price, and Otakar knew his own value. But danger existed in his own dominions. Vratislav, Otakar's son of his first queen Adele, had many partisans. To this party came invitations from the adherents of Otto, especially the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Duke of Bavaria. But the king was strong both in friends and resolution; and in 1212 he set out to hold a formal meeting with Frederic at Regensburg. Frederic only reached Switzerland. At Basle a court was held, and on this important occasion a solemn treaty was established between the sovereigns. This decree confirmed and enlarged the

privileges conceded by Phillip. The crown of Bohemia was fixed in Otakar and his descendants forever; the coronation fees were remitted; the boundaries of the kingdom were settled, and were not to be infringed; the investiture of bishops secured to the crown; attendance at the reichstag limited to Bamberg, Nüremberg and Merseberg; and three hundred marks or three hundred men formed the contribution in case of a coronation at Rome. A number of fiefs were consigned to Otakar in payment of his expenses, as temporary security.* Among the witnesses to these stipulations appears the ominous name of Rudolph of Hapsburg, grandfather of that Rudolph who raised up a new empire and a new dignity in Europe. Otakar accompanied Frederic to his coronation at Aix-la-chapelle; and attended the reichstag at Regensburg. Otto had allied himself with Richard I. of England who supposed himself to be the natural enemy of Philip Augustus of France the firm ally of the Hohenstaufen. The fatal fight at the bridge of Bouvines, May 27, 1214, broke almost Otto's last hopes. He retired to Brunswick; made one more effort with the aid of bishop Waldemar, and seized Hamburg. But his enemies now included Denmark; and Otto finally retreated to his own dominions where he passed three years gratifying and appeasing an active disposition in such works of local usefulness as his fortune enabled him to effect.†

During this year bishop Daniel died; and his successor was Andreas, chancellor of the kingdom and provost of Prague. With this prelate begins a new

* Pelzel I. 118.

† The reader is spared the humiliating recitals of the death scenes of this prince.

and momentous era in the history of Bohemia. His consecration took place at Rome during the sitting of the well known council of Lateran, 1215, under Innocent III., where among other things the doctrine of the real presence in the eucharist first authoritatively assumed its present form among the adherents of the Roman dogmas, after having been discussed and disputed for centuries. Hitherto Andreas had been an eminent Bohemian subject, patriotic, devoted to the laws, institutions and independence of his country. He returned from Rome an arrogant ecclesiastic, full of the audacious pretensions that marked the court of Innocent III. and that thrust occasion for embittered contention through every country. As chancellor Andreas had performed his legal and constitutional duties without deviation from usage; but as bishop of Prague he became transformed into the antagonizing agent of an alien court, commissioned to introduce a foreign jurisdiction between his own government and its subjects, directly; and indirectly an emissary to establish an authority that claimed the right of unlimited interference between the laws of the country and the nation.

After the quiet of the kingdom had been established, Otakar's first act was to assemble his parliament. Under the influence of the dangers arising from disputed succession this assembly altered the pragmatic law whereby succession had been vested in the eldest of the family generally.* Otakar obtained the recognition of his son Wenzel; and the establishment of the right to the throne in the direct descendants of the monarch.

* An example of this principle in Egypt during the nineteenth century will occur to every one.

At that juncture Otakar—he styled himself Przemysl,*—occupied a position in some respects similar to that of Henry II. of England half a century previously. Otakar possessed the advantage of a settled parliamentary system. Henry had no parliament. Otakar ruled a nation guided by established legal procedure and formal judicature through all its cities and districts. Henry was obliged to construct and complete a system of judicial procedure out of the irregular and broken practice that prevailed. Both ruled countries formally constituted, and just beginning to enjoy a settled succession after a period of violent political storm. Otakar was compelled to encounter an invasion of his supremacy from the same aggressive hierarchy that now sought to govern every country from without, at the instigation of an ecclesiastical despot; and to hear the demand for a complete surrender of the unity of his kingship couched in the same tones and sentiments, as pointed and significant as the "Salvo honore Dei" of Becket on the plains of Montmirail.

Andreas signalized his assumption of episcopal control by investigating and publicly expressing his disapproval of many acts of his predecessors and his determination to adopt a contrary policy. He issued a strong pastoral to his clergy requiring them to abstain from yielding subjection to temporal authority. He repudiated the competence of the assize courts not only over the persons of ecclesiastics, but over the tenants of the glebe lands. He forbade every acceptance of preferment from the laity; refused the payment of taxes and soccage services from the property of the church; and laid exclusive claim to the tenths that had been assessed on church lands.

* "Ego Przemysl, Rex Boemorum."

These fundamental assaults on general usage and public law were condemned and resisted by the whole people. They were revolutionary, anarchistic, and subversive of the established life of the nation. So united and resolute was the hostility to these innovations that Andreas in anger laid the kingdom under an interdict, A. D. 1217; and forthwith repaired to Rome to lay his quarrel before the new pope Honorius III, and derive strength and counsel from the vehement spirit of encroachment then prevalent at the center of papal Christendom. The archbishop of Mayence was then primate, and his metropolitan jurisdiction extended over Bohemia. This see had long been opposed to papal aggrandisement at the expense of the empire; and a dignitary sent from Prague found no difficulty in obtaining a release of the kingdom from the interdict from this prelate who had formerly been an ecclesiastic in Bohemia. The archbishop, however, reserved a promise that Otakar should respect the well founded rights of Bishop Andreas.

The perilous significance of these events in Bohemia may be gathered from some brief notices of contemporary experience in neighboring countries.

The rapid spread of free societies in France, Spain, Italy, Hungary and elsewhere evoked from Innocent III. letters apostolic expressed in the most peremptorily severe and menacing language, addressed to princes and prelates commanding them "to catch and kill the little foxes, the Waldenses, Cathari, Paterini; foxes of diverse faces but with tails tied together by a cord of common heresy, and sent by Satan with fire brands of destruction into the vineyard." These peaceable and blameless brethren had greatly increased in Italy. Spoleto, Viterbo and Rome itself

had become familiarized with their preaching. Driven out of Spoleto by the cruelties of the archbishop they wandered into Hungary; and also took refuge under Culinus, Ban of Bosnia. Thither also denunciatory letters were despatched commanding Emerich,—the same prince who reinforced Otakar during the war in Germany, to pursue these innocent people, and hunt them down and kill them indiscriminately. As the laws of Hungary would not permit this procedure, Innocent proposed the enactment of penalties to be inflicted on those he wished to extirpate. "In other states," said the pope, "we have commanded the same to be executed by secular powers and princes; but if they refuse so to do we have commanded that they be compelled by ecclesiastical severity." Emerich, however, had been taught that murder is not government; and in that particular was infinitely more Christian than the pope.* The Hungarian sovereign not only did not molest the quiet persons who had appealed to his flag, but extended his protection and encouragement. In Bosnia accordingly, the brethren exercised their various callings in peace, and the country prospered. There are persons who assert that John Hus introduced novelties two hundred years after these events. The king of Bulgaria was persuaded to undertake the office of Inquisitor spurned by Emerich. Kalo-John had for dynastic reasons quarreled with Constantinople, and by this political wedge the bishop of Rome introduced his claims. In that country the immigrants were compelled to erect altars and crosses in their churches; but personal violence was forbidden. Many of these refugees settled in Bohemia; and

* Let the answer of the author of Christianity be read when the apostles wanted fire called down from heaven.

their principles and customs were perfectly well known, as well as the sufferings of their brethren in Bulgaria and elsewhere. The proceedings adopted by Innocent were notorious all over Europe, and were perfectly familiar to Otakar. Innocent's dreadful proceedings at Viterbo in 1207 were also fully announced everywhere. In that city Innocent had ordered every so-called heretic to be seized, his property confiscated, his domicile demolished and made a dunghill, that he should be deprived of all civil rights, and of the services of judge, advocate, or notary, and of the ministrations of clergy, and might be persecuted in any manner by whoever chose.* Not only permission but authority and power to do such things in Bohemia constituted the necessary extension of the claims now put forward by bishop Andreas. Here the crown had favored and endowed monastic houses. But neither prince nor people had forseen or contemplated the pretensions now being erected on the existence of these establishments. This new assault presented to the Bohemian prince the alternative of permitting the pope's agent to slaughter any number of Bohemians before his eyes, or have the religious emotions of his people converted into an engine to beat down his own authority. All this two centuries before the protests of Hus on the same subject. Did Hus introduce any novelty on that matter? Bohemia had also seen the kingdom of Aragon, and the kingdom of England each become a fief of Rome, and each made tributary, the former in a payment of two hundred golden masiemiste pieces per annum; but had also learned of the deep indignation both of the Aragonese and the English. The outburst of wrath at the proceedings at Huesca

* Registorum Lib. X., num. 130.

from all the people must have been known at Prague. It was notorious public history. Bohemia had also witnessed the accumulated atrocities, and horrors of cruelty inflicted on the people of Languedoc who narrated them in every court, and every city in Eastern Europe whither they fled; and it may be that Bohemia also had heard of Ferdinand III. of Castile, known to our day as Saint Ferdinand, who with his own hand carried and added to the heap bundles of faggots used to burn alive in the Asturias some of those very refugees from Languedoc who had incautiously ventured to suppose him a Christian. It is even possible that Bohemian statesmen had read the bitter denunciation by the same pope of the Great Charter of English liberties, as "a composition not only vile and disgraceful, but even illegal and iniquitous, and tending to the excessive diminution and degradation alike of the king's rights and of his honor."*

It may be too, that Bohemian ears had heard the words of terrible import, "Up, up, soldiers of Christ! Up most Christian king! Hear the cry of blood" addressed by the head of Latin Christendom to the sovereign of those very lands he was ordered to destroy. Bohemia may have even heard the despairing but stern resolve of the Toulousans,—"We will all die, we will all eat our children ere we will submit to these frightful impositions." Does anyone believe that the total destruction of the cities, towns and people of a splendid province in the south of France was unknown in Bohemia with whose knight crusaders Bohemian lords were personally intimate? Nay, worse than all, Bohemian patriots could still hear in fancy the chant of

* Compositionem non solum vilem et turpem, verum etiam illicitam et iniquam, in nimiam diminutionem et derogationem sui juris pariter et honoris." See Rymer,

the bishops and legates, "Come Holy Ghost," rise above the horrible tumult of butchery at Levaur where "a general massacre was permitted; men, women, children were cut to pieces, till there remained nothing to kill except some of the garrison and others reserved for a more cruel fate;" and they could see in the mind's eye the nobles brought before De Montfort hewn in pieces, because the gibbets were overloaded and broke down.* And Bishop Andreas came to Bohemia as the apostle of the new dispensation that claimed the right to do all this!

That Otakar felt indignant at the confusion threatened to the realm by the interdict thundered against him, cannot be cause of surprise. But since 1216 Innocent was dead; and we hear no more the same tone of exorbitant pretension at once seductive and menacing that formed the style of that pope. Honorius III. indeed undertook the cause of Andreas, but the audacity of Innocent did not survive. Honorius wrote to Otakar complaining that in Bohemia clerical persons were not only accused but punished in secular courts, that the king himself contemned the ban of the church, associated with excommunicated persons, bestowed benefices, collected improper imposts from spiritual persons, and refused the tenths from his domains; that his example was followed by his tenants, and the immunities of the church were trampled upon. All this was commonplace, and far beneath the hot and pointed rhetoric of Innocent. Otakar replied with circumspection and politeness. He thanked the pope for the interest he felt in him personally, and for his

* We may apply to this calamitous period the dreadful words of the Koran "we have mown them all down; and exterminated them; one cry was heard, and all have perished." Terrible as this is in English it is strikingly sonorous and stimulating in the original.

fatherly admonitions, and intimated that some persons must have whispered calumnies in the papal ear, proudly adding that it was not customary with himself or his predecessors to condemn any man to death,* and especially ecclesiastics. Improper imposts had never been laid on the churches; encroachments had always been punished and the church privileges had been extended; "In bestowing benefices" Otakar said, "I have followed the suggestions of Bishop Andreas or of the dean of Prague. The tenths from my domains are paid in full to the royal chapels; whoever is indebted to the bishop's exchequer, or remiss in payment is called to account. Inquire, holy father, of all the clergy of Bohemia, and the neighboring countries; if my words are not correct withdraw your confidence; but if they are true, then let the man be punished who has calumniated me." "A former spiritual person," the king added, "was indeed condemned to the gallows in a temporal court for robbery and counterfeiting; that he did not wish to concern himself in the nominations to benefices, but that the rights of lay persons in that regard must not be curtailed. He could not perceive the impropriety of imposts from ecclesiastics to the state."

During this correspondence Pope Honorius re-affirmed the interdict. The contest thus became serious and must be adjusted as speedily as possible. Many of the chief dignitaries owed their elevation to the king's appointment; and the interdict had received little or no attention after its removal by the metropolitan. Among these dignitaries were dean Arnold, archdeacon Christopher, Benedict of Bein, Wecemil of Bech-

* This language to the successor of the slaughterer of the Albigenses is very manly and significant.

in, Zdislav of Horrsov, Orslov of Saatz, John of Kurim, Pribisalv of Pilsen, and Valkin, Bohuslav, Matthias Peregrinus, John of Aschaffenburg, and Bartholomew, canons. Their example was followed by the clergy all through the country, and even by Bishop Robert of Olmütz, a Norman prelate of English birth, who had accepted the duties of that see in the absence of the regular bishop. The pope had reproved him sharply for undertaking these functions under the circumstances; and notified him that he must expect deprivation unless he obeyed the interdict. The benefices held by the clergy of Prague were declared vacant; and all who held them were summoned to Rome. The bishops of Ratisbon, Passau, Eichstadt, and the archbishop of Salzburg with some Bohemian abbots were constituted a court of inquiry and consultation, to whom individually and at different times the subject was referred.

Otakar requested that a papal legate might be appointed to arrange the differences; and Honorius named the bishop of Ratisbon and the abbots of Ehrach and Waldassen as his representatives to consult with the king and his nobles, and receive a secure pledge for the performance of all conditions that should eventually be determined. Otakar forthwith assembled his parliament at Kladrav, A. D. 1219. At this assembly the form of the arrangement to be observed on both sides was established.

The bishop alone should have the right to induct and suspend spiritual persons, but without detriment to the rights of lay patrons.

In spiritual things he should have jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical persons.

His duties should be performed by deputies appointed by him until his return.

Within three months after his arrival compensation should be made to him for all injuries committed either by the king's chancery or private persons; and six barons became sureties for the performance of this condition.

The tenths should be assessed and collected in every district as hitherto.

The bishop should solemnly promise loyalty and fealty to the king.*

The king's private seal as well as the seal of state was attached to this instrument; as the members of the assembly did not employ their private seals in matters of public concern.

At the same time Otakar requested the pope to dispatch a legate to inquire into the bishop's grievances, and to restore all the ecclesiastics who had undertaken their spiritual duties under the king's command. But bishop Andreas had peremptorily deposed "the schismatic prelates" as he styled them. On the other hand the king felt bound in honor to protect the men who had performed their duties to their people out of respect to their fealty to their country. The king's exchequer seized and retained the bishop's temporalities; and a new interdict was pronounced at Rome, and published through Europe. Otakar on his part despatched an embassy consisting of several of the most eminent barons of the kindgom, to Rome, to represent himself personally and the estates and policy of Bohemia. The pope had thus succeeded

* See the far less favorable terms accepted by King John of England in 1213 under very similar circumstances. The Great Charter, on which now rest the vaunted liberties of mankind, which is quoted by constitutional writers as the triumphant perpetuation of ancient rights, is of the same date, June 15, 1215 as the fourth council of Lateran where was sounded the fierce trumpet blast against the independence of nations. Perhaps also "Providence owed us that counterpoise."

in securing in his own hands a supersession of the jurisdiction of parliament over the internal administration of the country.

Honorius requested the embassy to accompany the bishop to Vienna; and there to consult with the estates, declaring that he was the more willing to adopt this course as they had become sureties for the bishop's safety.*

Andreas proceeded to the boundaries of Bohemia on the Austrian frontier,† and thither Otakar with a numerous retinue advanced to meet him. The negotiations were speedly broken off, as the bishop put forward a new claim, which was met by new proposals, and Andreas returned to Rome without effecting any thing. The ecclesiastic could afford to wait. He had not the administration of the daily claims and wants of an entire nation depending upon his interposition and vigilance. Delay necessarily increased Otakar's difficulties, while his opponent, now become his adversary, could with calm craftiness weave new complications to embarrass the generous sovereign who had honored him. It was on the last point, the promise of fealty to the king—that the negotiations now turned; and as the pretensions of Andreas necessarily corresponded with those systematically asserted at Rome, and expressed in the same language in every part of Europe; the "Salvo honore Dei" again constituted the artifice by which laws and thrones were to be rent asunder by the fatal wedge of alleged maintenance of the honor of the Deity. The "Talis dolus

* It is more than probable that Becket's history was in the eyes of all parties during these transactions.

† Dem ungeachtet liess sich der König so weit herab das er mit dem Bishoff an den Osterreichisschen Grenzen zusammen kam," Pelzel I. 120.

prudentia sit dicendus" of Innocent* is clearly discernible as the guiding spirit of these transactions.

At length Honorius despatched Gregory, Cardinal de Crescentio, to Bohemia with power to establish a concordat respecting the disputed points; the jurisdiction over the glebe tenants, and the jurisdiction of the church at Prague, and to collect information respecting the elevation of Prague to an arch-episcopal see.

Bishop Andreas accompanied Gregory but was cautious about entrusting his person within the Bohemian frontier, until an agreement should be effected. Again the Austrian boundary saw assembled a brilliant array of princes and ecclesiastics under the personal control of the king of Bohemia and the duke of Austria. The cardinal legate was there and Bishop Andreas, and Robert the Englishman of Olmütz, John of Neitra, Lawrence of Breslav, and many prelates and abbots of Bohemia and the neighboring regions, nobles of the land and statesmen, and grave jurisconsults, with much display of ceremonial if not of pageantry. The entire scene strongly reminds us of a similar display on the plain of Montmirail. The turbulent prelates of those days always surrounded themselves with as much pomp as possible. An arrangement was engrossed and sealed. The interdict was withdrawn. The bishop swore to observe the compact; and to respect the privileges conferred on the churches by the kings and dukes of Bohemia which had fallen to the ground during the dispute; and the king confirmed the agreement by a solemn decree. The glebe tenants were relieved from payment of the imposts to the crown, and from feudal soccage. The

* "Let such deceit be pronounced prudence." Epist XI. 232.

supreme jurisdiction over them belonged to the king, the revenues were assigned to the bishop. The old disputed district of Podwin was restored to the see of Prague.

In addition to this arrangement Otakar concluded a second concordat with the legate by which the privileges of the churches and monastic houses through the country at large were confirmed. These were not so extensive as those conceded to the churches of Prague. The glebe tenants were not wholly relieved from assessments to the crown, but the latter were reduced as well as the soccage labor. Supreme jurisdiction over the parochial clergy was reserved to the king, who, however, pledged himself to refer complaints against them to the authority of parliament, under the presidency of the high chancellor and one baron; but complaints against the tenants were to be heard before the king himself, while usually they were examined before the assize courts. Harmony and union may be secured by stipulations much less formal than these if concert and amity be the object; but if there be a disposition toward endless encroachments on one side, no concordat, statute, agreement, or compact will avail against the eagerness to disunite and to grasp. A slit in the armor will always be discovered when there is a determination to search for it.

The deposed prelates were restored; but bishop Andreas did not choose to consider himself secure; and he fled to Rome where he remained until his death in 1224.

Honorius issued an order that the bishop elect should proceed to Rome for confirmation and consecration, whoever he might be. The selection fell on Peregrinus already mentioned and he accepted invest-

iture from the king. This proceeding displeased the papal court; and Cardinal Conrad, then in Germany was ordered to investigate and correct the status of the new bishop. Peregrinus was persuaded to renounce his office and accept a small stipend to be paid to him by his successor. Under Conrad's influence the next choice fell on Budilov, another canon, and he was at once confirmed by Honorius; but his opportune death at Rome afforded a most favorable opportunity for retaining control in full over the election of his successor. Deputies were therefore required to proceed from Prague to Rome, to act under the immediate control of the papal chair. John of Prague was chosen; and his confirmation took place under the next pope, Gregory IX., the real founder of the Inquisition. The slit in the armor was found. Henceforth the rights of Bohemia, of prince and people, nobles and estates, were reft from them; and an alien and an adversary possessed the means and the opportunity of establishing his sworn agents in the heart of the country in defiance of all the laws, constitution and independence of the realm. In the light of these events the retreat of Andreas to Rome may be read. His residence there until his death may have been intended to afford the coveted opportunity. "Talis dolus prudentia sit dicendus." The maxim has been applied to many things; from the deception of Raymond to that of Lord John Russell.

It was at this juncture that the order of Dominican or preaching friars was established at Prague. Public sentiment in Bohemia needed a strong counteracting influence.

Strange to tell it was the pious devotion of the Albigensian ladies of Languedoc, resembling in many

features the practical zeal and methods of the present Salvation Army, that suggested the method of preaching as a chief instrumentality for the counteraction of heresy so-called. Being attached to the semi-monastic community established by the bishop of Osma, Dominic accompanied the bishop to Denmark in 1203. Immediately on crossing the Alps the negotiators were at once impressed by the proofs of prosperity and industry everywhere abounding. They were also impressed by the contempt into which the Catholic clergy had fallen, and the universal prevalence of Albigensian philanthropic zeal. At Montpellier they encountered the legates commissioned by pope Innocent, who were then returning in discomfiture, having wholly failed to produce any impression on the population. It was then that Dominic rebuked the legates. "It is not by the display of power and pomp" he said to them, "or by gorgeous apparel that the heretics win adherents. It is by earnest preaching, by the humility of apostles, by strictness of life, by apparent, indeed, but still by apparent holiness." The spirit of Dominic pervaded the camp of De Montfort, and was the animating life of the mock tribunals that created holocausts of victims at Lavaur, Beziers, Carcassonne, Minerve, Termes, Mireux, where, and all through the land, the sword, the torch, and the faggot consigned unknown thousands to an awful destruction. The spirit of Dominic was that which revelled in all the souls of DeMontfort's crusaders when they heard the shrieks of the burning women, and mocked their agonies in the flames.*

The activity of the new order was wonderful. In 1221 Dominic died, and his canonization followed

* Mainte folle heretique beugle dans le feu." Fauriel.

speedily. The entire order was taken under the especial protection of the Virgin; and was supposed to enjoy the closest approximation to her person. Dominic himself was alleged to have become her adopted son. Miracles of the most puerile description were attributed to him without number.* This was the order that became domiciled at Prague in A. D. 1226.

Otakar was then far advanced in life; and his foresight induced him to provide for the succession before his death. The coronation of his son Wenzel was therefore determined on; and the ceremony was performed by Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence, as metropolitan, in the church of St. Vitus at Prague.† From this precedent the see of Mayence claimed the right to perform the coronation ceremony of the kings of Bohemia. All the ancient ceremonies were not introduced on this occasion, presumably as Wenzel was really not yet king in fact; but henceforward some of the ancient forms fell into disuse.

Otakar died on December 15th 1230, leaving a numerous family. Przemyzl the second son became Margrave of Moravia on the coronation of his brother; and among the princesses one was sought in marriage by Henry III. of England.

During his last days some official papers were signed by the king; some by his son; and unusually important documents by both. During this reign the Teutonic knights obtained their first establishment in Bohemia. The impulse to German colonization by the minor sovereigns of the empire, within this century, extended to Bohemia. Colonies settled in various places and always claimed special privileges.

* See Malvendiœ; and the Vie de St. Dominique of Lacordaire.

† Pelzel.

They demanded independence of the Bohemian courts, and the supremacy of their own customs.

This system of jurisdictional fracture once begun in their case gradually extended. Under its operation localities demanded special immunities; ecclesiastical persons and small corporations by degrees established peculiar distinctions in their own favor, until the assize courts were shorn of their former importance.

Special vocations like those of Eger and Leitmeritz, exercised in the mountain districts during this period required appropriate arrangements among the workmen respecting methods of operation, remuneration, hours of labor, discoveries, relations of employers and employed, and other ingredients of their life and experience. These arrrangements are always best settled by the workers themselves. No man can tell how much a miner can fairly earn under certain conditions of rock and water, fire damp and narrow seams of ore, so well as one of the persons who have become familiar with the details by actual struggle. Under such conditions customs and rules necessarily become established; and the difficulties to be overcome fix the laws of the society and of its labor. In this way German colonies in Bohemia, as on the Baltic coast, consolidated themselves and continued to enjoy their own jurisdiction from the days of the Saxon emperors. King Wratislav had admitted this principle, and it was formally conceded by his successors.*

* "Concedo eisdem Teutonicis vivere secundum legem et justitiam Teutonicorum quam habent a tempore œvi mei regis Wratislai," was an official declaration of Sobieslav II. This was the general concession after the fall of the old empire.

CHAPTER XII.

WENZEL I.—OTAKAR II.—THE TARTARS.

The condition of Europe on the accession of Wenzel I. as affecting those phenomena that form the sequence of this "Story," and the future variations in the fate of Bohemia which are dependent on those phenomena, can only be understood from a brief review of some of the more salient events that distinguished the time.

The crusades originated in the wild but uninstructed fanaticism of the age. The great impetus they conferred on the aspirations of the Roman see was speedily discovered. The ferocity stimulated against Saracens was easily directed with augmented fury against alleged heretics within christendom. The prospect of unlimited plunder excited greed. The taking of the cross became a duty which every prince and peer, and every renegade, murderer and vagabond also owed to church and country for the expiation of crime. A certain number of years of crusading became the recognized penalty for the most heinous offences, and Palestine was formally constituted the Botany Bay of Europe. By a strange mixture and confusion of ideas the service of the cross was made a punishment of malefactors; and the hewing down of Saracens assumed the same recognized status as picking oakum, or rolling shot. The white cross worn on the loose robe was as much the outward sign of a

condemned malefactor as striped pantaloons, or a chequered coat in modern days. An ardor for propagandist fraternities, influenced strongly by the crusading spirit and methods arose at the same time. The two-fold advantages presented by these distant enterprises,—the emptying of Europe of its wisest and best as well as its worst elements,—the abeyance of settled policies in the absence of chief rulers, and the multiplied openings thus afforded for the intrusion of ecclesiastical power, were promptly taken advantage of. Great hosts were thus driven forth leaving wide social and administrative spaces to ecclesiastics at home; princes imposed exhaustive burdens on their people; and the more lavishly they spent their treasures, under the threat of religious censure which created the great ogre of the age, the more they were menaced for not doing more. Undeterred by the desolating famine that wasted Egypt in 1200 and was repeated in Syria a few years later, when earthquake, plague and famine inflicted the extremities of suffering, the papal command called for a crusade. In this terrible time many cities disappeared. Hamath, Barin and Baal-bec were laid in ruins; only the street of the Samaritans was left in Nablous; Damascus was prostrated; Tyre became a barren rock; Ptolemais and Tripoli were as Jericho before Joshua; when piles of human bones were met everywhere and the country was "like a field sown with dead bodies, and the provinces were like a banquet hall for carnivorous birds,"* the voice of the pontiff of western Christendom was heard ordering legions into the midst of the

* The historian Abdallatif, translated by M. Silvestre de Lacy "Les Relations de l'Egypt." Latin writers carefully shun these recitals

Coin of King Wenzel.

Seal of Otakar II.

famine and the pestilence. The dread sphynx* death, however, stood at the door as the awful watchdog of ruin.

By great efforts some of the cities were repaired; the Saracen prisoners were set to do the work; the illustrious Persian poet Saadi, among other captives was condemned to service. The author of "Gulistan," a com position admired in all lands and still a classic in all the East, carried a hod, and presented a sample of the mockery of fortune far greater than that of Demosthenes in casque and greaves fleeing before Philip, or Horace flinging aside his little shield to hasten his celerity in retreat.†

While these quixotic proceedings were enacted in Palestine, cardinals at home levied taxes, enrolled armies, forgave debts to all but themselves, bestowed rewards and punishments, and usurped more than all the functions of prince and parliament. The clergy secured larger and still larger immunities, powers, and possessions; and sovereigns were required under pain of excommunication, if not worse, to withdraw the flower of their countries' sons, the golden youth of their people, far from their native land,

"And charge with all their chivalry"

against Saracens who had never molested them. High above all fierce cries for preparation sounded the voice of the chief pastor of western Christendom, "Sword, Sword, spring from the scabbard, and sharpen thyself to kill."‡ Yet all these efforts availed not and the four thousand loaves per day doled out to the remnant

* This word is preserved in its original signification in the Russian Sabaka—a watch dog,

† Relicta non bene parmula Hor.

‡ Innocent III., against Louis, son of Philip Augustus.

of the crusaders in Egypt witnessed at once the baffled fanaticism of Europe, and the generous virtue of their calumniated adversaries.

The crusade of children in 1212, exhibited the intoxication of the public mind.

The return of Frederic II. proved fatal to the sixth crusade; and he found his empire in confusion.

The brief period between 1215 and 1242 was only the space of time between one orgy of blood and another. Drunken language indicated the inebriety of Europe. Andrew II. of Hungary earned gratitude but was recompensed with contempt. He delayed long in Armenia satisfied with the possession of the head of St. Peter,* the right hand of St. Thomas, and one of the seven vases of the marriage of Cana.

The general ferment indicated a change but it took a wrong direction and became sour. Still some good arose out of all this chaotic commotion. The visions of the East created new ideas and aspirations in European homes. The mean cottages of Europe looked mean beside the decorated splendors of eastern habitations. The villages that had sheltered the stout yeomen of Vladislav who had beaten back German and Magyar assumed a dingy look in the eyes of men who beheld the domes and cupolas of eastern realms, the perfection of arch and pillar that adorned the halls of palaces and mosques. Even the cross-adorned robe of knighthood seemed a plebeian garment compared with the green and scarlet and purple which demonstrated the splendid perfection of the dyer's art in the flowing cloaks of the swarthy sons of the east. The

* Some accounts give him two heads, and two hands of somebody, and a sprig of the rod of Aaron. One fairly good head of his own would have been infinitely better.

skins of wolf and fox that had formed so important a portion of the only armor of Bohemian trooper captains gave place to steel helmet and cuirass. The fur of bear that had sheltered many a gallant head was replaced with plume of ostrich or of peafowl; and the eye of Wenzel and his knights became trained to a distaste of such homely attire as had prevailed, and the primitive dwellings that had sheltered it. The German form of castellated mansions was introduced, and many of the nobles adopted the German style of nomenclature.

The fierce contention between the papal power and the Hohenstaufen emperors affected every throne in Europe, and laid the foundation for contentions that have scarcely ceased to this day. The houses of Przemysl and Hohenstaufen were closely connected by marriage, Wenzel's queen, Kunnigunde, being cousin of the emperor and laying claim to a princely inheritance in Swabia. Among other evils of the time was one that can with difficulty be accounted for. Princes had acquired the custom, or the morals of the day imposed the necessity, of putting away their wives, alleging as reasons the ties of consanguinity usually. Probably it began with a caprice of one, and was followed by an evil pride in others. Frederic the Warlike, Philip Augustus, Vladislav, John of England, and others had put away their wives. Frederic was married to Sophia, sister of the queen of Hungary. This lady was repudiated. For this reason Wenzel led an army against Austria in 1230, and committed so much devastation that Frederic was compelled to abandon his territory as far as the Hungarian border. Frederic next married a daughter of Otto of Meran, and thus became brother-in-law of Przemysl, duke of Mo-

ravia, brother of King Wenzel. The brothers-in-law united their forces against the king; but Wenzel completely discomfited his opponents. In order to chastise his brother Wenzel wasted Moravia in a dreadful manner; but the duke submitted to the king's clemency.

The emperor returned from Italy in 1230, and endeavored to reconcile Austria and Bohemia; but Duke Frederic had hopes of the crown of Hungary on account of the hostility to Bela IV. The quarrel being thus reopened, Bohemia again trampeled down the obstinacy of the Austrian; and the army of the duke was almost totally destroyed by an overflow of the Danube. King Wenzel's sister Agnes had been disappointed of forming a marriage alliance with Prince Henry, and had become a nun, and a most zealous devotee. This lady was the favorite sister of King Wenzel and exercised supreme influence over his counsels. This circumstance developed momentous consequences to Bohemia.

The Empress Iolante, daughter of the king of Jerusalem, died in 1228; and Isabella of England became next empress amid a splendid ceremonial at Wormes. In the meantime discontent in Austria had grown so vehement that Duke Frederic's subjects appealed to the empire. A summons before the reichstag produced no effect, and the ban of the empire was pronounced. Chastisement was committed to the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, the marquis of Brandenburg, and several bishops, the emperor being still engaged in his fruitless strife in Lombardy. Austria with the exception of a few fortresses was subdued; and Vienna and the other occupied cities placed under the authority of the Burgraf of Nuremberg.

Having associated his son Conrad in the empire in a diet at Spires in 1237, Frederic retired to Italy, and henceforward became a stranger to Germany. But the conflict with the papacy developed the vigorous free thought and daring speech of the imperial German; and the vehement denunciations on both sides expressed many supreme truths then greatly needed in Europe, and to this day form extremely entertaining literature.

The position of Bohemia at this juncture was favorable to peace. But the turbulent spirit of the time, the absence of the emperor, the youthfulness of his son Conrad, a boy of ten, the intrigues of domestic cabals, and the restless spirit of propagandist ambition all combined to provoke into active eruption the volcanic elements of European politics. The empire held a perpetual menace impending over Bohemia. The moment seemed favorable for an alliance with those powers whose interests were opposed to those claimed by Germany. To these influences was now added the more subtle and penetrating power of appeals to religious feeling addressed to Wenzel in his quiet hours by the ever potent voice of his favored sister Agnes. This lady being at the same time a kindred spirit, and a near relative of Elizabeth of Hungary, afterward canonized, the two zealous professors of the most extreme system of ascetic devotion were at that time a power in the heart of Europe. Elizabeth was the daughter of Andreas, king of Hungary, and Gertrude von Meran, sister of St. Hedwig. Immediately after her birth she was demanded of her parents to be brought up as the intended bride of Louis, son of Hermann, landgrave of Thuringia. The child was carried in a silver cradle to the Wartburg which in a more fortunate age became the shelter of

Martin Luther. In due time Elizabeth became wife of Louis and mother of a son—Hermann. Succeeding to the dignity of landgrave Louis was easily induced to take the cross; but Palestine did not suffer or benefit from his valor. He died on the journey, leaving young Hermann still in infancy. Conrad and Henry, brothers of Louis, now seized Thuringia and dispossessed Elizabeth, who was reduced to penury at Eisenach. Henry was enrolled as a knight hospitaler, and Conrad enjoyed the dignity of landgrave. Being hated, however, by his subjects for his ferocity, and forced to cede due honor to Elizabeth and her son, Henry, surnamed Raspe, avenged himself by poisoning young Hermann. Elizabeth retired to Marburg and the fame of her devotion, which sprang from overwrought and lacerated feelings, spread abroad. Her confessor, a Dominican monk, also named Conrad, reduced the submissive and broken hearted princess to extraordinary mortifications. Daily did she submit her exposed person to the lash weilded by the stern monk, and frequently displayed the wounds inflicted, saying "Behold the caresses of my confessor." Conrad advanced from one degree of daring to another. His cruelties inflicted a premature death on his victim, Elizabeth; but he applied successfully for her canonization. Miracles abounded. Not satisfied with this success Conrad usurped the office of judge of heresy and established an inquisition among women, peasants, and mendicants, on whom he imposed disgraceful acts of penance. His ambition soared loftier and he summoned counts von Solms, Henneberg and others before his tribunal and condemned Count von Sayn to have his head shorn, a penalty equivalent to the cropped hair of a State's prison. The count appealed

to the diet at Mayence, proved his innocence and demanded reparation. His appeal succeeded before the emperor Henry and the monk fell a guilty victim to popular retribution. He had condemned eighty men to be burnt at the stake. Twelve of his apparitors were put to death at the same time. Two of his familiars noted for their cruelty, Johannes and Conrad, attempted to escape; but both were arrested and executed. The Dominicans suffered, so far, the penalty due to their crimes; and in Germany the Inquisition was no longer dreaded. The order in Bohemia was under the especial patronage of the princess Agnes. Shortly before his death Conrad had stirred up a crusade against the Stedingers, east Frisians of the province of Stade. Great numbers of these unfortunates were massacred; and every prisoner taken was burnt. The archbishop made an unsuccessful attempt to drown them all by cutting the dykes. The effect of these proceedings on public thought in Bohemia, already not favorably disposed toward the authors of these massacres, consisted in deepening the feelings of aversion toward Roman influence, and drawing closer attention to the character and doctrines of the sufferers. On these points Hus introduced no novelties. The more public effect of the introduction of the Dominican order into Bohemia still remains to be narrated.

Under the combination of opportunities and influences here specified, in the year 1237 King Wenzel made a full and free proffer of his submission and service to Pope Gregory IX. "It is through her intervention that you, most holy father, receive me under your jurisdiction; and in truth I love my sister as I love wife and children, and all the good of life, even more than any human being." So wrote Wenzel; and

the Roman court attached great importance to so decisive an announcement from such a quarter. Here was a novelty introduced into Bohemia.

The first effect of this submission was a request from the pope to Wenzel in favor of the restoration of the estreated territories of the duke of Austria. But Wenzel was not in a position to adopt so bold and injudicious a step at that moment.

This year 1237 witnessed another open rupture between Wenzel and his son, Przemysl of Moravia. The latter fled to Hungary. His territories and fortresses were reduced; but King Bela IV. interceded for the fugitive; and a peace was concluded by which Przemysl was forgiven, but deprived of much territory and revenue. During these hostilities Frederic the Warlike and Wenzel held a conference wherein a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was concluded against the emperor; and the papal see again meditated an excommunication and an interdict against the Hohenstaufen monarch. With the assistance thus afforded Frederic of Austria reconquered his territories in the year following, 1238. In the year ensuing another and wider confederation stood arayed against the emperor though the efforts of Gregory. The duke of Bavaria, Henry of Thuringia, Henry of Meissen, with Otto and John of Brandenburg, were associated with King Wenzel in this league; the king being nominated as the Captain General.* Gregory at the same time demanded the election of a new emperor. This new crusade was preached with great vehemence in Germany by the legate Albert of Beham; but his insolence disgusted many influential nobles and prelates. Not-

* "Ducem et capitaneum et magistrum." Acta Alberti Beh., l., c. 787.

withstanding this check the compact organization of the hierarchy began to make itself felt as a formidable antagonist now distinctly arrayed as a separate and conflicting combination.

In the face of these perils Frederic II. convened a Reichstag at Eger in 1239; and deputed his son to represent the imperial authority. The confederate nobles were also present, each party with a strong armed force. The debates were violent; but the duke of Austria seceded from the alliance on being promised a restoration of his territories on condition of withdrawal from the opposition. The efforts made by Gregory to set up another claimant to the empire were not successful with Robert of Artois, nor the duke of Schleswig. The dissentients offered the perilous honor to Wenzel; but the Bohemian king found good reasons for declining to commit himself to avowed hostility. He even meditated a full reconciliation. Wenzel's prudence was opportune, as the powers of Europe soon found themselves confronted by a peril which had gradually approached, destroying and blackening as it came, and required the united strength of the best and bravest to repel the disastrous menace that it portended.

Among the numerous tribes which had contended for land and power in the depths of Asia, during many centuries, the Mong-shi-wie, known also more specifically as the Mong-ku-li, gradually emerged from their obscurity as a subordinate section of a great confederacy. They became by degrees traders with the Chinese, and of sufficient importance to be named during the Thang dynasty, 618-907. They lived by hunting and cattle, nomadised every year in search of water and grass; and they bartered hides, sheep, camels

and horses. Their native home lay between the Onon and Kerulon tributaries of the Amur. Many of these tribes were subjected to Chinese authority during the early centuries of the Christian era; and disputes concerning tribute gradually led to war with the emperors of the Thang dynasty. The region lying southwest of this territory was occupied chiefly by Turkish tribes, and a commingling of names and races took place whereby an offshoot of Turkish stock acquired power and pre-eminence among the Mong-ku li. The tribe becoming divided into two principal branches, a long and deadly feud grew up between the rivals; and the section descended—according to the genealogies—from Mogol Khan was driven into obscurity where it remained for several centuries. Among the neighboring tribes to the west and northwest are found the Tata identified as the white Tatars or Tartars, and beyond them again some Turkish tribes. From the sixth to the twelfth centuries of our era the Mong-ku-li—or Mongols—were not conspicuous. They inhabited the country in north Mongolia, and southwest of Lake Baikal. During this period the Hiong-nu, afterward known as Turks, possessed the chief power in Central Asia; and from a branch of these Turkish Hiong-nu the ruling family of the Mongols is supposed to have descended. Gradually the Mongol power grew in extent and boldness; and we find one section of them at war with the emperor Shing-tsong in 1014. Their ambition as conquerors was checked on this occasion; and they were again reduced to the position of traders. Hostilities were, however, renewed; and at the end of another century—A. D. 1147*—the long contest between the Chinese and Mongols still continued. The

* De Mailla VIII. 545.

defection of another tribe—the Kin, from the Chinese, created a valuable accession to Mongol strength; the Chinese general Uchu was compelled to surrender twenty-seven fortresses, and to promise an annual tribute of cattle, sheep and grain. The Mongol chief hereupon styled himself emperor of the great empire of the Mongols. It was during this period, and by the instruction obtained from Chinese prisoners, that the Mongols became acquainted with cooked meat. A short time subsequent to these events the chief power among the Mongols was in the hands of Yissugei, one of their greatest leaders. By this chieftain the tribes were rendered entirely independent of Chinese rule from any province; and by some writers, among them by De Mailla, the first assumption of imperial title was the act of this prince. In 1145 and 1155 Yissugei overran the country of the Tartars, laid it waste, and returned greatly enriched with spoil. Shortly afterward his eldest son was born and was named Temudjin after the vanquished Tartar chief. Yissugei had then his chief camp on the plain of the Onon, and on the right bank of that river—the cradle land of the Mongols. The number of families then subject to Yissugei did not exceed 40,000. His assistance was sought by Wang Khan of the Keraits, the Prester John of the west. Yissugei replaced him on the throne, and Wang Khan became his sworn friend. Yissugei died in 1175, being poisoned by the Tartars who treacherously invited him to a banquet. He was succeeded by his son Temudjin, better and more terribly known subsequently as Jingis Khan.

Temudjin was only thirten years old when his father died; and his youth and early manhood were marked by constant warfare—by alternate victories and defeats.

An attempt at cattle stealing by a number of subordinate tribes, and the instant death of the offenders, created a confederacy against Temudjin which proved too strong for him to resist. He was taken prisoner, and fixed in a *cangue* or instrument of boards which are fastened round the neck. But Temudjin was not easily subdued. He escaped and was befriended, and returned to his own people. The fame of his house, the rivalry of clans, the alliances existing, the favors shown by his father, and his own spirit soon surrounded him with an army of 13,000 men. With this force he attacked and defeated his opponents; and soon afterward quarrels among his adversaries created important desertions in his favor. Feasts, presents, and marriage alliances augmented his influence and the number of his adherents; and in 1194 he became a free lance, and united his forces with those of Kin, emperor of China, who was then at war with the enemies of the Mongols. A complete victory and much booty were the result. Other successes followed against other offending tribes; and a visit from Wang Khan and an alliance greatly increased his consideration. A serious defeat, and the invasion of his country and abduction of his wife, reduced Temudjin to great distress. But his presence of mind and resources came to his aid; and in 1197 he was again at the head of a strong force. Wang Khan was a third time restored to his kingdom. The following years were a period of constant strife and familiarity with bloodshed and destruction. Jealousy of his rising power created strong confederacies against him; but his vigor and unsparing severity again made him master. During this critical state of his affairs Temudjin adopted the policy which ever afterward distinguished

him. His orders were strict to follow up the beaten enemy and never stay for booty. A series of encounters at length led to a formidable conspiracy; and Temudjin was defeated in a great battle and reduced to severe straits. On this occasion his calmness was made conspicuous in a formal letter to Wang Khan. At length the divisions among his opponents provided followers; and a rupture with Wang Khan himself led to a battle in which the latter was defeated and afterward murdered, A. D. 1203. In this year Temudjin was proclaimed Khan, and another great victory followed soon afterward over confederated tribes in the west. These struggles placed the Khan at the head of all the forces of an immense extent of country. The passion for war had thus been stimulated; and an alternation of victory and defeat had hardened his character until it had assumed the phase of a remorseless lust for conquest and destruction. At length in 1211 Jingis as he was now styled—his full title being Sutu Bogda Jingis Khakhan—advanced to the attack of the Chinese empire. A long series of successes followed this invasion. The following year the attack was renewed, and immense districts and provinces were ravaged. The accessions of strength and riches acquired by the conquest of towns and cities confirmed Jingis in the passion for war, and deepened the calm ferocity of his destroying character. Henceforth wherever there were inhabitants and plunder thither the remorseless Mongol hordes swept on, and perpetrated frightful ravages. The empire of the Shah of Kharesm—an immense region extending east and southeast of the Caspian Sea, formed the next neighbor to the Mongol dominion. Muhamed of Ghizni was then Shah, and a ruler of celebrity. A quarrel between subjects

of these powers became the pretext for a devastating invasion. During the terrible war that began in 1218, the most awful and overwhelming calamities were inflicted on the realms of Kharesm and Persia. The ravages of Jingis and his destroyers extended from beyond the Caspian to the Persian gulf, and on to Georgia and Armenia. Cities were destroyed in every direction and their inhabitants murderously exterminated. The fury for blood had only grown more intense with gratification. Provinces were utterly wasted. The fairest scenes of earth were made a desolate wilderness; the centers of commerce and opulence became shapeless heaps of rubbish, not the thousandth part of the population was left alive in large and flourishing districts; and one immense scene of carnage and desolation marked the afflicted lands swept over by the devastating hordes of the Mongol chieftain. The ranks were largely recruited from prisoners who were always placed in front in the attack on cities; and the most deliberate deceit and treachery were habitually practiced to induce garrisons to surrender fortified places. Straggling bands of wanderers strayed away to Russia, Hungary and Beloochistan; but from that period the lands blighted by the tread of the Mongols have never recovered the paralysis inflicted by the dread destroyers of Jingis.

During those memorable years the spirit of crusading was indeed abroad in the world. The horrors perpetrated by Pope Innocent and De Montfort in Languedoc were rivaled but not surpassed in cruelty of spirit by Jingis in Kharesmiah and Khorassan; and the fair towns of France witnessed the counterpart of the ferocity displayed at Urgendj, Otrar, Nishapur, Herat, Nissa, Merv and many other cities. One said,

"I am the vicar of God, and I condemn to the stake all who do not believe as I do;" the other wrote, "Commanders, elders, and commonalty, know that God has given me the empire of the earth from the East to the West; whoever submits shall be spared; but those who resist shall be destroyed with their wives and children." De Montfort, Conrad, Dominic, Innocent and others carried into effect the claims of the one, and Chepé Noyan, Ogotai, Tului and Juji executed the commands of the other from the same claim of universal dominion.

Under Chepé and Sabutai the Mongols attacked and ravaged Georgia then ruled by Ruzudan, son of Queen Thamar. The region north of Caucasus was laid waste and Shamaki, and Derbend taken. In Daghistan the Mongols were joined by the Cumans—Turkish nomads from southeastern Russia, the same tribe who had ravaged Europe at the call of Cardinal Guido. The Russians under Mitislof were crushed; and all the towns and villages over a wide region of Russia were mercilessly destroyed. This dreadful march of Chepé and Subutai is probably the most remarkable example of military genius in the annals of warfare. Jingis returned home conquering and destroying as he went, and died in Linpan, August 18th, 1227, aged sixty-six. But after a few years the impatient "Young braves" urged a renewal of massacre and pillage in the west. As usual previous to all their expeditions, a Kuriltai, or general assembly of princes and chiefs was held to arrange the "plan of campaign." The war was accordingly renewed in 1237. Ogotai, son of Jingis, was now Khakhan but did not accompany this expedition. From Great Bulgaria to the Caucasian Mountains, and from Riazan to Moscow, then an unim-

portant town, the terrible Mongols advanced, killing and destroying. Indiscriminate slaughter marked their track, and fiendish tortures of their prisoners gratified their revenge, until "no eye remained open to weep for the dead." Vladimir, Novgorod, Kief, Suzdal, Kolomna and many other cities were taken and the inhabitants massacred except some stragglers. Novgorod the Great, a celebrated emporium of commerce, and a member of the Hanseatic league, was threatened; but Kosusk was visited by a "carnival of death," and its captors named it the "city of woe." The Kipchaks allied to the Comans were next defeated, and Kotiak, their king, driven with thousands of his people into Moravia. Some of these Kipchaks were sold as slaves to the Egyptian sultan, Malek-el-Saleb; and about the middle of this century became the founders of the Boharit dynasty of the Memlooks. From Russia the invaders advanced on Hungary. The passes were forced; and while one division advanced against Bela, another assailed Poland, and defeated and killed the palatine of Sandomir and Cracow. Many thousands fled to Germany; and multitudes more were driven into the morasses and forests. The united Christian armies lay prostrate on the plain of the Keiss, April 9th, 1241, near the village of Wahlstadt. Nine sacks of ears were filled by the Mongols, each one of these ghastly trophies representing a corpse. Thence to Lignitz, Bolatz, and on to Moravia. At the same time Silesia was so terribly depopulated that German colonists found the land unoccupied. The neighborhood of Troppau in Moravia, was wasted so grievously that Przemysl Otakar in 1247, son of King Wenzel, who became crown prince in that year on the death of Vladislav, granted an annual market to aid in re-

storing its prosperity. The plain country and all the smaller towns of Moravia were ravaged, and the slaughter of the inhabitants must have ended in their annihilation but that the country abounded in forests and natural caverns which concealed the wretched fugitives. The prosperity of Moravia received a very severe blow, and did not recover itself for a century. In some respects an injury was committed that has never been repaired. The spirit of the country was broken. One splendid achievement throws a light of electric splendor through the darkness of these afflicting woes. The city of Olmütz, situated in a district called the Hauna, necessarily attracted the bloodthirsty fury of the Mongols. Here the patriot valor of the province had assembled, and during several days an obstinate and bloody struggle evinced the vigor and tenacity of both armies. Driven to a hill the Moravian host intrenched themselves. Weary with toil and exposure and maddened by thirst the troops were with difficulty nerved to the combat by the stern valor of their leaders. At length the oppor tune arrival of Jaroslav of Sternberg with a strong force of Bohemian and Carinthian patriots infused courage and hope into the besieged. The battle which followed was furiously contested; but Jaroslav earned and received an immortal renown which has enshrined his name forever in the annals of Moravia. Defeated and broken, the Mongols evacuated the province where their ferocity had created a desert.* The towns

* Much elaborate discussion has been wasted on the story of this battle. Some "learned Thebans," have referred the date to 1252 or 1253; and one in particular,—Wolff,—has employed many pages in an attempt to demonstrate that the later date is correct instead of 1241; and has labored to prove that Jaroslav earned his encomiums in a contest with the Hungarians and Comans. The poems that recapituate Jaroslav's great exploit, and signalize him as the Charles Martel

of Hraditch, Littan, Privan, Gevitch and Brünn had been devastated; and Otakar transferred new inhabitants to repeople the waste, and conferred important privileges and exemptions.

The might of Hungary was laid low on the heath of Mohi; and the most terrible carnage ever known in the annals of the kingdom succeeded the rout of its defenders. Pesth and Buda fell, and the victors advanced with fierce rapacity to Croatia. Thence they passed into Servia and Upper Dalmatia, through the district of Ragusa, and laid Cattaro in ashes. Albania was next trodden down and the towns of Doivach and Drivasto near Scutari were burned. While this body was thus in pursuit of Bela, another division assailed Austria, but was defeated on the northern march. A second army approached Vienna; but a strong force of Bohemians and Carinthians under King Wenzel, the dukes of Austria and Carinthia and the Marquis of Baden compelled them to retreat. Batu, the Mongol general, hearing of the death of Ogotai, the Khakhan, after the death of Jingis, December 11th, 1141, ordered a general retreat. But before quitting Europe, Subutai invaded southern Hungary, and a dreadful slaughter of the inhabitants ensued. The land was utterly laid waste, and the destroyers

of Moravia, are too closely filled with details that correspond with Mongol manners and habits, and agree too specifically with the facts of veritable history to allow us to believe that they were not derived from real events. The advance, the mode of warfare, the appearance, the strict discipline, the severe subordination of the invaders are all strictly correct. The Bohemian, Austrian, and Hungarian sovereigns acted in concert in 1241 under the hard necessity of a dreadful peril. In 1253 their old feuds had been revived. The rescue of Olmutz must be referred to the earlier date; the songs correspond to the statements of at least one eye witness of the event.

traversed forests in order to discover everything that had escaped their former invasion. A crowd of Hungarians and slaves were induced to quit the camp under pretense of amnesty; but as in all similar cases, they were then overtaken and massacred.

Bela only returned from his retreat in the islands of the Adriatic when he was well assured of the entire disappearance of his foes. He found his country a desert; and famine was completing the work that the Mongols had begun. These dread events had filled Europe with terror. Gregory IX. issued letters filled with words of alarm. "Many things occupy our attention," he said, "the unhappy condition of the Holy Land, and the lamentable state of the Roman empire, but we will not name them, we will forget them in presence of the evils caused by the Tartars. The notion that they will extirpate the Christian name shatters our bones and dries up our marrow." But Gregory had not thought proper to weigh the fact that the dissensions created in Europe through the extravagant demands and pernicious intrigues of his predecessors and himself, the animosities sown among European princes and nations by papal emissaries in the interest of the papal temporal power, created divisions, and paralyzed the arm of Europe in the day when all her manhood was needed against the ruthless destroyers from the steppes. The camps of the champions of Christendom, in the very presence of the Mongols, were filled with political and religious strife created out of the pretensions of popes against kaisar or against king; and as in the earlier days of Goth and Saracen many witnessed without regret their domestic foes overwhelmed by foreign aggressors. In all such cases the rugged equity of the barbarians

meted out merited chastisement, declaring that traitors deserved no mercy.*

The Mongol Tartars who constituted the ruling tribe in the hordes of Jingis and the combining race in the motely host of Turkish nomads who devastated Europe, possessed all the cunning, ferocity, treachery, wile, and ingenuity, undiluted by the smallest ingredient of pity or remorse, that rendered them the most destructive foes that ever swept over any country. The scenes which they converted from smiling gardens into desolate heaps were eventually restored indeed to moderate prosperity; but the ancient had been obliterated, and was replaced by a palimpsest civilization, far weaker in character, and more dim in outline than the former. The terror of their invasion spread to the coasts of the Baltic and Atlantic. The fishermen of Scandinavia forsook the fisheries as early as 1238, and scarcity of means of exportation greatly depressed the price of herrings in London and other parts of England.† The symbol of their authority was a yak's tail which was borne on a Tuk or T shaped cross-pole. To this were attached the shoulder blades of a sheep placed also cross wise, X; and frequently the bleeding head of some prominent enemy was carried on the top, presenting a ghastly realism of Death's Head and Cross Bones, fitly symbolizing the

* The extent to which these quarrels were carried may be understood from the contemporary condition of the city of Plotemais, then almost the sole remnant of the later kingdom of Jerusalem. The space within the fortifications, consisting of an outer and an inner line, was again divided into sections, each fortified against the rest. The feuds of the various nations and clans, and the animosities that sprang from political jealousy, and the aspirations of orders together with the harangues of friars and bishops against factions condemned by the pope, produced such strong antipathies that each party fortified itself against the rest within their only fortress.

† Gibbon VI. 219 note

murderously savage spirit of the bandit bands that made it. The red hand of a Sioux chief, or a Gaelic O'Brien, even when borrowed by a grim vexil larius of Rome, was a tender emblem beside it.

Placed between Greek and Latin influences and potentially acted on by both, the Bohemian commons had remained steadfast to the old traditions of the country, and the free toleration that had characterized their Greek instructors and principles. The court had imbibed some of the spirit of Rome; and the new policy of the Bohemian king was mainly, though not exclusively, directed by Roman counsels. The tone assumed by the papal legates was that of warning and of menace; and the superstitious mind of the age lent stress to their terrorizing. The Latin empire of Constantinople was in the throes of its struggle against the united forces of the Greeks of Asia, and the Bulgarians and their Cumanian Turkish allies. The tide of success had set strongly in favor of the recovery of the Greek empire, that occurred twenty years later. The Bulgarian proselyte, Calo John, having been ignominiously repulsed by Baldwin in 1205, and ordered to express his repentance by touching the imperial footstool with his forehead, had reserved the outward manifestation of his resentment. The conspiracy of the Greeks against their Latin masters, the massacre of the strangers that reddened the pavement of Demotica, and then poured streams of French and Venetian blood along the channels of Adrianople, afforded Calo John the opportunity that he coveted, and helped to create. The military insubordination of the Count of Blois before Adrianople, and the rout of the Latin army and captivity of the emperor Baldwin, all seriously contributed to shake the Latin throne

of Constantinople, and relieve Bohemia from Roman pressure on that side. Apprehension of the effects of western policy in the minds of Bulgarians, Hungarians, Bohemians and Moravians, and the neighboring populations declined. "The diminished strength and waning proportions," of the imported Latin empire became more conspicuous, and the policy of neighboring states was necessarily affected. Calo John, although a proselyte was also a Bulgarian, although no longer solely a Bulgarian; and his ambition was stimulated by the prospect of provinces or alliances. The insult offered to him by Emperor Baldwin, although terribly avenged, was not forgotten. The pope's remonstrances fell on deaf ears. The assassination of Calo John in his tent at the siege of Thessalonica, in no degree affected the policy of his successor. Azan effected a formidable alliance with Vataces, emperor of Nice; and although John of Brienne obtained two victories before Constantinople, yet the extreme impolicy of Pope Innocent in enthroning young Baldwin on his right hand at the council of Lyons enflamed the national and religious sensibilities of the Greeks and rendered their resolution more stubborn. The contemptuous reprimand to young Baldwin at Dover; the equally or more contemptuous permission to him to continue his begging enterprises in that kingdom, the pope's lavish contribution of indulgences, a kind of money not current in Greece, and considered spurious; the unholy alliance of Baldwin with Cumanian Turks, although well known as papal cohorts on previous occasions; the sacrifice of a dog and the taste of each others' blood by the contracting parties, scenes avowedly enacted in the interest of papal dominion, the hypothecation by Baldwin of the

very "crown of thorns" to a Venetian money lender were all sources of wonder to the earnest fighters who had built military policies on the rules of campaigning and of sense. The Greek and Bulgarian thundered at the doors of Constantinople, and all the baby linen, skulls, Moses' rods accumulated by the credulous could not avert the wrath of the marshaled legions of Vataces.

During these commotions fugitives from the south of France retreated to Hungary and Bohemia in increasing numbers. These persons became so numerous and well established that in Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia at the close of the century they amounted to a large population; and after the Mongol ravages their intelligence and industry greatly assisted in restoring the prosperity of the country districts and smaller towns and villages.

The position of Hungary after the well known Diet of 1222, when the Golden Bull of Hungarian constitutional common law was recognized as expressing the law of the land, was extremely favorable to the increase of independent religious communities. The royal revenues were allowed to remain in the hands of Jews and Mahomedans; many persons adopted the faith of these tax gatherers; and in many respects it was esteemed more respectable to be a Jew or a Mahomedan than an orthodox Roman Christian. Full toleration for all sects was a necessity; and the land became in large measure an asylum for men of independent faith. But the pope thundered and Robert, archbishop of Gran, laid the whole land under an interdict; and Andrew II. bequeathed an inheritance of distress to his successor, Bela IV. in 1235.

In addition to the relics before mentioned, Andrew brought home a more valuable freight in the person of the daughter of the illustrious Lascaris, emperor of the Greeks, as the bride of his son Bela. The scholarly influences of this princess and her court found little employment, however, on account of the desolation of destruction wrought by Batu and Subutai.

As in England at the same period the nobles of Hungary were encouraged by local prelates to contend for popular privileges, for the purpose of depressing and humiliating the sovereign; and when the prince was sufficiently degraded, and found more pliant in the hands of his Roman persecutor, then he was upheld as a feudal servant of the pope in opposition to the estates of the realm. This programme obtained more or less success according to local conditions. The union of the prince of Hungary with a daughter of the steadfast enemy of the Latin empire of Constantinople, and rival of the young protegé of Innocent IV. was as distasteful to the court of Rome as the predilections of Frederic II. for his Sicilian Saracen servants, and his manly advocates, Peter de Vineis and Thæddaus of Suessa. The turbulence of the nobles, the rapacity of the clergy who were the exacting collectors for papal exchequers, distracted the country and prevented its recuperation after the Mongol invasion. So distressing was the condition of affairs, that on his return from the islands of Issa and Bua where the non-seamen could not invade his secure retreat, Bela found his country in ruins. Wild beasts had become so numerous that wolves robbed the cradles of their infant occupants; and a swarm of locusts devoured every vestige of green in the land. Carrion became common food and human flesh was publicly

sold in market. Bela invited strangers, distributed alms of his scanty resources; and his bounty possibly included some of the remnant of the parsimonious advance made to him on his flight by the duke of Austria, on security of a large portion of his estates. During this period the Waldensian manufacturers and traders found their opportunity. German colonists also came in; and some prospect appeared of a restoration of life if not of prosperity. But Gregory IX. reveled in his schemes of crusading frenzy; and even in his extremity Bela was speedily warned to expend his small resources against the Bulgarian ally of his own father-in-law, John Asan, in aid of the decrepit Latin empire of Constantinople then in the last stage of tottering caducity. The legate James had fomented discord as Pandulph had done in England; and even the archbishop became incensed against his insolent exactions. These scenes and events transpiring in the most neighboring realm whose every breath of public experience was intimately felt in Bohemia, produced the motor causes of other events in Bohemia itself within a few short years.

While the states of Europe were full of commotion and strife, legates were commissioned to preach another crusade against the Saracens. From these expeditions the only persons that could draw profit were the preaching friars who occupied where the peasant and the artizan had withdrawn, and the bishop who ruled in pomp where the soldier and his retainers had left a vacant authority to be usurped. By every species of inducement all the chivalry of France had been enticed to arms; and King Louis did not disdain deceitfulness* in order to enlist the ingenuous

* It was customary for the sovereigns of France at great solemnities to distribute capotes or mantles to such of these retainers as were at

youth of his kingdom in his infatuation. In France men asked in wonder whence came the right to impose such sacrifices and inflict such contentions on mankind. A strong confederacy was formed against the criminal exactions of the clergy. This combination rendered eminent service during the absence of the king; and the liberties of the Gallican church have been referred to the principles of independent protest established at that period.

England was agitated by the contentions between Henry III. and his estates. When the bishop of Berytus proceeded thither to preach a crusade he was sternly refused permission, and Henry repudiated his proceedings. England was entitled the pope's farm. Martin the collector of papal revenues was driven from the country at the peril of his life. "Arise, get thee forth! Depart at once from England," was Fulk Fitz Warrenne's stern mandate. "The devil take thee away to hell," was Henry's indignant imprecation, in answer to a demand for safe conduct for the extortioner who had pillaged the kingdom with "depredations and iniquities."

The assumption of scarlet as their distinguishing color by the cardinals at the council of Lyons in 1245, under the express command of Innocent, as an emblem of their readiness to shed blood, was a sign full of menace to mankind. At this council, high above all his compeers, Thaddæus of Suessa, the lawyer—knight

court. These gifts were styled *livrées*—our word livery—because delivered by the prince in person. Louis ordered a large number of these mantles to be prepared for christmas eve, embroidered with a cross in silk and gold. These were distributed before the tapers were lit for vespers. As soon as the young nobles entered the light they discovered the emblem of devotion to the crusade, and although taken by surprise, they were too chivalrous to refuse an acceptance of the vow thus deceitfully imposed on them.

advocate of Frederic II., exhibited his splendid impeachment of the vindictiveness of Innocent. "I appeal," he said, "from this pope to a future, a more gentle, a more Christian pope." The example of Thaddæus was not lost upon his successors. These events are here recorded, with great brevity, as they formed an esential portion of the contemporary education of Bohemian statesmen. The warnings thus loudly uttered by the universal experience of outraged and plundered Europe were much more heeded by the barons and nobles and allodial proprietors of Bohemia than by King Wenzel. Occupied by dynastic aspirations at this period this sovereign was absorbed by efforts to extend his estates, and enlarge the dominions of his house. The condition of the duchy of Austria created many hopes. Frederic the Warlike was childless, and the heiress presumptive was princess Gertrude, his niece. Hardly had the Mongols disappeared when Frederic was again in arms. He assailed Hungary and destroyed what little appeared after the devastations of his Asiatic rivals. Bohemia was next atttacked; but as the troops then almost universally employed were mercenary cutthroats from every where, Frederic's bands deserted in apprehension of punishment; and being in a sorry plight he purchased grace by consent to the betrothal of Gertrude to prince Vladislav, heir presumptive of Bohemia. Up to this date Wenzel had been a supporter of the emperor; and the strife of parties extended to the state dignitaries. In Olmütz a violent quarrel created rival bishops elect; and each party appealed to Rome. One of the candidates, Conrad of Hildesheim, was an imperialist. He was sustained by Wenzel; but both were set aside by Innocent IV. who nominated Bruno of

Holstein and Schaumberg. Wenzel positively refused his consent to surrender the see to this person, and Bohemia was at once laid under interdict by the archbishop of Bremen.

An important success over Ulrich of Lundenberg, Wenzel's representative in Austria in 1246, enabled Frederic again to assume a role. A prohibited degree of consanguinity was alleged to exist between Vladislav and Gertrude, but the needful dispensation—that convenient inclined plane by which principle may be made to slide away to make room for expediency—was forwarded from Rome. This year Frederic was killed in a skirmish at Leitha in Hungary; and a period of confusion succeeded. Prince Vladislav died in 1247 and Przemysl Otakar became heir presumptive. During this interval the emperor claimed Austria as a fief and Wenzel became his enemy. Being thus an ally of Innocent the King of Bohemia and three other electors—the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne and Treves—raised William of Holland to the perilous elevation of claimant elect of the empire. On returning to his estates Wenzel required from his barons and commons a full acceptance of the new emperor elect as their imperial suzerain. But at this point the experiences of European states during the last quarter of a century operated as a severe check on any manifestation of approval, still less of compliance on the part of the Bohemians. They perceived that it was not an emperor who had been elected but a Roman pro-consul. They observed an absolute transfer of the seat of authority in Germany from the north to the south of the Alps; and the Bohemian estates imitated the example and rivaled the independence of the English parliament who confronted

Henry III. in full armor. Bohemia also must not become the pope's farm. Proof of their perspicacity became soon apparent. Wenzel's error had deprived him of the support that all his predecessors had found unfailing. Not to the patriotism of his nobles and vladykas, not to the manly independence of his subjects, not to the ancient honor of Bohemia, not to the tried fidelity of native valor, or to any instinct of love for home, or altar or fatherland, not to memories of fathers, or perils from the aggressor did Wenzel make his appeal. He threatened his own people with a church interdict. Deeply had he drunk of the cup of wile presented by his sister Agnes, abbess of the Clarissians. Forthwith the standard of rebellion was unfurled; and the angry people elected young Otakar as their leader.*

The prince at once placed himself at the head of the national party; and as the king found nobles and commons all of one mind, and the resistance universal, he resigned his authority, retaining only Klingenberg, Ellbogen, and Brux. These places were wrested from him, and Wenzel quitted Bohemia, and took refuge in angry vindictive mood with the duke of Meissen. Here he at once proceeded to assemble a host of mercenary adventurers whom he proposed to direct against his own hamlets, villages, and cities. Forthwith civil war in its most envenomed form raged in Bohemia. The agents of the bishops excited the populace with every appeal to fanatical passions usual in those dark days. The chief weapon consisted of denunciations of the flames of hell against recreants

* Aber die Bhmen weigerten sich. Wie sie der Kænig durch den Kirchenbaum dazu zwingen wollte, sie emporten sie sich wider ihn, und trugen seinem sohne Przemisl die Regierung an. Pelzel 124

to their spiritual directors. The establishments of foreign orders under various names had grown numerous in Bohemia. Each became now a center of inflammatory zeal; pulpits resounded, and spiritual consolation or hope was poised on the preference for pope or kaisar. Village became a foe to village; sounds of vengeful strife were heard all through the land. This condition of affairs precisely suited the instigator of it all. He could cast his influence to one side or the other, as he found one party or the other disposed to concede to him more authority in the country. The land was filled with violence and devastation by the hands of its own inhabitants at the instigation of a foreigner whose sole purpose was to promote his own aggrandisement. But for a thousand years nations have been just such fools. In this distracted state of the country the adherents of Otakar were compelled to confront the ravenous mercenaries whom King Wenzel and his crusading ecclesiastics had enlisted in Brunswick and Brandenburg. Near Brüx the forces met and Otakar was compelled to flee to Prague. The prince refused to see his country destroyed by a host of invaders; and with a generous heroism surrendered to his father. Amnesty was granted; and the Marquisate of Moravia was again assigned to Otakar. But the discontent was not allayed and the prince was imprisoned. Wenzel, however, was not sufficiently master to inflict any further penalty, and the necessities of his dynasty were paramount. The barons were treated with greater harshness. Their estates had in many instances been occupied by partizans of the court; and the original proprietors were not permitted to disturb them. Many of them were arrested and chained two and two on pre-

senting a remonstrance to the king and imprisoned for some time at Prague. Thus the most patriotic men in the kingdom, the men who represented Bohemia and her nationality as against external pretensions, the men who advocated home interests and native independence were smitten down by their own sovereign at the bidding of a foreign court. But from that period, 1249, the discontent in Bohemia was deep and sullen, and the nation was never again a unit.

By the death of the emperor in Apulia in 1250 Austria became again a prize. The duke of Bavaria claimed it as a revolted fief; and Wenzel, now a proconsul of the pope, was easily docile to his master and declared war against Bavaria. Bohemia was regarded with much favor by papal sympathizers. The land, undefiled by the touch or even the shadow of Tartar or Turk preserved its prosperity and constituted a mine of wealth for the opponents of the empire. Large supplies were constantly drawn from Bohemia to aid the adversaries of emperor Conrad, and there was no Fulk Fitz Warrenne to chase the spoilers from the country.

The nobles of Austria made proffer of the duchy to Otakar, and King Wenzel favored this policy. Formal election took place in November, 1251, and the prince immediately marched with a large escort to take possession of his new dominions. December 9th he made an imposing entry into Vienna; and soon afterward his first official Diet was held in compliance with established law. The estates of Styria elected Henry, son of Otto of Bavaria, and policy dictated the union of all claims of inheritance in one family. Rival aspirations appeared likely to be satisfied by a marriage between Otakar and Mar-

garet, sister of the late duke of Austria. The lady was now forty-seven years of age, mother of several children, and had long been an inmate of a nunnery first at Treves and afterward at Wurzburg; the gentleman was a dashing youth of twenty-three. Margaret quitted her cloister, and bestowed her hand and hereditary pretensions on her youthful husband. When religious principles, ceremonies and moral duties are under the control of one aspiring direction, they can be made to assume a slippery facility of adjustment to momentary convenience, an elastic capacity for expansion or contraction to fill any vacancy of any shape; and the one power for whose gratification and coffers all this is done is the sole judge of the propriety of the proceedings. The entire proceeding assumed a whited sepulchre aspect in the eyes of pious society. Archbishops and bishops and titled nobles, or at least their robes and uniforms shed a lustre over the marriage ceremony which was a profanation of all propriety. The new duke of Austria and Styria was proclaimed in all due formality; but other scenes of a very different character immediately succeeded. King Bela's hosts of Hungarians and Cumanians swept over Austria, and multitudes of all ages were murdered and dragged away to slavery. In the church of Mödling alone 1,500 persons were burned. Next year Austria, Styria and Moravia became the scene of still more dreadful devastation. A league had been formed by Bela, and his forces were joined by those of the duke of Bavaria, Boleslav of Cracow, Vladislav of Oppeln, and Daniel Romanoff of Russia. Bela himself broke into Styria, and his Cumanian, Polish and Russian horse,—Cossacks in fact—renewed the atrocities of the Mongols, and created similar ravages. Otakar himself succeeded

in arresting the enemy in Styria; and the Bavarians were compelled to retire from Austria. The fortresses remained unbroken, as the Cumanian marauders did not possess the Chinese and Persian enginneering science controlled by Batu, nor the fiery missiles supplied by Chinese inventive skill to the Mongol Khakhan. During the negotiations for peace, King Wenzel was seized by illness on a hunting foray; and resigned his crown and his life September 22nd, 1253.

CHAPTER XIII.

OTAKAR II.

The reign of Otakar II. over Bohemia was productive of consequences so momentous to the kingdom, and was also blended so intimately with the vicissitudes of the empire, that it is necessary to state briefly the prevailing conditions of policies in Europe at that date.

After the death of Frederic II. the empire had been reduced to a condition of grievous anarchy. Young Conrad, as usual with heirs apparent in those days, had been stimulated to rebellion against his father, chiefly under the instigation of the legate Albert von Behan. This person had been expelled from Bavaria for fraudulent malversation; but had found means to be advanced from the archdeaconry of Passau to the deanery of the same city. His proceedings in his new capacity and as chief emissary of Pope Innocent IV. exhibit "a repulsive depth of arrogant iniquity."

The legate in Germany, the bishop of Ferrara, was a drunkard if not something worse. Gregory of Monte Longo, papal representative in Lombardy, was notorious for profligacy; and his concubines were shamefully numerous. The rapacity of the Roman see was never so insatiate as during the pontificate of Innocent IV; and the wealth everywhere exacted under pretense of a crusade was diverted against the house of Hohenstaufen. Young Conrad IV. became heir to

the unswerving hatred against his house; and the betrayal of his youth into rebellious indiscretion was now imputed to him as a crime by the same persons whose duplicity had seduced him. The legates had effected a complete merger of the temporal and spiritual jurisdictions; and they were no longer austere if arrogant churchmen. Cardinal Rainier commanded the papal forces in the states of St. Peter with all the mercilessness of a captain of banditti. The election of William of Holland was assumed to create Conrad a usurper; and in that character he was solemnly excommunicated and a crusade preached against him. "Herod is dead. Archelaus aspires to reign," exclaimed Innocent. In an attempt to assassinate Conrad on Christmas day 1253 Abbott Ulrich is believed to have been the principal actor; and the bishop of the city waited outside the walls for the joyful news of success.

After holding an interview with William of Holland, Innocent commenced that triumphal progress through Italy that terminated in the withdrawal of support from Manfred as regent, then from Conrad himself, the introduction of French power into Naples and Sicily, and the eventual extinction of the house of Hohenstaufen at Naples October 29, 1268.

Richard of Cornwall could effect little as emperor. The disturbed condition of his own country terminating in the battle of Lewes prevented Richard from devoting much attention to the empire.

The splendid expedition pompously led forth by Louis IX. had been reduced to a tattered remnant so utterly ruined that on the return of the liberated fugitives to the shelter of Ptolemais both knights and soldiers were almost naked, and the seneschal of Champagne in order to appear before the king was

forced to make himself a vestment of the shreds of a bed quilt. The only results were tears, groans universal, the most christian king in chains; and the blessing of the Lord of battles apparently bestowed on the magnanimity of the Saracens. France, Germany, Italy, England, Greece, were convulsed by this wild crusading spirit. Haco of Norway and Otakar of Bohemia remained at home. Innocent intrigued everywhere; and according to the statement of Cherrier,* "Too many facts prove that Innocent was not sincere with any person; that he promised and retracted with equal readiness according to the condition of his affairs." In every state where the prince assumed the cross the most pressing affairs were utterly neglected; and princes, nobles and people were alike impoverished. Many illustrious families were totally ruined, but the increase of religious houses in strength and number was enormous. During all this commotion Bohemia remained a spectator; and the people were enabled greatly to increase in wealth and prosperity. No great prince remained on the borders capable of imposing a burdensome restraint. The young king enjoyed an open field for the display of his talents, and he proved himself fully equal to his opportunities. During the late reign the influence of the nobles was broken. The king's council consisted of those whom his individual will selected; the mind of the nation was not ascertained in public parliament as much as formerly; and in the relations of the crown to a foreign court the counsel of the barons was thought too conservative and national. In this altered relation all union of the nobles was disapproved. The civil and military jurisdiction through the districts or

* T. III., p. 394

circles was vested in the castelans or zupans under the old constitution; but Otakar proceeded to erect a new source of power more immediately associated with the crown. For this purpose he created a series of royal municipalities in cities erected on sites chosen by royal commission, and directed by the royal chamberlain. Each of these new municipalities was governed locally by its own mayor or burg-graf; and settlers from abroad, chiefly Germans, were invited to occupy these cities. Jurisdiction over them was carefully protected from all control of the zupans; they were attached to the direct authority of the king; and were accorded from the first the privilege of choosing deputies from the burghers to the national assembly. "City lots" were sold for ten marks a hide, although this measure was not the same in good and poor soil. A ground rent of one mark per annum was fixed as a permanent payment to the royal exchequer. But city professions were limited to the walls and one mile around. The mayors were also subordinated to the burg-graf of Prague who became the burg-graf-in-chief of the kingdom. Several of these towns were erected on the frontier, and being located on the best military sites formed a strong defense.

As the castelans were thus deprived of a large portion of their civil and criminal jurisdiction, it became necessary to establish another institutional process whereby justice could be administered between the subjects of the one jurisdiction and the other. For this purpose assize judges, or circuit judges, were nominated to preside over the courts where neither of the other authorities had the right to administer justice. The principle herein was analogous to that found in the system of United States courts to deter-

mine litigation between the citizens of the different states. Otakar assumed to himself jurisdiction over all plaints and causes presented in the zupan's court of Prague, which had enjoyed a kind of pre-eminence. An Aula Regia, or court of king's bench, was thus organized as a permanent institution; and this court speedily assumed the chief dignity as Supreme Court, or High Court of judicature through the country. To this tribunal the royal right to decide causes was transferred. The shrievalty duties were entrusted to three nobles and three knights in each district. The services of these persons were rendered gratuitously; and the office they bore was coveted as a distinction by the most distinguished men in the realm. The high sheriff in England receives no income from his office; and the "commission of the peace," is a personal compliment to the judgment and loyalty of the possessor. In many other respects the similarity between early English and Bohemian institutions is too marked to be overlooked. The deliberate transfer of power from the nobles to the commons in every country in this age was due as much to the need felt by the crown for aid against the barons as to any favor to themselves and perhaps more. During the same age a very large portion of the national sovereignty in every country was supplanted by a foreign influence represented and enforced indirectly by aliens whom all men were ordered by the same power "to obey." The memorable "We govern" of 1852 is but a logical continuation of the same system; and the encroachments of Pandulph, Pelagius, Guido, Von Behan, Rainier, Gualo, and many others of the same character were reproduced with ostentatious significance in these well known and portentous syllables of Wiseman.

The crusades had largely denuded Europe of its artizan class. Almost all of these men perished of the sword, the climate, the scurvy, or of a fatal poison communciated by a fetid fish of the Nile that fed on the carcasses of heroes. The warriors of the cross ate the carnivorous sea wolf, which was gorged with the flesh of their comrades and their mouths became ulcerated so that amputation and excision were constantly necessary of the poisoned flesh. Thus a large class of most useful citizens had been enticed away; and the classes who depended on their labor in a subordinate capacity became helpless and indigent. Prague had suffered grievously from this cause; and Otakar found his capital largely occupied by dependents too unskillful now to maintain themselves. Some of the suburbs were wholly inhabited by this class. Hence Otakar was forced to the expedient of inviting German artizans; and to find accommodation for these immigrants removal of many of the Bohemians was necessary. The right to German law and customs was conceded to the new settlers and not a little intricacy was introduced into the jurisprudence of the country. Real estate was held by the Germans under a tenure intermediate between fee simple and tenancy. The right of occupancy could be sold independently of the ownership. Probably right to the value of improvements, or tenant right, accompanied this power of vendition.

During the contest between King Wenzel and his nobles much royal property had been hypothecated in order to raise funds. Much of this property, fortresses and personalty, Otakar was enabled to regain from the reluctant lords who held it, on the ground that the consideration paid was insufficient for a claim of per-

petual alienation. In order to pursue these internal improvements Otakar adopted a policy of external peace. But scarcely had local troubles been adjusted when an order was received from Pope Innocent to Otakar to undertake a crusade against the Prussians. The war against these primitive people waged by the Teutonic Order, the Knights of Christ, and the Knights of the Sword, two orders instituted to subdue the pagans of Livonia and seize their land, lasted more than two hundred years. At length in 1253 the Knights had sufferd a severe defeat; and the grand master at once applied to Innocent for reinforcements. No application could better suit the temper or present situation of the pontiff who was engaged in crusades in Europe, Asia and Africa. Otakar was prompt to obey this mandate, and occupied the summer of this year in preparations. His policy was to march against his new foe when the ice presented a means of crossing the marshy land that had been hitherto a chief defense. Several other princes made haste to equip their forces as allies and subordinates of the Bohemian king.

The Prussians resembled the Germans in the features of blue eyes, ruddy cheeks, light hair, robust form, and lofty stature; but they spoke the language of Lithuania. The chase supplied what the flesh and milk of their flocks failed to furnish. Their sheep yielded wool sufficient for clothing and the forests contained abundance of honey and wax. Money was little known. Flax, leather and amber constituted their chief industries; and arms were the universal pride and profession. They never waged offensive wars; but always defended their simple patrimony with true and manly courage. Like the Tartars and

primitive Chinese in Asia, and the Peruvians in America, the Prussians marked time by knotted strings of divers colors; and in default of scientific apparatus noted the hours by the natural phenomena common to all men, of twilight, dawn, sunrise, high noon, evening. The constellation of the Pleiades heralded their seasons. The productions of the earth and the recurring phenomena of birds and of vegetation gave names to the divisions of the year. The month of crows, of pigeons, of birch trees, linden trees, the migration of birds, fall of leaves, obtained an appropriate appellation from its own phenomena; and this nomenclature was more natural though less accurate for computation than our own. Great disasters or violent commotions in nature supplied epochs as the basis of calculation of dates.

Among the Prussians, as all other primitive tribes, the power of death was vested in the chief because that penalty was necessarily inflicted some times, and the chief represented the tribe. But the leader in war was elected, and then blessed by the high priest. The people believed in omens, and the flight of an eagle, a crow, a stork, declared victory; a stag, a wolf, a lynx, a sick person, and even an old woman presaged defeat. They were not in these respects at all more feeble than the votaries of horse-shoes over doors, whistling to keep off evil spirits, very common in the United States among devotees of one special nationality, charms in the pockets, amulets on the arms, and the confidence imposed in dried arms and limbs by crowned heads especially on occasions of approaching maternity. The Prussians scrupulously respected the laws of hospitality. The stranger or the shipwrecked seaman found certain shelter and pro-

tection. They had not advanced to that degree of civilization that consists in inviting people to their houses in the name of hospitality to exact from them some special benefit, wherein the guest is proficient, in order to extract an advantage for nothing by false pretenses. Like many other peoples the Prussians were corrupted chiefly by the excess of their superstition. They devoted human sacrifices to their gods indeed when victorious, and before entering on an expedition they bound a prisoner to a tree and pierced him with arrows. But in what respect or to what degree they were in this aspect inferior to the orders of warriors whom they combated at the period of our story is not apparent. The knights and princes of Europe had no legitimate quarrel with these persons. Every warrior who fell fighting for Prussia had the honor of a martyr's death; and the furious superstition that pursued so-called heretics with fire and sword, and massacred them by tens of thousands, not sparing tender women and helpless infants, differed only in a more dreadful atrocity from the sacrifice of a victim under a sacred oak. The massacres perpetrated by the Christians were the more wicked as they were instigated by animosity, and not by a mistaken perversion of the sacrificial principle which is itself the basis of all Christianity.

A crowd of divinities filled the Prussian valhalla, but the chief seat of their rites was at a place called Remové where grew an ancient oak. The people retained some remnants of old cherubic worship that included the highest objects in each class of nature's handiwork—the horse, the mountain, the sun, the oak. The same cherubic worship prevailed among the ancient Persians; and a hymn in the ritual of the church

of England reproduces the same sentiment under a Christian guise.* The funeral ceremonies of the Prussians included some faint reproaches to the deceased for departing to another world, and the presentation of valuable gifts. Messages were entrusted to the dead man for departed relatives and friends, a custom until a recent period observed in the Scottish highlands. Horses, dogs, falcons, even wives and slaves were burned with the dead; and eulogies were pronounced by professional talissons, a word that resembles the Welsh title for bard. The soul of the deceased went aloft in brilliant armor, in the sheen of the blazing fuel. Except burning slaves and wives, these sentiments cannot be deemed extravagant in an age of "mediums," and postoffices to the Virgin as at St. Iago in Peru.

On Christmas day, 1254, Otakar united his forces with those of the dukes of Silesia at Breslau. Otto of Brandenburg next marched in, and was made field marshal; at Elbing, Henry of Meissen, Grand Master Boppo, and other princes joined the expedition; and we find the name of Rudolph of Habspurgh,† subsequently emperor, enrolled among the subordinate commanders. The united host numbered sixty thousand. This force far surpassed the strength of the Prussians. The oak of Remové with its idols was destroyed, and as far as possible every accessory of the old rites was extirpated. This success was the more gratifying to the Bohemians as Adalbert of Prague had suffered martyrdom near the oak of Remové. An attempt was

* The cherubim represented the chief glories of earth, as the seraphim did those of heaven.

† During this expedition Rudolph's old buff coat formed the subject of Otakar's jests, as Rudolph was very poor. Rudolph remembered this subsequently.

made at resistance in one strong place; but the defenses could not arrest the march of the crusaders. The ramparts were assaulted like Tel-el-Kebir, and "twenty minutes" terminated the struggle with the total submission of Meldoch. The rite of baptism was at once imposed on the vanquished chiefs. Otakar and his officers conferred their own names on the principal converts, and the idolatry of Prussia under its old form was no more. The native fortress of Aufban on the Pregel was selected, and afterward rebuilt in good style; and under the new name of Kœnigsberg became the capital of Prussia, January 1255.

In 1257 Alphonso the Learned of Castile, a kinsman of the Hohenstaufen family, received the suffrages of Treves, Bohemia, Saxony and Brandenburg. But although a scholar Alphonso was unequal to the government even of his own dominions, and the election was annulled. Disorder in the empire lasted nearly twenty years. Otakar was thus enabled to pursue his own policy without molestation. Civil commotion in Styria invited Bela of Hungary to interpose, and an army invaded Carinthia. From this period commenced a feeling of animosity toward the Hungarian rule that advanced to momentous proportions throughout Styria. The cause of these commotions seems to have lain in the desire of Hungary to secure a commercial outlet on the Adriatic in order to take advantage of the great commerce then active between Venice, Zara and the cities of Sicily, Egypt and the Levant. Otakar also understood the value of a seaport on the Adriatic, and succeeded in obtaining it partly by his election as duke of Austria and Styria, partly by conquest and confirmation by special charter from the emperor

Richard of Cornwall. The nobles and burghers in a formal deputation presented a memorial to Otakar 1259, praying him to resume his former authority over Styria and Carinthia. An avowed rupture with Hungary resulted. Bela assembled a mighty host of Croatians, Bosnians, Servians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Wallachians, Cumanians and Kharesmian Turks and Ismaelites. An auxiliary force of Tartar cavalry completed this motley host that numbered one hundred and forty thousand men. The prize to be fought for consisted of the entire control of the eastern coast of the Adriatic with its ports, islands and trade. The wealth of the European commercial world was largely directed through that great highway at that date. The liberation of Venetian commerce from its control by special guilds, and its complete extension to all the citizens granted early in this century, created an immense extension of the trade of the city with Spain, Sicily, France, the Netherlands, England and the coasts of Africa. Otakar was the first Bohemian prince able to reach out toward this most profitable traffic. Otakar's force did not exceed one hundred thousand including contingents from Brandenburg, Meissen, Silesia and Carinthia. The king commanded a special force of seven thousand heavy armed cavalry. Europe watched the approaching contest with interest if not with anxiety. Early in the campaign the Hungarians gained an important advantage by the tactics of the Tartar system. By a feigned flight the overweighted cavalry of the Bohemians were induced to pursue their active opponents; but when the pursuers were out of breath the Tartars returned and slaughtered them when incapable of nimble movement. This check threatened serious consequences; but the author-

ity of Otakar maintained order. At length both armies approached each other at Kressenbrunn on the March. The stream divided the contestants, and neither dared to cross in the face of the other. After a week of mutual observation a feigned retreat of the Bohemians induced Bela to permit the passage of the river. The Hungarian host under the command of the young King Stephen and his brother Bela advanced in a half circle to encompass Otakar. The Bohemians were not in full force at the point of attack. The shock was met chiefly by the armored cavalry who not only successfully resisted their lighter opponents, but repulsed them in disorder. The Hungarian line was broken; and the confusion extended to the wings. At this juncture other divisions of the Bohemians reached the field and assumed the offensive. The panic spread. King Stephen was severely wounded. The Hungarian host which had most imprudently engaged with a considerable river in their immediate rear, struggled to repass the stream. The number of bodies of men and horses was so great that the entire bed of the river was filled, and the pursuers could cross on the dam thus formed.* The carnage was very great. The Hungarian camp and equipages and munitions were speedily in the hands of their triumphant antagonists; and the scattered bodies of their force were chased to the Carpathian Mountains. July 12, 1260. Hungary was prostrated by this dreadful defeat; and King Bela speedily concluded peace and relinquished all claim to the province of Styria. A

* The best account of this battle is found in Otakar's correspondence with Pope Alexander. The choked condition of the river is thus expressed; —"über der ersossenen cörper und ihre Rosz so in wasser gelegen gleich wie über eine Brücken trieben."

marriage alliance was also concluded between Bela the younger of Hungary, and Kungiunde, daughter of Otto of Brandenburg, a niece of King Otakar. Rudolph of Habsburg is said to have held a cavalry command under Otakar during these operations. Important commercial advantages seem to have accrued to Bohemia. About this date Venice accorded a special mart to the German nationalities; and Bohemians enjoyed similar privileges. The overland traffic passed through Styria and continued to do so for seventeen years. Venice and Zara and other Adriatic ports carried on an active commerce with Sicily, Alexandria, Barcelona and Cadiz. Even English and Flemish ships frequented these ports; and English, French and Holland merchandise was conveyed in Venetian ships through the Levant. From this period for sixteen years Bohemia was a maritime country; and it is to this date, 1260 1276, that the scenes in Shakespeare's Winter's Tale are to be referred. Otakar and the last Hohenstaufens were intimately acquainted; and the "learned pundits" who have attributed a geographical error to the immortal William overlooked one of the most interesting facts in modern history. The coast of Dalmatia also bordering on the Bohemian territory was still desert since the ravages of the Tartars; and in the minutest particulars Shakespeare was right *

The entire kingdom of Hungary might have been subjugated by Bohemia after the dreadful defeat of Kressenbrunn. But Otakar heeded the counsels of prudence, and declined to dismember or subdue a neighboring and a friendly power under ordinary cir-

* See Winter's Tale;—

"Thou'rt perfect then our ship hath touched upon the desert of Bohemia."

cumstances; being convinced that it was wiser to allow a strong barrier to exist between himself and the wild destroyers of the East, than to extend the limits of the realm he should be himself required to defend; and that too in presence of a subjugated population who might be expected to make common cause with an invader. "Although the general opinion was that we might extend our authority over Hungary" he wrote to Pope Alexander, "yet we thought it better to retain a good friend and neighbor, than to destroy him by further hostility; and as we hoped that a reconciliation might lead to an intimate friendship with our next relative, so we preferred to form a friendly alliance with him, inasmuch as the waste, and debilitation of so great a kingdom might easily facilitate an inroad of the Tartars against him and against ourselves." Well would it have been for the world if the head of Christendom through that century had been filled with equally human wisdom.

Otakar celebrated his victory by erecting a fortress on the scene of his triumph, and conferring on it citizens and territory; and by founding a monastery, sanctified by a thorn from the crown of Christ, called first the Thorn Crown, and subsequently the Golden Crown monastery.*

The greatness of his exaltation naturally directed Otakar's attention to considerations for the succession. He had a great kingdom; but legally he was childless—the sole survivor of his race. His marriage with Margaret was

"Begun in folly, closed in tears."

so far as matrimonial felicity was concerned. A more

* If the thorn was genuine then the Venetian who advanced his money on the complete crown was cheated by the Latin crusaders. But separate thorns were numerous enough to compose many crowns.

youthful and attractive maid of honor monopolized the king's affections, as all the world might and probably did expect; and a son and two daughters grew up round him whom he openly recognized. The pope refused his assent to a recognition of the young Fitz Otakar; and therefore men set their thoughts on a divorce from Margaret. The neglected lady, probably only too glad to be relieved of a position that was humiliating, being then fifty-five, while Otakar was thirty-three years of age, supplied abundant materials from her own history to justify the divorce proceedings in the eyes of casuists who could decide on their sufficiency in any event. Margaret declared in the presence of bishops that after the death of her first husband she had assumed the veil as a nun at Treves, and had resided at the convent of St. Mark, at Wurzburg as a professed nun for more than a year. All these facts were well known. But they were hushed up for a time until it became convenient to divulge them. The solemn farce of recalling these facts, as of something not hitherto ascertained, was the essence of palpable hypocrisy. The divorce was sanctioned as readily as the marriage had been. Negotiations were begun for a marriage alliance between Otakar and Kunigunde, Bela's granddaughter, child of Rostislaw Michaeloff of Russia. The ceremony was performed with great splendor at Presburg, October 25, 1261.

The coronation, a ceremony as yet unperformed, speedily followed the king's marriage; and on this occasion Otakar officially assumed the title of King of Bohemia. A formal approval of the annulment of the king's former marriage, and of the new alliance was shortly afterward received from Rome; and dur-

ing the same year, 1262, a confirmation to Otakar of his hereditary right to Bohemia and Moravia, and a full investiture in the fiefs of Austria and Styria was despatched from Aix-la-Chapelle, as of possessions legally at the bestowal of the empire, by Richard of Cornwall who highly valued Otakar's friendship.*

In Styria, however, some dissatisfied nobles had incited young Frederic, son of the duchess Gertrude to the assumption of the title of Duke of Austria. This prince who subsequently shared the dreadful fate of Conradin at Naples was compelled to retire from the province.

After devoting a year to the complete pacification and order of his states Otakar, now within reach of boundless wealth by sea and land, found himself in possession of leisure and of means to complete the arrangements for the wedding festivities intended to celebrate the nuptials of his niece Kunigunde of Brandenburg and Bela the younger of Hungary, at Vienna the second capital of Bohemia. The preparations for this event were on the grandest scale of magnificence known to royalty at that period. A city of tents was erected outside the walls for the reception of guests; and each pavilion was adorned with tapestries and rich carpets and banners. A bridge of boats, wide

* This important state Muniment is too long for insertion here in full. The important portion is subjoined "nos te pro tuæ devotionis meritis plenius et insignius honorare volentes, tibi et tuis legitimis hæredibus, qui tibi in bonis feudalibus secundum jus et consuetudinem Sacri Imperii de jure poterunt et habebunt succedere. pro nobis et successoribus nostris Imperatoribus, et Regibus Rom. illos duos nobiles Principatus, Ducatum videlicet Austriæ et Marchionatum Styriæ ad manum Imperii et nostram de jure libere devolutos, cum omnibus feudis ad dictos duos Principatus pertinentibus, ab Imperio debitum et consultum teneri, integraliter et simpliciter in feudum concedimus et donamus, tibique et ligitimis tuis hæredibus, quemadmodum est prescriptum, jure et titulo feudali perpetuo possidentes." Goldast, App, Doc. XVII.

enough to allow the passage of ten knights abreast spanned the river. Immense magazines of provisions and fodder were provided. The royal stewards were supplied with luxuries for the table and with wines from all accessible lands. These bounties were freely furnished to all the multitude at the king's expense. Crowds of titled and distinguished persons thronged to the scene from all parts of Europe; and a fleet of merchant ships was at hand laden with every luxury. Troops of gallant cavaliers from all lands hastened to display their skill and prowess in the tournaments that were announced for the occasion; and the number of these valiant knights was so great that no opportunity could be afforded to the great majority to display their might in arms. Lots were therefore drawn and the successful aspirants awaited their turn to contend in the lists, each cavalier distinguished by a badge of the Bohemian colors white and red,* upon his helmet. The formal procession was resplendent in magnificence, and in the rich and costly array of decorations borne by the gay and thronging assemblage. Conspicuous for splendor of attire the bride herself, arrayed in robe of purple and gold and glistening with jeweled embroideries, her mantle fringed with trimmings of pearls, and bearing a tiara ablaze with the brilliancy of diamonds, outshone even the splendor of the royal and noble dames who rendered the great scene bright with their beauty and their attire. The festival was held in a splendid pavilion hung with cloth of velvet and gold, and made gay with pennons, and banners and festoons. In this wide tent the marriage settlements were concluded,

* I believe that these colors were adopted when the national cognizance was changed from an eagle to a lion as before narrated.

the royal banquet was spread, and the religious ceremony was performed. The distinguished champions of the lists were presented with their meed of praise; and the honor of knighthood conferred on many aspirants from the provinces of the realm, and from neighboring kingdoms. But the mighty throng dispersed never to meet again, and but for the memory of history the great festivity was as a dream. October 5, 1264.

The king was made glad by the birth of a daughter the following year; and received many felicitations on the prospect of a successor to his crown.

At this period Otakar was in the enjoyment of a prosperity and reputation which far exceeded that of any other sovereign in Europe. Louis IX. had returned to his distracted kingdom in a pitiable condition, humbled but not a wiser man. Italy was confusion from end to end. Germany knew only political and social chaos. Spain struggled with the Moors who were yet enthroned in her fairest provinces. England was replete with dissatisfaction, and her monarch felt his crown too ponderous for his strength. Prussia was not yet but only was to be. Russia contained the germ of an empire not yet beyond the cotyledon of development. Scandinavia lay in obscurity possessing little wealth or power. Constantinople writhed in a renascent struggle for existence if not for dominion. Bohemia stood alone in the strong union of an established nationality, an hereditary dynasty implanted in the affections of the people; military renown supported by wide territories and enriched by distant commerce, and above all by the sturdy defense of a thriving population. The counsels of her sovereign were wisdom to the rulers of his time; and

great princes vied with each other in the honor of being his allies.

During the repose of this period the school for the study of the literary course known as the trivium was re-established at Prague. Otakar was a lover of science and literature. He was also pre-eminently a builder. According to the prevailing tendencies of the time the works of Aristotle became the chief classical study of the youth of Prague. Like Frederic II. who had requested the Bolognese literati to make correct translations of Aristotle's works, Otakar admired and profited by the great Peripatetic's genius. A philosophic tone of lofty and sagacious perspicacity and much logical acumen is diffused through all of Otakar's correspondence. Like Frederic also Otakar experienced the results to himself of the acquisition of a tone of statesmanlike independence and dignity strongly at variance with many of the ideas then prevalent. The threefold course at Prague was singularly useful; the school trained many distinguished persons; and the legislation of the day for home administration reflects the broad and humanizing views that have always prevailed whenever the great Stagyrite's philosophy has formed the minds of men.

Ecclesiastical contentions soon disturbed the peace between Bohemia and Bavaria. The appointment of Vladislav, chancellor of Bohemia to the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg, and of Peter, his chaplain, to the see of Passau renewed the smouldering feud that statesmen had endeavored to abate. The territories of both were invaded and devastated by Duke Henry. Bishop Bruno of Olmütz one of the militant if not quarrelsome persons who then perpetually created and loved strife, commanded the king's forces toward

the Salzburg district; and each party so successfully rivaled the other that the devastation of the country reached so complete an annihilation of food that even the birds could not procure enough. Bavaria attempted to aid Conradin by these proceedings; but the aggrandisement of that duchy formed no part of Bohemian policy.

Neither Urban IV. nor Clement IV. would consent to any support by Bohemia to the house of Hohenstaufen. The battle of Lewes, May 14, 1264, and the imprisonment of Richard, broke up the Bavarian alliances; but as Richard had constituted Otakar imperial lieutenant east of the Rhine, Bohemian policy avoided Bavarian complications. The death of Conradin and of Frederic of Austria at Naples created a revolution in public affairs, and Clement IV. issued his monitory invitation for another election to the empire.

The jurisdiction and dignity of the Bohemian crown received an important concession soon afterward in the devise of the duchy of Carinthia to Otakar and his descendants in perpetuity by Ulrich the reigning duke. The motives for this important step were the decease of Ulrich's children, and the wish to avoid civil war among the partizans of various aspirants. Otakar was a near relative and held in his hands the power to maintain order. Philip the titular archbishop was conciliated by promotion to the patriarchate of Aquileia chiefly through Otakar's influence. Konrad, lieutenant governor of Brünn, occupied Carinthia, Istria and a portion of Friulia without opposition, after the decease of Ulrich during the same year, 1269.

Throughout all the campaigns and negotiations that produced these splendid results and placed Bohemia on an eminence of power and prosperity then

unrivaled in Europe, Otakar was the especial friend and favorite of the papal see. The delicate management of his divorce and re-marriage exhibited the full exercise of the pope's plenary jurisdiction in marital affairs. During the ten years that elapsed after Otakar's second marriage the correspondence extant between himself and the papal court teems with profuse expressions of good will and cordiality.* Otakar himself seems to have been dazzled by the light of complaisant flattery shed over him; and he placed his hopes more on the moral and material aid that the pope, as he believed, could, and as he expected would supply than on any other influence or power. From the protestations of friendship made, he was justified in this confidence. It is probable also that at the time these professions were sincere; but that sincerity was of a description, destitute of every principle but expediency Otakar was fatally entangled by its blandishments, and he did not discover the hollowness of the flatteries addressed to him until he was fatally ensnared and abandoned.

Philip of Carinthia, although occupying a high ec-

* Thus June 3d 1262, Pope Urban wrote: "We render due praise to the heavenly King, through whom you control the reins of your kingdom that we have in you a son so dear, so dignified, and so devoted, distinguished in probity and goodness, and excelling in the grace of many virtues. Wherefore we are inclined to your person with abundant affection of mind, ever reflecting, and debating in our inmost heart, what thanks, and favor we can expend on a son so exalted, and with what honors we can distinguish his lofty station." Again June 4, 1264: "We render praise and thanks to God that as the proclamation of your fame is openly declared, you as a faithful athlete of Christ promptly propose to extend the worship of the name of Christ among such barbarous nations. Wherefore we write to you with confidence as to a catholic and most devoted prince, on those things especially that are recognized as touching the spread of the orthodox faith." Sept. 30, 1267, Clement IV, wrote: "The long proved devotion of your excellency which you bear to the Roman church, and display to ecclesiastical persons in their necessities, has by this recent proof shone more clearly."

clesiastical position,—that of patriarch of Aqueleia, possessed neither the taste nor the persistency of an ecclesiastic. He was at heart a military adventurer bent on projects for temporal advancement. He longed for the place formerly held by his brother; and in order to effect his purpose he proceeded to enlist partisans even in Otakar's dominions. Philip occupied his place avowedly for the sake of the emoluments. Taking advantage of a secret current of ill-feeling against Otakar that pervaded a large portion of the nobles of Austria, and existed in Bohemia itself in a more latent form, Philip was enabled to combine formidable elements in aid of his claims to the old dukedom of his family. The thought of conquest of any portion of the states of the empire by a prince of any other portion was distasteful in the extreme to the German princes. This sentiment, united with a lurking discontent since King Wenzel's time, formed a basis on which any well founded pretensions could at that time have reared a dangerous combination. Many nobles were well affected toward Philip and especially Konrad, lieutenant governor of Brünn. But the most important member of the alliance was King Stephen of Hungary who fully succeeded to his father Bela IV., in May 1270, and who had many injuries of his own to avenge. A domestic revolution in King Stephen's palace suddenly stimulated the ferment; and the animosity between the two sovereigns of Hungary and Bohemia was still further embittered by the sudden flight of King Stephen's sister Anna to Bohemia, carrying with her the regalia of Hungary. The possession of the sword, crown, sceptre, orb, shield, and robes constituting the ancient appurtenances of kingly dignity,

may have been thought connected with some mysterious idea of luck or fate. They may have been in some sense "gods;"* and Otakar may have considered the captive divinities a means of obtaining terms from his angry and superstitious neighbor. A personal interview held on an island in the Danube resulted in an arrangement, by which peace, at least temporarily, was secured, but Philip was not included. Otakar at once overran and occupied the province; and Philip in humiliation was compelled to accept royal bounty in Austria, where some local revenues were assigned to him. King Stephen perfidiously endeavored to seize Otakar's person by posting a strong force in an ambuscade, on his return from this expedition. The design was revealed; and Otakar led his troops by another and a difficult mountain road. But a fiercely revengeful determination to punish this palpable breach of faith and of the peace was formed; and preparations for war were at once hurried forward in every hamlet and house in all the Bohemian dominions. Silesia, Brandenburg, Thuringia, Meissen responded to the call for help; and a strong force of one hundred thousand men, amply supplied with munitions of war, was speedily set in motion. The marchfield again became the objective point; and the strong places on the frontier of Hungary in that neighborhood were speedily reduced; Presburg was made a depot of supplies. Pösing, Bebersburg and Tirnau had fallen; and the Hungarian forces and their Cumanian allies had been defeated, though not seriously on the Leitha. Altenburg was taken and fortified; and Weiselburg razed. Then conditions of peace were pro-

* See the story of Rachel carrying away Laban's gods as narrated in Genesis.

posed on condition of restoration of these strongholds. The terms were refused, and hostilities were resumed. May 21, 1271, Stephen suffered a severe defeat between the Leitha and Rabuiz; but scarcity of supplies prevented the victors from reaping the full results. Otakar was compelled to retreat, and Stephen again advanced, in June, against Austria and Moravia where his light cavalry committed great devastation. But mutual exhaustion compelled relinquishment of hostile operations; and a peace was patched up in July following. The frontiers of the two kingdoms were fixed as they had been at King Bela's death. Stephen relinquished all pretensions to Styria and Carinthia. The disputed regalia were also abandoned. Philip of Carinthia was repudiated by Stephen; and Otakar bound himself on the other side to refuse aid and protection to the counterpart scapegrace, Stephen, Bela's youngest brother. Malcontents who had fled from either country to the other were secured in their safety; but a condition of mutual extradition of similar offenders was accepted on both sides for the future. In this peace were also included Otakar's allies the kings of England and Spain, Emperor Richard, and all the princes and bishops of Germany who had given him moral or material support; and Stephen's allies, the kings of France and Sicily, the emperor of Constantinople, the king of Servia, the princes of Kiev and Russia, the dukes of Cracow and Great Poland, and Henry, duke of Bavaria. Lastly a COURT OF ARBITRATION was established to decide all future subjects of contention. This court was two-fold; one division for the more and the other for the less serious questions. The archbishop of Gran, and the bishop of Olmütz formed the higher; and Henry of Meissen, and Otto of Brandenburg on

one side, and the king of Sicily and the duke of Bavaria on the other, constituted the lower court. The treaty was duly sworn to and witnessed by many princes and dignitaries, and duly referred to the court of Rome for confirmation, July 14, 1271.

In August of this year Otakar was approached by some of the imperial electors, especially by Engelbert of Cologne, on the subject of permitting his name to be mentioned in connection with an election to the empire. But fealty to Richard prevented the least acquiescence in this proposal; and the archbishop, courteously received, was dismissed without accomplishing anything at Prague. Richard died in April next year, 1272; and then the expression of a wish for the nomination and election of Otakar became legitimate. The termination of the interregnum in the papal see by the selection of Gregory X. placed Europe in a better defined position for the election of an emperor than was possible while the college of cardinals remained without a chief. Gregory was chosen during his pilgrimage to the holy places at Jerusalem; and his first thought was an appeal for men and still more for money in support of a great crusade to rescue the sepulchre of Christ and the scenes where the christian church had been born, and had received its first nurture, the home of its maternity. But the election of an emperor was imperative. At first the choice of Otakar seems to have been sincere. Gregory's course was absolutely non-committal. If Otakar should be elected he had a good friend, already proved and attached; and no objection was made to the mention of his name. The feeling of the German electors was decidedly in favor of the election of a person strong in reputation and individual character,

but weak in territorial resources. But Otakar hesitated probably too long. Had his council seconded the king's inclination a sufficient number of electors was almost certain at the outset. Delay allowed antagonisms to develop. The counsel given to Otakar on the occasion of the archbishop's visit created the first obstacle. When the king assembled his advisers and formally required their opinions on the subject of the prelate's visit, some members were in favor of an acceptance. Others opposed it, and among them was Andrew of Rican, territorial chamberlain. His utterance on that occasion is alleged to have been: "Most invincible and illustrious King! There is no prince upon the whole earth that can compare with thee in power and majesty. As God rules over the heavens, so rulest thou by thy supreme control over the dukes and princes of the earth. None is there among them who dare venture to resist thy will. The populations whose government they invite thee to assume are not sufficiently known to thee; whether the assumption of the imperial crown would conduce to thy best interests is undetermined and unknown. Sit on the throne of thy fathers. The renown of thy government and thy might has already spread to the utmost limit of the earth. The report of thy great name has already reached the shore of the great sea, and all princes of the earth serve thee and are obedient to thy nod. The kaisar himself will receive orders from thee, and must hasten to thy aid, with shield and shelter, as often as thou shalt find it necessary." If the gentleman who was guilty of this fulsome panegyric had gone abroad for news of home as wise men do, the master whom he wished to serve might have sat on the throne of his fathers during a long life;

and his majesty might not have been any the less resplendent by uniting the will of the kaisar to his own in his proper person. In Otakar's case delay was fatal. His actual position was one of almost pronounced hostility to the condition of the empire as it had been on the southeastern frontier. Any other emperor than himself must receive forcible demands for a redistribution of provinces and titles. Clearly the expectation was that the aid of Bohemia must be invoked as on former occasions, with probably an extension of power and privileges as in 1212, in recompense for still greater services.

During these debates and unofficial negotiations renewed complications with Hungary embarrassed Otakar for a time. King Stephen died of fever in 1272, and was succeeded by his minor son Ladislav, surnamed the Cumanian, under the regency of his mother. As usual in such cases the strong counsellor of the late king, Ægidius of Presburg, was hated by the queen regent; and on the death of the sovereign was deprived at once of office and estates and compelled to flee from the country. He took refuge with Otakar, delivered Presburg the most important fortress on that side to his new protector, and was received with marked favor. Henry of Güssing, a Bohemian subject an old enemy of Ægidius, obtained means stealthily, to secure possession of Presburg, and enabled the Hungarians again to enter and occupy the place. The murder of prince Bela, brother of the Bohemian queen Kunigunde; and the audacious transmission of his remains, cut piecemeal to that princess by the same Henry of Güssing forthwith rendered the recent arbitration project utterly nugatory. Austria, Styria and Moravia were again ravaged by the light Hun-

garian horse, and Carinthia was invaded and threatened with ruin. Reprisals speedily followed and the frontiers of Hungary were again wasted, February 1273, Otakar took the field in person and pursued his enemy to the March and the Carpathians. The Hungarians avoided a pitched battle. In August the Danube was passed on a wooden bridge constructed for the fourth time, and then justly regarded as an extraordinary performance. Mutual exhaustion again left the contestants in a condition of dissatisfied rage and animosity. In another direction the completion of Otakar's security appeared to have been effected in the early months of 1273 by a treaty with Henry of Bavaria, whereby the most friendly and confidential relations were established. The frontiers of their respective territories were accurately defined; the possessions of each prince in towns, fortresses, and even hamlets were ascertained and agreed on, and a court of arbitration with six members and a president was established to adjust all future differences. Otakar and Henry solemnly swore to aid each other to observe this treaty in all its stipulations with precision; and their course of conduct in reference to the impending election was also formally determined. Louis, Count Palatine, was also included within the engagements of this treaty.

During the spring and summer of this year—1273, the most prominent candidates for the imperial throne were Louis the Strong, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Rudolph of Habsburg in the Swiss Canton of Aargau, Siegfried of Anhalt, and Otakar of Bohemia, the last not so openly as the others, but still generally named. Otakar felt a far deeper interest than he expressed, as he had most to gain or to lose. The wishes of the

German princes were described by the bishop of Olmütz in a letter evidently written in Otakar's interest. "They wish," he said to Pope Gregory, "to obtain through the grace of the Holy Ghost a gracious emperor, and through the wisdom of the Son of God a wise emperor; but they ignore the first person in the Trinity and power is their abhorrence." The springs that moved electoral counsels were touched with a more resolute and skilful hand by Frederic of Hohenzollern, burg-graf of Nuremberg than by any other statesman of his time. He was, moreover, a nephew of Rudolph; and family enrichment was the fundamental public law. The spiritual electors had combined with Frederic in an agreement that when three of them should unite on a choice the fourth should accept their decision. In this way the election rested with the spiritual electors exclusively, and if they agreed on a candidate they could make terms with him before announcing their decision. Also they could propose terms to all candidates, and accept the most complaisant. That Rudolph's sentiments were known before his election may be inferred from his subsequent conduct. They were precisely such as the "ecclesiastical supremacy" of the age demanded; and fitted the requirements of the papal see as accurately as if the measure of those requirements had been taken, and the sentiments manufactured to correspond. An adaptation so perfect could not have resulted without previous examination and adjustment. The sentiments of Rudolph's descendants have been manufactured on the same model; and have given proof of an equally careful adjustment from that day to the present. On the 29th of September, 1273, the election was perfected at Frankfort on the Main, and Rudolph of Habsburg became emperor.

Otakar's feelings somewhat mastered his judgment after the election was pronounced; and with an impolitic precipitation he recorded a formal protest against the election through his proctor, Bishop Berthold of Bamberg. This complete departure from the congratulations and courtesies of the hour, amounted substantially to a declaration of war. It announced the hostility of the king of Bohemia to the existing constitution of the empire; and as that constitution was the acknowledged law of the land, Otakar's protest was unwise and untimely. In some of his dignities and rights Otakar was without the empire; in others he was within it. His hereditary possessions he held as the elect sovereign of Bohemia by a right more ancient than the empire itself. The objection to Otakar that he was a Slavonian prince, placed him in a unique position. But he had fully accepted the position of a prince elector; and while his technical right to protest was not to be questioned, yet his use of it was a departure from his accustomed statesmanship. Another protest was recorded by Alphonso of Castile; and as that prince was known to be learned but not wise this second protest detracted somewhat from the weight that might have been given to the first. The two dissentients appealed to the pope and a general council.

These complications afforded unconcealed satisfaction to Otakar's enemies, and they were many in Bohemia and elsewhere. A large faction of malcontents existed in his domestic territories; and his rivals were made perfectly aware of their presence and their discontent.

Respectable writers affirm that Rudolph had allowed his sentiments to transpire on several occasions; and

that he openly proposed as the conditions of his election that he would do precisely what he did after he was chosen. It is also declared on equally respectable authority that the Roman see had become jealous of Otakar's power and that his destruction was resolved on and required of Rudolph; and that this condition also was accepted on that side. The intrigues of pope Gregory were too clearly portions of a deeply meditated policy to be suggested by the results of an unforeseen choice by the electors. That Otakar's power was the real motive of the hostility to him is manifest from the fact that the German princes were all confirmed in the posssesion of territory belonging to the empire, and of the hereditary lands of the Hohenstaufen which had been violently seized. When Rudolph himself became powerful territorially by the marriage alliances of his daughters he was at once marked for hostility by Popes Nicholas III. and Martin IV. and escaped only by almost abject concessions. The king exerted himself with an eagerness that betrayed his anxiety; and with a profuseness of cordiality that deepened the shade of his former severe independence. Philip of Carinthia was constituted governor of that province, a concession as futile as the necessity for it was now obvious. Through all the provinces of his dominion Otakar's activity was manifest. Promises, rewards, dignities were distributed; threats, severity, punishments were employed. From the undisputed ruler of kingdoms he became a candidate for public favor and his motives were perfectly understood. On the other hand Rudolph's agents were equally active; and a correspondence was maintained with the disaffected in every province and in every city. Otakar's chief dependence was on the pope. Gregory deferred

all recognition of Rudolph for a full year. During that period the court of Rome became fully informed of the political purposes of the emperor elect. The interval was well spent, and the assurances must have been perfectly satisfactory. Rudolph in fact renounced the claims of his predecessors over a large part of the empire, especially the territories of Bologna, Ravenna, Imola, Rimini, Urbino, Ancona, Sicily, Apulia, and in fact all the dignities and territories hitherto claimed by the popes in opposition to the emperors. The Roman empire terminated; and Rudolph was allowed to retain only a remnant of imperial authority north of the Alps. Rudolph became solely a potentate over a German kingdom where subordinate electors would form his sole opponents, and the details of marriage contracts for his daughters would constitute a large portion of the political combinations to be made.

Rudolph was now in his fifty-fifth year. He was conspicuous by his tall angular figure, and especially a large, hooked nose. He was simple, pious, and considerate. The electors anticipated, or perhaps suggested the maxim of Napoleon I.—"Give me a man with plenty of nose." He was recommended to the bachelor princes by a wealth of daughters, one of whom his shrewd nephew of Nuremberg contrived to promise to each. When Rudolph was crowned at Aix the ceremony of investiture was threatened with a rude reverse from the fact that the scepter could not be found. By the touch of this imperial wand tenures and allegiance were renewed. But the good humored presence of mind of the emperor was equal to the occasion. Seizing a crucifix he exclaimed "Lo! The symbol of our redemption. It secures us heaven;

surely it is good enough to confirm to us our parcels of earth." He found the empire in confusion; five shillings of bad money in the treasury; and what seemed a formidable rebellion on his hands. He began his reign with an imperial visit; but did not proceed further than the Rhine and South Germany.

On the 9th of April, 1274, Rudolph conferred on his chancellor Otto of Spires, full authority for him and in his name to promise and to do not only what his predecessors had performed, but whatever the holy father might consider advantageous for God and the right except the dismemberment of Germany. On the 6th of June following Rudolph formally confirmed the donations made to the papal see by his predecessors, and especially those made by Otto IV. and Frederic II. and on this occasion renounced all claim to the possessions in Italy. Having obtained everything except the shadow of imperial authority Gregory consented to recognize Rudolph, and in September following the election was finally consummated. From that moment the relations between Gregory and Otakar were completely inverted and reversed without notice and without explanation. Otakar was repudiated and betrayed.

During the sessions of the second council of Lyons Gregory forwarded a verbal message to Otakar by the bishop of Olmütz, who now began to exhibit the tergiversation that he subsequently extended to open treason, advising him that as he had entrusted his interests and those of his kingdom to the apostolic chair, he would do well to accept the counsel to be stated by the bishop; and at the same time wrote himself to the king reviewing the general condition of the empire and of christendom, and urging him un-

reservedly and unconditionally to comply with the bishop's advice. Gregory did not venture to put on paper the only terms that Otakar could expect in his dispute with Rudolph. Those terms were already known; and the great probability is that the severance of the provinces, Styria, Istria, Carinthia from the Bohemian crown constituted the counterpoise offered to Rudolph for the loss of the Italian dominions. Such was the result practically to Otakar of his having "entrusted his interests and those of his kingdom to the apostolic chair." The harshness of the order to surrender the provinces whose acquisition by Bohemia had been expressly encouraged, promoted, and sanctioned by the same papal chair so long as that policy seemed expedient, was but thinly disguised in the general advice presented. The suggestion of this alternative formed proof positive of the conditions already agreed on with Rudolph. These terms existed in the pope's mind; and the advice respecting them had been the subject of debate and of negotiation. The pope's own plans were to be forwarded by the plunder of Bohemia. Otakar was in fact told plainly that the pope had no further occasion to employ flatteries or compliments; that a strong Bohemian kingdom was not now the policy of the Roman see; and that acquisitions from Germany must be paid for by Bohemia. A more compliant and convenient servant had now been hired; and the support hitherto afforded to Otakar had been only a convenient instrumentality to amuse him until another could be found still more subservient. The "dear, dutiful, and devoted son," the "catholic and most devoted prince," the "excellency of whose zeal had been proved," for whom thanks to God had been offered, and especial favors

were anxiously studied and preserved, was frowned on and deserted in an instant when the callous calculations of Rome had discovered another more dear, dutiful and devoted son who was likely to be still more useful. Flatteries for this world, and promises for the next which cost nothing, and whose realization or otherwise no man can prove, were, and still are, though not in such large measure, the potent levers by which multitudes are moved after having been long prepared for the application of them. Otakar's eyes had been blinded by the glittering compliments addressed to him. His eyesight returned later when the deep shadow fell upon him; but he still clung with tenacity to the policy of conciliating favor with Rome by offers that demonstrated the depth of his manly confidence, as well as of the duplicity that had ensnared him.

The king of Bohemia cannot be censured because he failed to perceive the profundity of craft that dictated the later crusades. He endeavored to conciliate Gregory by a promise to undertake the burden of the new expedition against the Saracens, which must be the surest and most dreadful means of impoverishing his kingdom, destroying his most useful and valiant followers, and of forwarding the actual purposes of Rome to erect a new empire in Germany in part on the ruins of Otakar's dominions. A resolution of the council of Lyons had required all feuds and contentions to be abandoned for six years, and collections to be made in all countries for the holy land. Otakar was serious and ingenuous; and his proposition took official form, to undertake the crusade at the conclusion of four years, if in the meantime his present adversary Rudolph should be restrained from molesting his do-

minions. He also requested that the proceeds of the collection in Bohemia and Poland should be paid into his exchequer to enable him to complete his equipment. This expedient to gain time was a dreadful alternative. Gregory lauded the king's zeal and devotion; but no injunction whatever was issued or even mentioned by the pope to interfere with Rudolph's perfectly free action. Promises of renown were showered on Otakar; but hard necessity compelled a descent to harder facts within the limits of the king's observation. He began to perceive that he was trifled with. Bishop Bruno of Olmütz was again appointed peacemaker between the angry princes; but the nomination was only another form of emptiness.

During these negotiations Rudolph continued to strengthen his position by a policy of the most practical character. Philip of Carinthia openly abandoned Otakar's allegiance, fled to Rudolph, and received from his hands an investiture of the same fief that he had governed as Otakar's lieutenant up to that moment. Some Bohemian and Hungarian nobles of influence also openly declared for Rudolph. The time seemed to have arrived when every man who had a private grievance felt he could obtain at least revenge against the law and discipline that hitherto restrained him. The archbishop of Salzburg and the bishops of Passau and Raitsbon accepted their temporalities from Rudolph who at the same time published a declaration that he would restore to the rightful authorities all the territories that had been seized by Otakar in Austria, Styria and Carinthia; and he invited all princes, nobles, knights and cities to confer with him on that subject. Rudolph some time later published

another announcement to the effect that all persons who should renounce Otakar should be reimbursed for all they should suffer on that account, and not be held responsible for injuries committed against him. Practically the king of Bohemia was declared an outlaw; and every man was authorized to assail him and his territories with impunity. Rudolph's first reichstag was held at Nuremberg in November, 1274. At this assembly the following resolutions were adopted; (I.) That the emperor should resume possession of all property that had reverted since Frederic II.'s excommunication. (II.) That every vassal of the empire should claim his fief within a year and a day, or forfeit the same. (III.) That the Count Palatine should be judge in all disputed questions between the empire and an elector. (IV.) That as the king of Bohemia had neither claimed nor received investiture within a year and a day from the emperor's coronation, Count Palatine, Louis, should summon him to appear before his court on the 23rd day of January following, and that publication of that citation in the cities of the upper palatinate nearest to the Bohemian frontier should suffice. Similar proceedings seem to have been adopted toward the recalcitrant Henry of Bavaria also.

Very earnest remonstrances against these proceedings were dispatched to Rome by Otakar; but they fell on deaf ears. The "dear devoted son" became at once an unreclaimed prodigal although he had never abandoned the ancestral homestead, but had been always most dutiful and punctilious. Rudolph on the other hand was permitted to decline all interposition on the part of Gregory in these imperial concerns; and Otakar was coldly recommended to conclude peace with

his opponent. In other words the great comedy that had been performed in Austria, and the smaller comedies that had been acted in other provinces, and had received smiles of approval at the time, were now totally repudiated as occurrences to be ashamed of. The following year Rudolph and Gregory established a perfect understanding in an interview at Lausanne. The pontiff conducted an active and earnest correspondence in Rudolph's interest with the kings of France, Sicily, and Castile; supplied him liberally with money and troops; and furnished valuable information respecting the attitude of Otakar's adherents in north Italy. At length in May, 1275, the pope threw off the mask he had pretended to wear, and distinctly announced to his dupe that he could not, and he would not, change the condition of public affairs, nor impede Rudolph in any proceedings he might decide to take respecting the interests of the empire. The sting of this plain avowal consisted in the time it was made. The pope had decided on his course; but he would not declare his intentions until Rudolph had been placed in full strength, and Otakar had been allowed to deceive himself with hopes of support which an earlier declaration of Gregory's must have replaced by vigorous preparations. Otakar's indignation at this undisguised revelation of Gregory's duplicity was very great. He appealed at once to a general council and broke off all intercourse with Rome.

The next reichstag was convened at Augsburg in May of this year. Otakar and Henry were represented, the former by the bishop of Seckau as proctor. The prelate delivered a Latin oration which probably few of the assembly understood. He questioned the regularity of Rudolph's election; and the justice of the

proceedings against the king of Bohemia; but did not discuss the vital point of the legal right of Otakar to the disputed duchies. The imperial ban was pronounced against both princes, and the might of the empire was invoked for the execution of it. Due and formal announcement was made to Otakar of this sentence by his chief enemy Frederic of Nüremberg as imperial herald; and the final act of the great drama was now ready for presentation. All the great prelates formally announced their adhesion to Rudolph, except Olmütz, and he would have been as useful and less mischievous in his oratory. The archbishop of Salzburg rendered himself especially conspicuous in intrigues, and drew down on his estates the opening hostilities of the war. He loudly complained of the devastation committed, as if he could expect complete immunity from men whose lives and fortunes he was actively exerting himself to destroy. Hungary had old resentments, and hastened now to satiate her thirst for retaliation. A strong party in Austria itself raised the standard of revolt, and although humbled for the present disembled their resentment until a more favorable opportunity. Bohemia itself was not united; and many of the most influential nobles marshalled their retainers under Otakar's banner only until the fortune of war should declare itself. Otakar was literally without allies, even Henry of Meissen and Otto of Brandenburg keeping aloof from him. Henry of Bavaria was not so much an ally as a confederate; and Otakar's confidence in this quarter was misplaced.

All the princes of Styria and Carinthia had combined in favor of Rudolph on political grounds, and rendered his success already accomplished on that

side. Otakar's line of defense had been planned in reliance on the fidelity of Bavaria. Rudolph's advance against Bohemia was directed from almost every available quarter. Ladislav of Hungary undertook an invasion of Moravia with his numerous and active cavalry. Rudolph himself directed his march by Nüremberg and Eger toward Prague. Meinhard of Tyrol invaded Styria and Carinthia. Prince Albrecht and the archbishop of Salzburg assailed upper Austria. At the fatal moment when the formation of Otakar's line depended on an accurate knowledge of the location of his enemies, Henry of Bavaria declared for Rudolph and all the Bohemian positions were at once rendered unavailing. Rudolph changed his line of advance to upper Austria, and Otakar was compelled to make a rapid and laborious march, and take a new position under the most dangerous conditions. He was necessitated to establish himself in the mountainous forest district on the Austrian frontier where munitions and supplies were procurable only with the greatest difficulty. The theatre of war was transferred to Austria where the population was hostile, and where only Vienna and Klosterneuberg held out for Bohemia. The Viennese were true to their fealty in remembrance of the especial favors and privileges conferred on them by Otakar, and the hopes of the king now centered on their fidelity. If these two fortresses or either of them should be reduced the issue of the struggle could not be doubtful. One division of the Bohemian troops was commanded by bishop Bruno of Olmütz. During a movement made for the passage of the Danube the bishop blundered or was treacherous, and Klosterneuberg fell into the hands of the imperialists. The loss of this important place was fatal. The disaffected

nobles drew off their regiments, until the king was left with a mere remnant. The war was ended. A truce was asked for and granted; and the conduct of the capitulation was again entrusted to Bishop Bruno. In November 1276 all the provinces gained by waste of war and treasure, by treaties and marriage alliances, by political sagacity and combination, and by the approvals, dispensations, assents and consents of popes were reft from Bohemia in an instant. Otakar's fatal mistake consisted in his abandonment of the strength of his ancestors—the fidelity of the Bohemians to their own land and its institutions, and a substitution therefor of a dependence on an alien whose interests were external to Bohemia, and must be controlled by the outside policies expedient from time to time. In the present instance these external policies prevailed, as they must prevail at times against every country individually; and the peace and prosperity of every nation must thus depend on the temporary advantage of a power external to them all, as his momentary interests may suggest. On this principle precisely Rome has always intrigued with every country against every other, and has never scrupled to sacrifice each for its own benefit. Rome has ever done this in the name of that one Lord over all nations alike. Such was mediæval piety; and it is not wholly obsolete yet.

By the terms of the compact now concluded (I.) The ban of the empire was withdrawn. (II.) Peace and friendship were restored between the emperor and the king of Bohemia, their servants and subjects and all property was restored. (III.) Otakar renounced all claims and pretensions to Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Wendish March, Eger and Portenau, and

to all territories and possessions in these provinces. (IV.) Hostages and prisoners on both sides were liberated. (V.) The king of Bohemia was confirmed in his fiefs of Bohemia and Moravia for himself and his descendants as he had inherited them. (VI.) A marriage alliance was agreed on between Otakar's daughter and Rudolph's son; and all fiefs and possessions which Otakar had acquired as private property in Austria should form the dower of the princess. (VII.) Another marriage alliance was concluded between Otakar's son and Rudolph's daughter, and the bride in this instance should receive a dower of territories in northern Austria which should be held in pledge by Bohemia for the payment of forty thousand marks, and Vienna was confirmed in all its municipal privileges; and the ban removed from her gallant burgomaster. (VIII.) The king of Hungary was included; and his territories were augmented by a restoration of the Bohemian conquests.*

From Otakar's subsequent personal correspondence with Rudolph the two sovereigns held an interview near the Danube—probably on the island of Camberg as some of the old chroniclers affirm. Meetings of this description are recorded in Otakar's previous experience, and were a remnant of ancient barbaric custom probably to avoid treachery; and to preserve secrecy in the conversation. The same custom was observed by Napoleon on a memorable occasion. In this latter instance a dash of romantic ostentation, a large ingredient in Napoleon's character, may well be

* From the conditions of this treaty it will be seen that Bohemia was withdrawn from her sea board frontier, which she had enjoyed practically since 1262, and geographically since the acquisition of Carinthia. It was this precise period, when commerce between Sicily and Bohemia was common, that is referred to by Shakespeare in the "Winters Tale."

believed to have suggested a revival of the antiquated procedure.* It must have been at this meeting if ever that Rudolph adopted the characteristic method of revenge on his antagonist that is recorded of him. The emperor was clad in his usual gray garments and seated on a three-legged stool, probably the ordinary camp stool of the period. "The king of Bohemia has often mocked at my gray coat," he jocularly remarked, "and now my gray coat shall mock him." That the king of Bohemia exhibited the same manly resignation which distinguished all his conduct during these depressing occurrences cannot be doubted. Otakar was pre-eminently a soldier, a gentleman, and a practical philosopher, and maintained his dignity to the termination of his career.

The adverse fortunes of this campaign also unfavorably influenced Bohemian commercial interests in Venice. During the following year, 1277, the embassy dispatched by the Venetians to Rudolph under Marino Pasqualigo changed the relations of the republic with Bohemia. Neither Hungary nor Carinthia obtained the commercial advantages they expected. The route of traffic became diverted to the Tyrol; and from that date the provinces wrested from Bohemia rapidly declined. At present while Trieste is an active port the eastern Adriatic coast is little but a bleaching skeleton.

The decision of war, and the double treachery of professed friends having acquired the mastery, Otakar at once prepared to fulfil the terms of the recent convention. Hitherto Rudolph could shelter himself with strong reason behind the preservation and unity

* A locality of that kind would probably at the present day be selected to escape from reporters.

of the empire. But henceforward his proceedings were marked by a denial of justice; and placed Otakar legally and technically in the right. On the 26th of November Otakar appeared with a brilliant retinue at Rudolph's camp before Vienna to do homage and receive investiture. This ceremony appears to have been interpreted as revolutionizing the tenure by which the king of Bohemia held the territories now remaining to him. The emperor acted subsequently on the theory that no difference whatever existed betwen Otakar's position and that of any other elector. All previous relations to the empire were regarded as obliterated, and a new and completely dependent relation established. Otakar viewed these occurrences as merely depriving him of the German duchies, leaving all his previous rights and dignities as King of Bohemia in their original operation. Rudolph regarded the homage and investiture as conferring a fief of the imperial crown. Bohemia was now looked on as a grant and not an inheritence. Otakar held that his territories were his own by inalienable right; and that he was protected in them both by right of property, of possession, of hereditary jurisdiction, of the elective will of his people, and of the treaties solemnly established between his ancestors and the empire. The institutional system and principle prevailing in Bohemia was obviously distasteful, if not antagonistic to the fundamental feudalism of the empire, and especially to the inordinately rapacious aspirations of the new Habsburg dynasty, that regarded provinces as marriage portions, and the territories of Germany as the spoil of needy sons and nephews. The principle of popular elections had become profoundly distasteful at Rome; the proximity of Bohemia to Russian and Greek in-

fluences, the large element of Greek sympathy and philosophy prevailing in Bohemia, the perilous combination of nobles and people sternly tenacious of local rights, rendered the abrogation of ancient Bohemian customs and institutions a chief element in imperial Roman policy henceforth.

Otakar's manly dignity is reflected conspicuously in the following letter to his queen written under the depressing circumstances just narrated:

"To my beloved consort, the queen of Bohemia, health and intrepidity in misfortune! Since it has happened to us, perhaps to a merited degree, that we should lose the lands that were acquired with so much labor and bloodshed, it becomes us not to lament with mourning and effeminate tears, but to endure the disastrous event with serenity, so that kingly dignity may not appear to stoop beneath adversity, or expose a weakness to the malice of our enemies. Calmness and magnanimity, those supports of a throne, should never abandon us. Those persons greatly deceive themselves who expect to mitigate misadventure by complaining. The wise will defy adversity and courageously confront it."

This letter is replete with the courage and humanity of Greek thought and philosophy.

The terms stipulated in the recent compact affected the empire almost exclusively; the local interests of the discomfited monarch were not provided for. Many details respecting the claims of jurisdiction over cities and villages were unadjusted. Disorders committed by the imperial allies in Bohemia and Moravia were unpunished. The retreating regiments—or rather disorderly troops—for regiments were not yet, plundered the country even after the treaty was completed; the

privileges conferred on Otakar's friends in various places were disregarded, and the ancient jurisdiction of the Bohemian crown was violated in mockery of the Bohemian claims of independence. Negotiations necessarily were renewed for the adjustment of these difficulties; and in May, 1277, a new compact was concluded. In these arrangements marriage contracts formed so important an element that the subject must have been profoundly studied in Rudolph's Swiss chateau.

More serious questions still remained unsettled. By the grateful concessions made and privileges conferred in 1212 the entire contributions exacted of Bohemia were limited to three hundred marks of silver or three hundred men for an expedition to Rome if any should be ordered; and an attendance at court at Nuremberg, Bamberg, or Merseburg but not elsewhere. These distinctions were now held by Rudolph to be abrogated; and the same duties of every nature were required from Otakar as from every other elector. These conditions were proposed in another compact which the prince Albrecht was commissioned to have formally concluded at Prague in September, 1277. Rudolph also attempted to establish an independent protectorate over the dissatisfied nobles of Bohemia while nominally Otakar's subjects; but he disguised his intentions by proposing a court of arbitration for future difficulties, to consist of twenty four of the chief nobility of each country. By this last proposition an indirect violation of existing stipulations was artfully suggested. It was already provided that neither party should shelter malcontent subjects of the other; but by the stipulation now proposed the question whether this protection should be extended or not was left to the

new tribunal to decide. Thus an intermediate jurisdiction between Otakar and his subjects was at once established.

These conditions seemed subversive of existing relations; but to avoid further contention, and if possible to gain the good will of the emperor by plain expression of views Otakar wrote to him in October following. In this frank communication he said: "I have determined to write to your highness respecting the Vrkovici and others of our subjects in Bohemia. That these our subjects were included in the treaty established between us, and especially in the agreement concluded on the Danube has never come to my knowledge. The treaty which was confirmed by the princes I have carefully maintained and will maintain so long as I live, although it has not in all points been observed with me. More recently when I dispatched the bishop of Olmütz, Baron Emil of Bielkovi, and my secretary Ulrich to your majesty for the confirmation of the treaty, it never occurred to me that any one of the natives of my country, especially of those who owed service and fealty to me, and whose forefathers had been exclusively the subjects of my ancestors, should be included in our agreement on any pretext whatever; and if any one of the negotiators has done so he has exceeded the limits of his authority. I had, however, been willing that every native subject of my country who had behaved dishonorably to me, out of kingly grace should continue in peace and unmolested until the confirmation of some articles of agreement pending between you and me. That all this is true can be understood from the following. When the noble burg-graf of Nuremberg was present with me at Troppau, I consented to all the proposals which I

had presented to your highness through him not infringing on imperial rights, especially that one—that none of my subjects should abridge my authority, and my inheritance, or be placed in any manner beneath foreign jurisdiction. On a still more recent occasion when the same burg-graf and the noble Count von Fürstenberg came to me to Prague I maintained the same determination, that I confirmed under oath all the points of the compact of friendship that had been concluded between us with the express exception that my subjects and the rights of my country should be mine wholly and without diminution. I also declared that out of regard for you and at your particular request, all those who had committed an offense against me I would receive into favor and never recall their misconduct. Wherefore I once more appeal to your royal goodness; confirm to me undiminished all those rights over my subjects which my ancestors have enjoyed. Let not your ear heed to the whisperings of my enemies who seek to subvert my rights and my inheritance. Besides, as already said, I have never objected to have the Vvkovici included in our treaty. If anything contrary to this has happened, it has occurred without my wish and against my permission. I repose in your goodness the firm confidence that you will prefer to augment than to diminish the established rights of my country, especially as I am a member of an empire which cannot possibly grow strong through the enfeeblement of its component parts."

Otakar's destruction either by open warfare or by ruinous enforced concessions had been resolved on. His resistance to the conditions proposed by the archduke was interpreted as a mark of hostility, and

Rudolph therefore took offense at the remonstrance sent to him, although in itself harmless and reasonable. There is no indication of the "violent invectives" which some panegyrists of Rudolph have imagined as contained in Otakar's correspondence. The emperor did not require invectives of any kind. He was placed in the position held to do certain work on any pretext and he did it. The electors were the electors of the empire as it had been. The utter subversion of Bohemia was the intention. Rudolph succeeded in that purpose only in part.

Imperial displeasure having signified that the king of Bohemia's remonstrances meant war, hostile preparations speedily followed on both sides. Otakar again endeavored to gain the adhesion of Bavaria; and a large donation in coin was presented to the duke. The silver mines developed during the preceding century liberally supplied the royal exchequer; and thus her riches as well as her honor provoked the aggressors of Bohemia. In manly vigor and intrepidity of mind, in public enterprise, and active courage Otakar had few equals in his day. He possessed those royal qualities that conferred consistency on all his actions, and elevated him far above the rugged, much more the robber, spirit that prevailed among his contemporaries. He had never been an adventurer in search of wages like Rudolph who had been all his life little better than a free lance. The habits and tone of royal authority were congenial to the philosophical temper and knightly ardor that distinguished him even above many of his family; and a descent to a baseness was impossible to him. He could do and he did severe things, and he inflicted punishments in accordance with the penal code of his time. But the habits of

that age were lawless; and officials in high position frequently practised enormities that called for penalties which recent days would pronounce excessive.

The public calamities produced profound grief in the palace. Queen Kunigunde was sustained by the gentle reproofs of her husband; but a shelter must be found for the princess Kunigunde, and at length it was obtained with her great aunt, Agnes. To his faithful retainers Otakar wrote in most manly tone declaring that he would share his fortune with them even to the last penny. The exactions, perhaps necessary, certainly severe, enforced by Rudolph in Austria created much enmity and many offers of assistance reached Otakar from that quarter. Several powerful persons promised neutrality. The court of Hungary continued implacable, and would accept no terms whatever with Bohemia. Assistance was expected also from Silesia, Poland, and Brandenburg; but this last power was probably bought off by promise of future opportunities of enrichment in the vanquished kingdom.

Great indeed was the public grief when the king made his formal departure from Prague. All ranks and conditions loudly expressed their sorrow and alarm. Otakar's force was assembled at Brünn, and did not reach thirty thousand men. Again at the most fatal moment a vital stroke was directed against Otakar from Rome. Pope Nicholas III. fulminated the ban of the church against all the adversaries of Rudolph; and his emissaries the archbishop of Salzburg and other ecclesiastics exerted themselves in publishing and applying it to the one man specially intended. Bishop Bruno withdrew from his patron; disloyalty infected the leaders of his divisions, and traitorous correspondence was maintained with the

enemy almost openly. With his usual promptitude the king commenced operations on the Austrian frontier. Some fortresses were taken, others surrendered. The allied enemies advanced rapidly, and crossed at Presburg and Haimburg; and Otakar withdrew. The banks of the March or Morava again became the theatre of conflict; and the field of Jedensburg near Weidendorf beheld the last struggle for the independence, the existence of Bohemia as a sovereign state. The imperialist forces outnumbered their opponents fourfold. Hungarians, Styrians, and Carinthians swelled the ranks of Rudolph's army until his line overlapped that of his opponent on both flanks, and allowed large bodies to be detached toward his rear to plunder the country. The news of mutiny in his camp reached the king, and stung him to the soul. Taking off his armor he presented himself to his assembled officers and demanded that any of them whom he had wronged should wreak his vengeance then on him alone, and not permit thousands to die in the contest that was impending.

Each commander formed his lines with care. On Rudolph's side the advanced guard consisted of Hungarians and Cumanians who extended the line to Durrenkrut and Idunspeigen. The Austrians formed the rear guard under the veteran Henry de Lichtenstein. The Austrian banner was borne by the chief justiciar of the province Otho de Haslan a centenarian. The Count de Hochperg bore the imperial eagle; and Peter de Mullinen held up the lion of Habsburg. Rudolph in person commanded the centre; and beside him his son Albert held the banner of the cross. The reserve was entrusted to Ulrich de Capellen. Berthold Kappler served as chief aid to the emperor.

Early on the 26th of August, 1278, the Cumanian

horse commenced the atack on the flanks. The main body speedily advanced with a rush; but the hand to hand conflict was long and doubtful. The carnage was great on both sides. The Bohemians never gave way; but their scanty numbers rapidly diminished. Battalions of Poles, Russians, and Bohemians perished in the stream. Otakar himself led a chosen troop where the danger was most imminent; and enveloped by enemies he fought that day with the desperation of a great soul driven to extremity by treachery and oppression.

Still the full measure of betrayal was not complete and Otakar's field marshal Milota of Didice drew off from the field, and abandoned his king in the very hottest of the battle. Otakar's valiant and faithful son, Duke Nicholas, was made prisoner; and still knights and nobles and sturdy farmers fought on with thinned ranks and with failing strength. Two Polish and Thuringian knights made a combined dash against Rudolph; one of whom Herbot of Fallenstein assailed the emperor direct and the other slew his charger.

The emperor was unhorsed and nearly trampled to death. Rudolph sheltered his face with his shield; and the superiority of his guards to the assailants in numbers at length rescued him from his peril, and supplied another horse. Otakar was the object now of personal attack surrounded as he was by a gallant few; and distinguished by pre-eminent valor and activity. Every one of his faithful squires was slain, and the king himself at length flung to the ground, his horse falling upon him. Recognized by his helm and royal cognizance he was dragged violently along the ground and his armor torn from his person. He was then a prisoner, and surrendered as such to his captors. At

that instant rode up Schenk von Emerberg, and Siegfried de Mahrenberg, whose father had perished by judicial sentence. Seeing his enemy within his grasp Schenk stabbed Otakar through the neck with his lance, at the same instant uttering the most bitter reproaches; and seventeen wounds attested at once the supreme gallantry of the king and the ferocity of his enemies. Rudoph himself acknowledged the splendid demeanor of his late adversary. "The aforesaid king," he wrote to Pope Nicholas, "disdained to submit, and defended himself with wonderful courage and with the prowess and spirit of a giant."

Rudolph's victory was more than complete and decisive; it was overwhelming; it was a conquest. The laws, the institutions, the life and organization, the self-existence of a vigorous independence that had defied armies and emperors for five hundred years were all crushed and almost annihilated by the slaughter of Weidendorf. The name and the rights of Bohemia henceforward existed merely in broken patches that held together only by ragged connecting portions; and while by degrees the vigorous growth of the native verdure slowly occupied its former ground, and even spread until it united again many waste places left bare by the tread of the spoiler, yet the continuity was never again complete; and empty spaces have ever since spread their bare expanse toward the day, or formed the scene of a strange growth painfuly contrasting with the indigenous foliage that encircles it. Otakar had been justified in considering himself the foremost man in Europe after the decease of the emperor Richard. His proceedings in taking up the government of the provinces formerly subject to German princes had been sanctioned and legalized by the

emperor recognized by the greatest portion of Germany. Richard was both *de facto* and *de jure* emperor. The utmost sanction and encouragement from all authorities of the day both in Rome and Germany had been bestowed, with all the confirmation that solemn religious sanction could confer, on Otakar's actions up to the day when the free lance knight was elected emperor. The disorders of the period, the degraded condition of every principality, and the evil character belonging to the ruling classes in Germany created of themselves a contrast immeasurably in favor of the long established, regular, organized and prosperous institutional system of which Otakar in Bohemia was the representative and the executive. He was king, descendant of a long line of illustrious ancestors; and his power and prosperity conferred a dignity unrivaled in his day. His personal character, his knightly achievements, his broad and liberal education, and his strength and success as administrator, rendered the place of his home and power envied in Europe, and correspondingly hated by the turbulent depredators who surrounded him. But in an evil day the cold carbonic acid of a silent and invisible subtlety was poured over the free and kindly light and flame of Bohemian civilization, and spread its deadly miasma wherever its poison breath extended. Its effects were felt but their causes could not then be analyzed. The sense of its destroying influence in one direction, and of its hateful fertilization in another nurtured a distrust in the minds of patriots; and the royal hand by which the poison was poured out in unconsciousness of its effects was cursed by those who felt the consequences. Wenzel and Otakar overspread the native elasticity of Bohemian free action with an alien juris-

diction which restrained first and then choked it; and when the intelligent sense of Bohemia's leaders discerned the evil, and endeavored to correct it by political association and effort, their proceedings were branded as disloyalty. Otakar was a dupe to the fatal influence of his aunt Agnes, and the imported and antagonistic clericalism that she largely established in Bohemian palaces. He thought the bishop of Rome was sincere in his professions of regard; and he was of too chivalrous a temper to suspect treachery of which those professions were the cover. He also leant largely on the support of ecclesiastics, little dreaming that those servants of an alien must obey that alien even to the utter reversal of a policy and involving the destruction of a throne or the humiliation of a kingdom when the duplicity or the rapacity of that alien requires the perpetration of the aggression. Rome's rule was that of the cloister and the priest; Bohemia's rule was that of the law, the magistrate, the judge, the administrator, the king. The latter must be swept away if the former is to be uncontrolled. Not Bohemia only, but Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Italian cities and possibly the empire itself seemed in the direct way to an acceptance and consolidation of the institutional self-government without priests that distinguished Bohemia. All this was known at Rome far better than at Prague; and the freebooter of Habsburg was the select instrument of the ecclesiastical rapacity of the time for the destruction of the national autocracy and inherent self-government whereon Bohemia had founded and sustained her glory, her intelligence, and at length her dominion and her greatness. It was Rome that struck Bohemia down; and the subserviency of Habsburg has been Rome's chief

instrumentality for similar purposes ever since.

Hearing that his opponent was taken Rudolph ordered his life to be protected, and at once rode forward to the spot. But vengeance had already done its work. The king unarmored and a prisoner had been murdered on the field, and blood and mire were now the only vesture that enveloped him. The body was placed on a carriage and conveyed to Vienna. Being embalmed after a coarse and brutal fashion* the remains were retained for thirty weeks subject to public view, in order, we must suppose, that no doubt of Otakar's death might remain, and no personation might be attempted, as was frequently the case on the disappearance of crusaders; and as subsequently occurred in 1285 respecting Frederic II.†

Dying as he died under ban of the church no chant was heard at his obsequies, when finally his body was interred; no church bell tolled in mourning for the life of a Christian departed. And yet Otakar had never a quarrel with Rome. He had never been accused of any offense either of faith or of morality. No citation had been issued to him to appear at any tribunal, and no question had been raised for him to explain or to answer. The ban was pronounced against him directly and by implication, and at a moment when its force must operate without the possibility of concession on his part. But Otakar's memory is enshrined as sacred in the heart of every Bohemian; the silence of toll or chant is more than replaced by

* Paltrani Wazo se plaint dans sa chroniqe de ce qu' on ait vidé un si grand prince comme un poisson. Dumesnil. For similar reasons the body of James V., of Scotland was long left unburied after Floddenfield.

† The conspicuous instance of King Sebastian of Portugal will also at once occur to the reader.

reverent words wherever a Bohemian tongue finds utterance, and a grand anthem of praise mingles the voices of Bohemians for the first great martyr of their nation to the tyranny of Rome.

The border situation of Bohemia, and its position as the thoroughfare on one of the great commercial highways, the variety of nationalities and races present in her markets, and commercial houses, compelled the adoption of a broad and comprehensive policy. All classes of merchants were encouraged, and no discriminating practices permitted against any. Greeks, Franks, Armenians, Venetians, Florentines, Pisans, Jews, Cumanians and Russians all frequented the thoroughfare at Prague, and no fanatical animosity was permitted to impede the effort for prosperity. At the moment when legislation of the most repressive character stained the decrees of synods, and marked the barbarism of ecclesiastical ordinances, the laws of Bohemia were emphatic in favor of impartial justice to all ranks and races.*

The lawless spirit of the age produced a class of robber knights who lived by violence and depredation. But the King of Bohemia directed much attention to these desperadoes, and destroyed their strongholds wherever established within any of his territories. So wild was the temper of men, and so completely had the spirit of license taken possession of numerous classes that all restraint was resented as the deprivation of a right, and punishment for crime provoked eternal animosity. It was the magistrate who became the criminal and the tyrant; the robber was only pursuing his calling.

* At the council of Vienna in 1267, very inhuman enactments were passed against Jews by cardinal legate Guido.

Otakar has been accused of barbarous severity and cruelty in his punishments. He is said to have imprisoned the chief justiciary of Austria in a narrow dungeon, and then burned him alive by filling the cell with straw; and to have ordered a Styrian knight Siegfried von Mahrenberg to be dragged at a horse's tail and then hanged by the feet. That Otakar ever ordered or countenanced so atrocious a proceeding is wholly incredible. The entire course of his administration, and the tone of his orders and reprimands to his representatives are pronouncedly at variance with this accusation. Compare his reproofs to the chief land justiciary of Bohemia on the occasion of an act of barbarism that indicates the fierce spirit of the age. "The man who exceeds justice does more than his functions require," wrote the king to his overzealous subordinate; "I am informed that you are inclined to an excess of severity; and that in the duties entrusted to you, it is a thirst, unmerciful and pitiless, for punishment rather than for justice and right that you exhibit. You have caused a woman who had murdered her husband in a very artful manner to be subjected to barbarous torture during her pregnancy. Although this woman merited severe punishment for her offense, yet you ought to have waited until after her delivery. In other cases also you exceed the penalty of the sentence, so that men must believe that you have a craving to inflict punishment. Reflect then, that to exceed due limit is as censurable as to fall below it; and govern yourself in future in such wise that you may not be unjust through an excessive zeal for justice." If such a spirit had then generally prevailed, the horrors that filled Europe with fire and faggots must have been absent from the dreadful re-

cital that tells of the alleged reign of Christ converted into the reign of Moloch.

In his personal relations the king was a good and devoted husband, a tender and solicitous father, a strict and careful master, and a devout and exemplary worshiper. No levity of thought depressed the dignity of his demeanor; no impropriety of language disfigured the calmness of his utterance. Careful in speech but possessed of a manly and persuasive eloquence for the appropriate occasion the King of Bohemia was always candid and straightforward. Being slightly above the medium height, with a broad forehead, and a robust and muscular but active frame Otakar was distinguished in the knightly lists. His hair was tawny, inclining to red, and he possessed a distinctly Bohemian cast of countenance.

At a time when the mutilation and debasement of the coin was almost universal, and kings adopted the evil practice in the growing scarcity of silver, the sound money of Bohemia was remarkable in Europe for size, purity and purchasing power. The ancient Hohlpfennings or Shillings, of which twenty-two weighed a pound, were succeeded by heavy groschen, or grosses, sixty of which were equal to a silver mark, and by the albus or white penny of varying degrees. The broad groschen of Prague gradually became noted. They were reckoned by scores and sixties. Commerce with the Italian cities, Venice, Florence and others, and with Sicily and Alexandria introduced a wealth of rich merchandise. The splendid attire of the palace attendants and courtiers was unusual in that day. The plunder of Otakar's camp after the battle of Weidendorf filled the conquerors with amazement; and furnished the castles of the impe-

rialists with trophies for dress and the table which they had never previously seen equaled.

Otakar had a direct and pointed method of address with his officers that partook more of the emphatic tone of command suitable to military relations. Even Milota of Dedice was not above the sharp reprimand of Otakar for excessive severity in his administration of Moravia; and the haughty spirit of this able man rankled under the reproof. That Otakar not only was not a tyrant but that he was a strict disciplinarian is proved beyond contradiction by his letters still extant. But it has been convenient to demonstrate the guilt of the man whom Rudolph was hired to destroy; and to build the fame of a dynasty on unfounded calumnies against the memory of an adversary.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISORGANIZED CONDITION OF BOHEMIA AFTER THE DEATH OF OTAKAR.

The condition of Bohemia on the death of Otakar resembled in some respects by anticipation, the condition of England after the execution of King Charles I. New political and social ideas had agitated men's minds for a generation. Religious differences had created wide divergencies of belief and practice. The governing classes were divided in allegiance between the old loyalty and the new; serious estrangements had taken place between the reigning prince and powerful nobles who had not forgotten ancient law and settled national rights by reason of augmented claims on the part of their prince. Otakar, like Charles, had united all the branches of administration in his own person, employing a strong subordinate as representative and executive agent at each seat of government. The Bohemian, like the English prince, was a man of strong and cultivated mind, highly accomplished, and of arbitrary habits. In each case when the man went down the administration fell. Large numbers of the noble class had perished on the fatal Flodden of Jedensburg; many more had accompanied duke Nicholas, son of Otakar, to Hungary as prisoners of war, and many of these were sold to the Tartars. Thousands of the most attached and faithful retainers had met the fate of their leaders. The royal party

in Bohemia was broken; and for five painful and disastrous years the country felt all the rigor of famine, pestilence, anarchy, invasion, plunder and devastation. The very heavens denied their accustomed beneficence; and a parched and arid earth multiplied and intensified the miseries of the wretched inhabitants. Bands of fierce and wild Cumanian marauders traversed Moravia, and spread havoc. Towns, villages, and farm houses without number went away in flame. The miserable cultivators fled to wastes and forests, and thousands perished from destitution. Rudolph established his camp in the desolated province, and the chief persons of Moravia, including bishop Bruno, addressed a most earnest remonstrance to the conqueror against the atrocities perpetrated by the ruffian hordes of his allies. Some relief was afforded. Rudolph employed the opportunity in modifying some of the essential principles of the government, and in substituting a more direct dependence on the emperor than had previously existed. Brünn, however, was made a free city in consideration of its profuse demonstrations on Rudolph's entry; but the honor was empty and evanescent.

Bohemia was distracted between the partizans of the queen and of Otto of Brandenburg, nephew of Otakar, who had manifested zeal in her interest on some occasions, and appeared now to be the only leader capable of restoring order. The queen's partizans concluded an agreement with Rudolph conceding to him a protectorate over Bohemia until young prince Wenzel, then seven years of age, should reach his majority. The barons who sustained Otto, however, were far from assenting to this arrangement. Indignant at the imperious tone adopted by the new kaiser,

the malcontents united their strength with the forces of Otto, and Rudolph was compelled to listen to a more equitable adjustment. The two armies confronted each other at Kolin near the Elbe; but the presence of Otto avoided an engagement which could only terminate eventually to the disaster of Bohemia, however one battle might result. Plenipotentiaries on both sides established a compact by which the guardianship of young Wenzel, and the regency of the kingdom, were conferred on Otto for five years. Moravia was handed over to Rudolph for the same period to enable him to indemnify himself for the expenses of the war; Henry IV., Duke of Breslau, obtained Glatz for life; King Wenzel should marry Rudolph's daughter Judith, and Prince Rudolph should marry the Princess Agnes; finally the house of Brandenburg secured an imperial family alliance by a project of marriage between Rudolph's daughter Hedwig and Ottik, brother of Otto the Tall. Rudolph proved himself unparalleled as a match maker. During the same year the solemn mockery of marriage was enacted between Wenzel and Judith, each about eight years old, and Rudolph and Agnes who boasted of ten summers. The bishops of Olmütz and Basle performed the ceremony, as whenever did a bishop not perform any ceremony of the kind, however jejune, when his interests enjoined it? Political expediency is, or was in those days, a wonderful alleviation of doctrines and moral principles, and made them sit easy on fat consciences. Splendid tournaments accompanied these events by which God and humanity were alike mocked, and Rudolph with joy in his heart departed for Vienna.

During all this time, it will be remembered, no sepulture had been accorded to the remains of the

murdered Otakar; and the ceremony of marriage was enforced on the helpless son, still a child, while the body of his illustrious father lay still exposed for the gaze of an irreverent and superstitious multitude. Not until March, 1279, was any step taken toward burial of the dead king. By intercession of the queen the body was then removed from Vienna, and temporarily deposited in Znaim. Not until 1279 was a worthy repose conferred on the hero of Bohemia at Prague.*

Still further distractions and disasters awaited unhappy Bohemia. Many of the nobles dispossessed of their estates by Otakar now returned and demanded restitution. Fierce personal contentions were thus multiplied. Many petty civil wars raged at the same moment; and Otto did not possess the power, and perhaps not the inclination, to intervene. He probably knew that many of the returning exiles were the vigorous champions of Bohemia as she had been; and would thus form the most reliable supporters against Rudolph's grasping spirit. Otto himself became not only the dictator but the devourer of the country. He dispossessed the royal family from all dignity in Prague where the queen had maintained her court under the old form but with vastly diminished splendor. The treasuries and archives preserved in the cathedral of St. Vitus were also seized, and many of the most valuable memorials lost for ever. The cathedral itself was closed, and even the bells were silent for two years, mute evidences and participants of the oppressive grief of the nation. Even

* Singular to narrate the peasantry long entertained the same expectation of Otakar's return that had distinguished the Germans who for generations looked for Frederic Barbarossa; and the Bretons who awaited Arthur. The idea of a resurrectionary re-appearance of great characters long anteceded Christianity; and was in ancient times a common accompaniment of their decease.

bishop Tobias, elected to the see of Prague and consecrated in 1279, was compelled to forego all entrance to his cathedral and was obliged to commence his episcopal ministrations in a provincial church at Strahov.

During an absence in his own dominions Otto entrusted Bohemia to Bishop Eberhard of Brandenburg, a rough, hard man. In this interval the condition of the country became deplorable. Bands of plunderers, chiefly Germans, traversed the towns and villages levying the most exacting contributions, and seizing all within reach that they coveted. Violence and robbery of every description oppressed and destroyed the people. The population fled to the mountains and perished of cold and want. Districts were completely devastated and depopulated where had been comfort and peace. Ravage covered the face of the land, and only skeletons lay around where songs and music had cheered the day. Famished wretches thronged to the abodes where anything yet remained, and snatched the food of the inmates from the board, and struggled over carion. Even Rudolph was aroused by the dreadful distress, and appeared with some forces in Bohemia in 1280. The elements seemed to combine with human wickedness to intensify the public woe, and a dreadful tempest added largely to the prevailing devastation.

After another year of anarchy and suffering the country being on the eve of total destruction, a remnant of the estates assembled, and adopted the most stringent resolutions in order to deliver the nation from the miscreant bands that ravaged it. Every man present pledged himself to unite with every other in order to exterminate the depredators. Large amounts of public property had fallen into private hands during the

confusion; and all this was peremptorily required to be surrendered for the benefit of the young king. Only fourteen days were allowed either to church corporations or private individuals to complete this surrender under penalty of instant prosecution.

During these painful troubles the fields were left untilled, and even seed corn was consumed. Bohemia that had been a granary for eastern Europe could hardly produce a kernel for her own use. Famine and her daughter pestilence stalked in ghastly array through the stricken land, and left appalling tokens of their potency. Starving wretches might be seen in every direction endeavoring to drag their wasted forms over the frontier, to seek in more favored regions the scanty sustenance utterly denied them in their own; and the highways were strewn with the bleaching bones of the victims of the treachery of a pope and the fury of his lieutenants

A favorable harvest in 1282, though scanty, afforded some relief. Order and industry began to reappear, as famine and pestilence subsided. During the same year under pretense of affording protection Otto carried off young Wenzel beyond the frontiers, and immured him in one of the fortresses of Brandenburg. Here the boy was grossly neglected. He was left destitute even of necessary food and clothing. Education was not thought of; and the son of the illustrious Otakar was reduced to the most ignominious dependence. Here compulsory attendance at twenty masses a day formed the only education conferred on him. Even at his restoration to Prague Wenzel was unable to read; and his total dependence on menials selected for the purpose produced a narrowness of intelligence very far removed from the vigorous intellectual self-

assertion of his father. All this was exactly suited to the policy of Rome and of Vienna.

The obscurity and inactivity of exile were ill-adapted to the aspiring spirit of Queen Kunigunde. Escaping from her attendants on pretense of a hawking expedition the queen fled to Prague and thence to Moravia. Several enthusiastic nobles in chivalrous compassion for the depressed situation of the widow and son of their late sovereign, combined in her favor; and enabled her to secure an establishment suited to her rank in the castle of Grätz near Troppau. Here the queen maintained a petty court in which royalty was imitated on a very diminished scale. But her pretensions drew forth an expression of serious opposition from many of the most powerful barons, and a formidable combination threatened the extinction of the liliputian royalty. But ambition on one side, and the charms of a clever and attractive queen widow naturally combined to obtain for Kunigunde the personal regard and active intervention of one of the most able, and possibly one of the most patriotic men in the nation, —Zavise of Falkenstein. This nobleman, possessing a commanding presence, unusual ability and capacity for affairs, one of the soldier-poets and literary-warriors who combined in a marked degree the highest physical and mental accomplishments, and were equally at home in the camp, the forum, the senate, or the council chamber, discovered in the active temper, and ambitious mind of the queen a spirit congenial to his own, and speedily became the controling power in the royal widow's counsels. Men were not surprised, but, public opinion affected to be scandalized by the marriage of these two persons. But this event seemed to portend a menace to the peace of Bohemia; and loud

imperious calls became universal for the restoration of the Bohemian monarchy.

At length in May 1283 the wishes of the nation were gratified by the return of the young king Wenzel to Prague. The regency of Otto of Brandenburg expired by limitation; and all ranks welcomed back the sole surviving representative of the most ancient and illustrious royal family in Europe. Court and administrative offices were speedily filled and regular government with as much splendor as could be assumed was re-established. As the boy had been forcibly separated from his mother in his tender years, and in the perils of penury and exile, now on his restoration to honor and prosperity the youthful feelings natural to a boy of twelve again yearned for his mother's society. Not only Queen Kunigunde but her husband Zavise of Falkenstein* was speedily installed in the palace; and the strong character, and resolute enlightened genius of the latter rendered his very presence a formidable power immediately. He was sustained, too, by a numerous party of adherents, and became without any decree or formality, the practical ruler of the country. The recent afflictions of the nation had sobered men's temper; and a condition of things that must inevitably have entailed a sanguinary civil war only a few years previously was now arranged by common consent on the basis of existing facts. Zavise proved himself a wise, strong ruler. He subdued refractory chieftains; dispossessed robber knights, broke the power of banded plunderers, and united the whole realm under the undisputed authority of King Wenzel. But as the prince advanced in years he gradually be-

* He always styled himself Von Fürstenburg; but the name in the text is the one by which he is generally known.

came restless under the enforced dependence on the great regent. Wenzel developed a temper and disposition very dissimilar from those of his father or any other of the Premysls. Whether from natural temperament or the training he now received, he exhibited a tendency toward suspicion and treachery. The sentiments he expressed and the views he adopted of the relations of men toward each other and toward events, gave proof of the inculcation of sentiments totally unlike the broad humanitarian philosophy and lofty views of human duties that formed the practical creed of King Otakar. In fact Wenzel was long incapable of entertaining any sentiments but those suggested to him by the servants of Rudolph and the ecclesiastics around him.

Rudolph viewed the elevation of Zavise of Falkenstein with displeasure.* The statesman-warrior was strong in comprehension of the imperial purposes, and his policy was strictly national.† Rudolph omitted few opportunities to signify his disapproval of the authority conferred on the distinguished soldier-poet. The unexpected demise of Queen Kunigunde in 1285 was the forerunner of the fall and fate of Zavise. Rudolph's influence over his son in law naturally increased; and the queen's death was highly convenient to that party. Zavise had little if any farther claim on an administration, which as husband of the queen-mother could with difficulty be denied him. In a brief period friends withdrew and enemies declared themselves. The favorite was accused of diverting public

* He was in fact the "Le nommé Stein" of the period.

† The German writers have always spoken most disrespectfully if not abusively of Zavise. This fact alone proves him to have been a patriotic Bohemian.

property to his private uses; but secure in his own stronghold of Fürstenberg on the Moravian border and surrounded by devoted and numerous partizans, neither Wenzel nor Rudolph considered an open rupture at all prudent. In order to strengthen his position Zavise courted and secured a marriage alliance with the ruling house of Hungary. King Ladislav's sister Judith had already become an inmate of a nunnery; but a dispensation was readily obtained; and for sometime Zavise and his young wife enjoyed a secure and happy retirement on their own domains. To Zavise Queen Kunigunde had borne a son, and her individual property was held for him by his father. This circumstance became the occasion which led to one of the most odious acts of treachery known in the black annals of human deceitfulness. The birth of a son to Zavise and his young wife became the cause of rejoicing at Fürstenberg; and King Wenzel was courteously invited to the festivities. A cordial acceptance was returned on the part of the king, and Zavise was requested in most friendly language to present the invitation at Prague. With a mind too large, and a temper too noble to attribute any baseness to his prince, Zavise appeared at the capital. In his friendly heart a sense of politeness and respect suggested an appropriate present to the young queen; and a veil of costly material and elaborate pattern expressed the good wishes of the donor. But the palace of Bohemia had sunk beneath the control of a dark suspicious superstition; and the innocent work of skilful fingers was interpreted as the bearer of some secret and magic enchantment intended to work a fatal spell against the recipient of the simple gift. The veil was flung into the fire as if infected with some malediction of the

black art; and the courteous visitor and guest was informed by nine armed bravoes that he was the king's prisoner. Long did the gallant man resist the treachery which thus assailed him. At length beaten down by numbers, the valiant knight was fast manacled and closely incarcerated in the White Tower at Prague. His cell was illuminated by the genius of the illustrious occupant; poems which were long remembered attested at once the business of his captors, and the manly constancy of their victim; and the White Tower of the Burgate acquired a renown similar to that of another White Tower on the Thames as the scene of the dastardly baseness of a prince, and the resplendent worthiness of a captive. Never before had the throne of Bohemia fallen so low; never had the dark deceitfulness of superstitious venom and ignorance found entrance into royal counsels in Bohemia. The same treachery that destroyed Otakar was now engrafted on the soul of the son and it bore fruit according to its kind. No temptation or cruelty could shake the constancy of the prisoner. The sum of fifty thousand marks demanded of him he declared to have been the private property of Queen Kunigunde, and by her conferred on her son; and nothing could induce him to retract any portion of what he affirmed to be the truth.

Rudolph perceived his opportunity to destroy his enemy forever; and he was enabled to enforce his wishes inasmuch as Wenzel was compelled to accept his crown and dignity, not as the free gift of the Bohemian estates, but as a fief of the empire. Shortly before his death in 1290 Rudolph had dispatched a force under command of his son Rudolph to the assistance of Wenzel. The towns and castles belonging to

Zavise held out bravely; but a threat that further resistance could bring down vengeance on Zavise himself induced several to surrender out of affection for their chieftain. But a defiance of Duke Nicholas, half-brother of Wenzel, by Witek, brother of Zavise, who commanded in Hluboka (Falkenberg), was the signal for the fatal display of vengeance felt by Nicholas against the friend and husband of the lady who had become queen to the exclusion of Margaret and thus affected the rank possibly within his own reach, and by Wenzel against the strong statesman who had dwarfed him in the eyes of the world.

A sort of guillotine was erected before the walls of this place, and there on the 24th of August 1290 the prisoner met his death, a sharpened board being used for a knife, before the eyes of his retainers who would have died in his defense. A new monastery for the Cistercians perpetuated the triumph of Wenzel's treachery.

Soon after these events the dissensions in Poland, originating with the subdivision of that country among the branches of the Piasti, afforded occasion for intervention in that region. Duke Casimir of Oppeln formally accepted investiture of his territory from Wenzel on condition of a guarantee against the other factions. The dukes of Ratibor, Benten, and Teschen followed the example of their brother Casimir. Queen Kunigunde's sister Griffina, widow of duke Lessek of Cracow, also claimed Wenzel's interposition. Otto of Brandenburg united his forces with the Bohemians and Cracow and Sieradz were speedily reduced. King Wenzel adopted the title of Duke of Cracow and Sandomir, and the power of Bohemia again extended to the Vistula.

The impending election of emperor of Germany necessarily invited a manifestation of the claims of several ambitious candidates. Foremost among these was the proud and imperious Albert of Austria who presented his pretensions with an ostentatious display of confidence. But his temper had been thoroughly studied; and a more practicable person was preferred. King Wenzel was a pronounced opponent of Albert; and the election of Adolphus of Nassau on May 2, 1292, created a sentiment of fierce resentment in the heart of Albert against the king of Bohemia. Truth, however, requires the statement that not the benefit of the empire, nor yet the merit of Adolphus had decided the vote of Wenzel as elector; but a mean feeling of personal pique against a person who was in personality much the superior of the king. A close friendship was, however, established between the new emperor and his influential supporter; and a marriage alliance between prince Rupert and Judith of Bohemia was agreed on. The early death of the young princess interrupted the confirmation, but did not affect the permanence of this friendly relation. The payment of ten thousand marks in silver as dower was a welcome addition to the treasury of the new emperor; and he could well afford to transfer some territories to Bohemia—German as they were. By these means Altenburg, Chemnitz and Zwickau and the territory of Eger that had until recently belonged to Bohemia were confirmed to Wenzel. In all these and similar transactions, it will be observed the possession of a liberal supply of solid silver by the Bohemian treasury was a marked feature, and it was easy for pauper emperors to purchase it by the cheap transfer of authority, more or less transitory, over towns and districts to which

their only right arose from the ceremony of an election.

In the years 1292 and 1293 the estates of Austria and Styria adopted a pronunciamento against Albert; and deputies were dispatched to Prague who entreated armed intervention, and gave profuse promises of support. Albert was then destitute of friends or allies. His violent conduct on the election of Adolphus had alienated many of his supporters; and even his former adherents in his own territories hated and forsook him. His sister, the queen of Bohemia, perceived the rising peril, and strongly urged Albert to come at once to Prague in order to counteract it. Albert accepted this advice; appeared at Wenzel's court, acknowledged himself as vassal of the Bohemian crown; and by the aid of the noisy and pitiful entreaties of the queen was received again into favor and restored to his dominions. The return that Albert subsequently made for this magnanimity affords another instance of the deceit practiced on the Bohemian crown by those of its own household.

The condition of Bohemia being now again peaceful and prosperous at home and abroad, King Wenzel directed his attention, as Otakar had done under similar circumstances, to the regulation of the laws and educational institutions of the kingdom. The former had never been regularly codified in writing in their entirety; many existed as customs more or less local in their application. An unwritten Common Law is in many respects superior to a code of statutes. The former is always practically expounded by the people themselves, and possesses an elasticity and applicability to modifications of circumstances that make it fit as the skin does to an animal. Written codes of

statutes, although presumably known to all, are in fact never known to any, and their meaning is a fruitful source of discussion. Many customs can never be reduced to rules or expressed in words; and many others contain, in their practical application an expressive fealty to feelings and deferences, which not seldom constitute the most valued part of the custom. The custom is the people themselves. The code is something outside them. Statutes are often the result of intrigue or malevolence. In America statute making has become a national vice; and is a serious national misfortune. Men's rights are never certain, and can never be known; and the opportunities for fraud in the multiplication of laws induces a disrespect for the law, and hence for all law, that has reached the importance of a national calamity. A statute has come very largely to be regarded as the written villainy of some intriguer to serve a disingenuous purpose.

The Bohemians in the thirteenth century were astute enough to perceive the change likely to arise in their business relations from a written code. They were proud of their ancient customs and adhered to them with great pertinacity.* But change was not King Wenzel's purpose. He desired a collection and classification of existing laws; and with that object a learned jurist named Gotz was invited to Prague. The school re-organized by King Otakar, wherein Latin, philosophy, and theology were taught, and forming a kind of university, had been closed during the interregnum, but was now again opened to the youth of the country. That the kind and the tone of education favored by Otakar formed one objection to him is

* "Die Bœhmen hielten sich auf ihre alten gewohnheiten." Pelzel.

beyond all dispute. It was never borrowed from Rome. Not only the civil and political but the educational expansion of the national mind had been crushed. The conspicuous aspiration of the people had been fiercely combated the moment it began to assume formal expression. The same repression was effected three times subsequently, and on each occasion with increasingly calamitous results.

King Wenzel employed his present repose in improving the internal condition of Bohemia, and effacing as far as possible the ravages of recent disasters. The policy of Otakar now bore great results. The mines were wrought energetically; the new corporations advanced in wealth and importance; peace was assured along the great thoroughfares from Russia, Constantinople and the great Orient, and commerce resumed her elevating and enlightening career. Merchandise was transferred in security and to advantage from the Hoang ho and the Ganges to the Volga and the Humber. Mutterings of crusades were heard indeed; but the crusading motive had been disclosed. Princes had learned that their own states formed the proper object of their care, and afforded sufficient honor, and at times more than sufficient martyrdom. Pope Nicholas IV. endeavored to stimulate the flagging zeal of rulers; but messages to the kings of France, Armenia, Georgia, Cyprus, the Emperor of Trebizond, the Greek emperor Andronicus Palæologus were not heeded. For a time the activities and conquests of Chazan of Persia in Syria and Palestine, and the entry of Christians within the walls of Jerusalem under his banner promised to revive the drooping interest in the holy places. The singularity of the spectacle of the Mogul emperor from the Jaxartes en-

camped on Calvary and Mount Zion inviting the Christian hosts of Europe to an alliance against the Mussulmans of the East, attracted a half incredulous attention. The ambassadors of Chazan were received with distinction at Rome; but the promises that greeted them sounded hollow. The haughty tone adopted by Boniface VIII. who succeeded Nicholas in 1294, gave offense to Europe; and his petulant menaces provoked a sentiment akin to indignation. The crushing delirium had passed away. Even the helmets and cuirasses that were prepared for the women of Genoa who had assumed the cross, and were exhibited in the arsenal of that city, failed to awaken a spark of chivalrous enthusiasm. The holocaust of children of 1212 had warned men of the intoxication of excessive devotion.

The great enthusiasm that at one period almost ascended to the sublime had fallen not alone to the ridiculous but to the grotesque. "Oh, prodigy! Oh, miracle," exclaimed Boniface, "a weak and timid sex takes the advance of warriors in this great enterprise, in this war against the enemies of Christ, in this fight against the workers of iniquity. The kings and princes of the earth, regardless of all the solicitations that have been made to them, refuse to send succors to the Christians banished from the holy land; and here are women who come forward without being called!" The warriors thus reproached had long discovered that from all this fussiness nothing remained to themselves but a cross-legged effigy on a monument.

Commerce had recently been thoroughly re-established from Venice to the Thames and gained great accessions of strength, and control of the open sea. Bohemia was enabled to convert her mineral treas-

ures into forms most readily applicable to the command of other wealth; and while her coffers were full the riches of the world were again within her reach. The face of the open country speedily lost the scars of war and devastation; agricultural wealth in cattle, horses, and grain accumulated; and even the export of eggs formed a seriously important item in the general commerce. The moral and religious elements, however, remained far from being uniform or harmonious. Many communities of persons who regarded themselves as the true successors of the simple faith and observances of the early disciples of the Christ preserved their organization and assemblies;* and Bohemia was still a center of hope and independence for their sympathizers in other lands. The creed and influence of the conquerors were associated with recent disasters; and men looked still with repugnance on the new theology and political dependence that had severed the existing court from the principles and the attitude of the nationalistic Premysls of old. There was that unrest of mind that formed a prepared element for the reception anew of declarations of faith and worship, that promised emancipation from strange and lordly ceremonies, that severed the people from their ancestral self-government, and were now associated with the intrigues and intriguers, who had prostrated the nation. Men became still more ready to welcome back the old customs when associated with the idea of national independence. The land and the neighboring lands were at peace and the conjuncture seemed favorable for a splendid coronation ceremonial. The interchange of formal visits with neighboring princes was

* The destruction of these communities formed one important object of the hired depredators after Jedensburg.

frequent; and Prague witnessed the presence and the courtliness of noble dames and gallant knights, and princely retinues on many joyous occasions.

The month of June, 1297 beheld the assembly of princes and potentates, dignitaries and warriors, their wives, families and an immense throng of guests and visitors to assist at the coronation festivities. "Albert of Saxony and Albert of Austria, Margraves Otto and Hermann of Brandenburg, the princes of Silesia, and a great number of archbishops, and other nobles to the number of eight and thirty, with their retinues," were crowded within the walls of Prague, or provided with tents outside the gates*.

But these gayeties were speedily replaced by bereavement and sorrow. The queen had not recovered sufficiently from her recent accouchement; and the fatigues of the ceremonial and receptions brought on an illness that terminated fatally in seventeen days. Her children were Wenzel, Anna, Margaret, and Elizabeth. "The first princess became consort of Duke Henry of Carinthia, the second of Boleslav, Duke of Lignitz, and Elizabeth was consort of King John and mother of the emperor Charles IV."†

The occasion of Wenzel's coronation was seized on by the electors present to express their views respecting the deposition of the emperor that had already obtained some assent. The reasons alleged were the acceptance by Adolphus of subsides from England to aid in the war against Philip the Fair of France. A meeting on this subject was held at Eger; but Adolphus had been notified; and the chief of the conspirators —Archbishop Eberhard, shut up in one of his own

* Pelzel, I. 156.

† Ibid, p. 157.

fortresses. But in February of the following year, 1298, a more serious conference was held at Vienna on the occasion of the betrothal of Prince Wenzel with a daughter of King Andreas. The notables assembled included the King of Hungary, with many prelates and nobles, King Wenzel and his half-brother, Nicholas of Troppau, Albert, duke of Saxony, Hermann of Brandenburg, the archbishop of Cologne, Albert of Austria who had still his heart set on the empire, and formed at once the keystone and the object of the meeting. Albert engaged himself to Wenzel in the most solemn manner that in return for his electoral vote, he would restore all the ancient privileges and rights of Bohemia, would renounce all claim to homage and absolve Wenzel from attendance on court days, and confer Eger, Floss, Parkstein and Weida on the Bohemian crown, in return for a payment of fifty thousand marks. Wenzel accepted these terms, and promised a large subsidy in money and an army corps. King Andreas also assisted his father-in-law with a large force of Hungarian and Cumanian bowmen. Albert marched his army down the left bank of the Rhine. The two opposing forces met at Gölheim upon the Donnersberg. Adolphus seeing his rival in the throng rushed toward him, exclaiming, "Here you shall yield me the empire." "That is in the hands of God," fiercely replied Albert and struck his opponent to the ground, where he was killed instantly. In fulfillment of his promise Albert named Wenzel Statdholder of Meissen, Lausitz and the Pleissnerland. On the 16th of November Wenzel performed his duties as arch cup bearer on the occasion of the coronation of Albert's consort Elizabeth. On the following day an imperial edict was proclaimed declaring that

this act should form no precedent; that the king of Bohemia was entitled to wear his crown in the presence of the emperor, and was not required to perform this office as cup bearer while bearing his kingly crown.* Pirna, Saida and Borschenstein were confirmed to Bohemia. King Wenzel had thus become sovereign of extensive territories beyond the natural boundaries of Bohemia. Almost the whole of upper Saxony with all privileges and power of suzerain was in his hands; and his position was one of eminent dignity in Europe. No complaint from pope or prince of German territory held by a Slavonian sovereign interfered with Wenzel's authority. In the case of Otakar that pretense had served its purpose.

Dissensions in Poland induced a powerful party of nobles to invoke the interposition of Wenzel. Przemysl of Posen had been crowned king but reigned only seven months; and was then succeeded by Vladislav Lokietek. The latter was driven out and wandered into foreign lands where he lived for a time in obscurity. Wenzel accepted the difficult task of maintaining order; and accomplished his purpose with the aid of a commission of royal representatives. The more effectually to strengthen his influence Wenzel was joined in marriage with Elizabeth daughter of King Przemysl, a princess of Brandenburg descent. A. D. 1300.

Hungary also was distracted with civil commotion.

* This document originally appeared in Latin and bears date 1298, The important portions are subjoined, "Ea propter scire vos facimus et tenore præsentium protestamur quod licet Illustres reges Bohemiæ * * prædictis Rege vel Imperatore Coronam Regalem gestentibus cum eisdem, et eis præsentibus corona Regia uti possint. non tamen in corona regia debent prædicti reges Bohemiæ prædictis Regi vel Imperatori ministrare in officio Pincernatus." And of the performance of the office on this occasion "Hoc non de jure, sed ex mera dilectione."

After the death of King Andreas III. Carl Robert of Naples, grandson of Marie, sister of King Ladislav, became the chief claimant of the throne; but the Hungarian estates formally tendered the crown to King Wenzel in July, 1301. The latter deemed the burden of three kingdoms greater than his prudence or his strength would justify him in assuming; and after long deliberation, consultation with other powers, and the bestowal of rich presents on the ambassadors Wenzel decided to present his son, then a lad of twelve years, to the Hungarian nation, with the condition that the prince should in time wed princess Elizabeth, daughter of Andreas. The partizans of Carl Robert still made head in Hungary. The Bohemian force that accompanied young Wenzel, aided by the retainers of his Hungarian allies encountered the hostile force before Grau. The latter were speedily routed; and Prince Wenzel was crowned with the crown of St. Stephen on the 26th of August in presence of a great assemblage of the ecclesiastical and civil nobles and dignitaries. The ceremony of homage followed at Ofen; and the new ruler was formally acknowledged.

Pope Boniface affected much displeasure on learning of the events in Poland and Hungary. His legate Nicholas, afterwards Benedict XI. declared himself in favor of neither of the successful parties; and peremptorily ordered the Hungarian clergy to favor the party of Carl Robert. His ignorance of local affairs, and his presumption created violent animosity against him. He was driven with contumely out of Raab, Gran and Ofen; and in the last named town, at that time largely occupied by Waldensian sympathizers and disciples, he narrowly escaped from the wrath of

the people whom he violently threatened. Hurling an angry interdict at the nation he hastened away; but a large part of the clergy openly defied him, and a furious cross fusilade of excommunications was the result.

Boniface, however, persisted in fulminating angry prohibitions against Wenzel's interference in Poland and Hungary, especially the former. Wenzel's council were not daunted by these menaces. An alliance with Philip the Fair was promptly arranged; but the humiliation and death of the pope in 1303 deprived this union of much of its importance. In the meantime Boniface had made use of Carl Robert to establish his own supremacy in Poland; and the crafty jealousy of Albert of Austria was easily enlisted against Bohemia. The opportunity had at length arrived when this ruler could exhibit the cold duplicity of his character. "Hard as the diamond was his heart." He had but one eye and the sinister look this deformity produced formed a faithful reflex of the nature within.*

Albert became the active partizan of Boniface. One chief object in the emperor's policy was the possession of the rich silver mines of Kuttenberg in Bohemia which were protected by a strong fortress. The surrender of these treasures for six years to Albert as emperor, or the payment of eighty thousand silver marks was imperiously demanded. The relinquishment of Eger, Meissen, Hungary and Poland was also insisted on. Wenzel replied that he had received some of his territories by inheritance, some by marriage, some by purchase, and others by spontaneous election from

* The habit of one-eyed men to turn the face a little to one side makes the eye appear in the centre of the countenance. Hence perhaps the fable of the Cyclops.

the people; and he did not feel disposed to surrender what no man had a better right to than he. On receipt of this reply Wenzel and his son were proclaimed as under the ban of the empire. Thus fraudulent ingratitude, and jealous enmity constituted the only return made for the magnanimity of King Wenzel when Albert needed forbearance. Wenzel despatched a distinguished embassy to the pope explaining his position and his rights. This deputation consisted of some of the most learned persons in Bohemia, and was received by the pope at Anagni.

No representations or remonstrances could shake the determination of Boniface; and six months were allowed to both parties to present their claims at Rome. This ultimatum was disregarded, and at length on May 31st, 1303, in full consistory, Queen Marie of Sicily and Carl Robert were declared to be the true and rightful heirs of the Hungarian throne, and its dependencies; the people were required to swear allegiance to them; the election of Wenzel was pronounced a nullity; and his subjects absolved from all fidelity to him; and the perils of excommunication were threatened against all who should disobey. At the same time Albert and his son and his allies were required to support Carl Robert with all their power. War being thus declared by the pope and his lieutenant the emperor, both sides made preparation for the inevitable strife.

Boniface could not stimulate men to a crusade in one direction but he succeeded in another in the midst of profound peace. Albert was poor and was hated by the electors. He was almost without allies except the papal adherents and the partizans of Carl Robert. The Cumanian horse spread devastation on

the lower Danube. The war varied in success during the summer of 1304. In September Albert encamped at Budiveis, and Rudolph and Carl Robert advanced to effect a junction with him. The object of this combination centered in the fortress of Kuttenberg with its mineral wealth. The place was gallantly defended by Henry of Lipa and John of Stratz. A pestilential disease naturally broke out among the besiegers and was a regular accompaniament of the vile habits of the hordes of barbarians who fought for Albert. The cause was attributed to poison poured into the stream, but no such explanation is necessary. The siege was abandoned after great loss to the imperialists.

Albert endeavored to treat for peace but his proposals were disregarded, as his troops were mutinous for want of pay, and his cause was known to be desperate. Large numbers of mercenaries deserted him; and even Otto of Brandenburg declared for the king of Bohemia. During the winter of 1304-5 active preparations were made for the renewal of the contest next spring. The fatigues and exposure of campaigning, however, were too severe for the constitution of King Wenzel to endure. He was seized with a violent fever in the spring of 1305 and his death became a daily expectation. Calling his court and his family around him Wenzel expressed his dying wishes, and at length expired on the evening of the 21st of June at the early age of thirty-four. He left four children, Wenzel, Elizabeth and Margaret of his first marriage, and Agnes of the second.

Wenzel was not a great prince; and it is was his misfortune to live in an age when the delusions of magic darkened the understanding of men not liberated from superstitious terror. The chief blame for the one

deep act of treachery that stains his memory must rest chiefly with those who neglected and deluded him. Wenzel's untutored mind fell beneath the force of the prevailing sentiments; but his fall was an alarming symptom of the revolution in moral precept and principle that had been effected in the palace of Bohemia.

To Wenzel belongs the honor of having conferred on Europe a silver coinage remarkable for size, purity, and beauty. The royal grosses, or groschen of Prague,* sixty of which were equivalent to a silver mark, and forty-eight to the light or Polish mark, became conspicuous in every commercial city. But their excellence proved the cause of their discontinuance and disappearance. The coin of continental Europe was then shamefully debased. Bullion became much more valuable than the coin. Sovereigns endeavored to create money by adding to the number of pieces in the same amount of metal, and then of adulteration by excessive alloy, under the delusion that the name, and not the substance conferred purchasing power. Long was the pernicious delusion persisted in; and almost universal ruin resulted. France at that precise period presented an alarming example of the blighting force of this evil practice; and the good coin of Bohemia disappeared in the mad debasement of the day. Under the belief that each coin could be rendered of three or fourfold value it was purchased, exported, melted down, and re-coined in base form. Where this robbery is practiced in one country good money cannot possibly circulate in its neighborhood.

Wenzel III. succeeded his father peaceably. Albert

* "A. D. 1301. In this year were coined the silver grosses or Groschen of Bohemia, then a powerful kingdom." Anderson's Hist. of Com. Sub. an. 1301.

discontinued military preparations; and quiet again reigned. In August 1305, Meissen was again dissevered from Bohemia and entrusted to John of Habsburg. The ban was withdrawn; and the king of Bohemia was confirmed in all his rights, titles and dignities to all the territories in Bohemia, Poland and elsewhere whether acquired by inheritance or otherwise.*

All the late king's allies the dukes of Bavaria and Brandenburg, and all their dependents were included in this treaty. The territory of Eger was surrendered to Albert without much solicitation. On the 5th of October following the young king espoused Viola, daughter of Duke Messek of Teschen, a young lady remarkable for her beauty; and this event created general surprise not only from the obscurity of the ducal family, but on account of the palpable disregard of all engagements subsisting since 1298 between Wenzel and Elizabeth of Hungary. The explanation probably is that the gentleman really was attached to the lady he married; while the other had been selected for him when a child, and he felt in no degree attracted by her.

Young Wenzel was neglected and fell rapidly into bad habits. Evidently his environment in the palace differed widely from the respect formerly paid to the reigning prince. The courtiers had been educated to transfer their interests and attentions elsewhere. Intoxication, dice-playing, sensuality and nightly carousing with sons of nobles and other wild companions filled Prague with anxiety. In his moments of

* The official documents confirming the king in his rights; and the other withdrawing the ban are contained in Goldast, Appendix, XXV. and XXVI. The confirmation by Rudolph and by Adolphus are also there given. In these state papers Wenzel is repeatedly styled King of Bohemia and Poland.

inebriety the king was often induced to sign and seal important engagements and contracts transferring large sums of money to his dissolute companions, and the cheats who naturally surrounded him. His chancellor frequently refused payment of these notes, and the king's anger thereat became a constant menace agains this faithful servant. In his sober moments the king poured forth gratitude and compliments; but neither Queen Viola's influence nor a sense of dignity restrained the king's excesses. Under present influences the Przemysls had fallen very low.

Perils in Poland aroused the king from his stupor. His lieutenants reported the urgent necessity of re inforcements if the peace of the country must be maintained. With the consent of the estates preparations were made for the pacification and defense of Poland, as a measure of self-protection at home.

The king assembled his troops at Olmütz, and engaged vigorously in his first campaign, and nominated his brother-in-law Henry of Carinthia lieutenant of the kingdom. On the 4th of August he sought repose in his chamber from the oppressive heat, and had completely laid aside all armor, and even his other clothing; and while he slumbered—an assassin, Conrad of Bodenstein, entered the apartment and with three dagger strokes laid the king dead on the floor.* Loud and angry rose the indignation against the perpetrator of this dreadful deed, and calamitous results flowed from it to Bohemia. The last of the long line of her ancient dynasty had fallen beneath a murderer's

* This is the tradition; but even contemporary chroniclers are not agreed as the real perpetrator of this great crime, nor for what purpose it was committed The only persons who derived benefit from it were the family of Austria. Popular belief long associated the crime with Albert's deliberate purposes.

hand; and the fate and fortune of the nation created intense alarm and confusion. The fixed rights, the firm institutions, and the unfailing gallantry of Bohemia during eight hunderd years had constituted a strong barrier against the anarchy of the darkest ages. The manly independence and the solicitude for individual political rights always exhibited by the Bohemian people have rendered them the teachers of nations; and their principles and parliamentary constitution have gradually penetrated into every country under heaven. They protected and preserved the rights of men during long ages when those rights were elsewhere unknown or trampled down. Bohemia has been the birth place and the shelter of the modern politics of freedom; and she still demands from mankind a full restoration to herself, of all the rights, privileges and dignities which she preserved so long with her treasures and her blood for the emancipation of the world.

On Wenzel III. had been lavished all the educational advantages then within reach. He spoke Bohemian, Latin, Hungarian and German, readily and correctly. He possessed a good person and a generous disposition, but seems to have been totally neglected from the moment he became sovereign. The strong men of Bohemia had been replaced by ecclesiastics as councilors, and among these only one was found with the honesty or fidelity to counsel the generous and impulsive boy. The assumption of royal authority by legates and cardinals in that age and for centuries afterward was based on the principle of rendering the king a puppet or worse. "Ego et rex meus" was not only a boast but a principle. The vice of the de jure ruler transferred power to confessors and chancellors.

It is easy in such cases and as idle as it is easy to condemn the sovereign. One man, however excellent, can do little if a thousand pulpits thunder adversely; in an ingorant age the reasonable appeal of the civil ruler who represents penalty as well as dignity is of trifling weight beside the exhortation of the priest who assumes to represent the illimitable favor of heaven. Where the mind of a whole people is devoted to fantasies and divinations the wholesome truths of practical knowledge seem insipid. The intoxication of miracle abolishes reason, and a wonder-worker appeals at once to imagination and credulity. One tempest of popular frenzy toward the idol of an hour claiming superhuman virtues will sweep away for years, perhaps for generations, the laborious efforts of the most accomplished educator to create appreciation of real knowledge. The later sovereigns including Wenzel I. had witnessed this conflict in Bohemia.

From about A. D. 722 to 1306 the Przemysls had reigned in Bohemia always with distinction, frequently in celebrity and splendor. Modern history fails to produce another dynasty equally continuous in one family. Their rule was contemporary with all the struggles, and formative efforts that have eventuated in the establishment of existing European nations. Their history and their glory were observed by all men, and the institutions they represented were known, were studied, and at last as opportunity existed were imitated and extended. The classes of governing agencies that have ruled mankind, kings, nobles, parliaments have always observed and imitated each other. The fashion of court ceremonial, the courtesies of courtier life, the chivalry of warrior kings, were closely studied and faithfully reported. The political

condition and the formal institutions of all European states were thoroughly known to each other, and political vicissitudes were announced with a wonderful celerity. The institutions of Bohemia exerted an influence that can be observed only in struggles to imitate her that marked the popular movements of neighboring lands. The barons under King John who preserved national rights and principles by the evidences of Magna Chartas sustained indeed the supremacy of English law; but they were themselves powerfully upheld by the example of Bohemia where the prince was the elected ruler, and he was bound by his oath of office to preserve the national freedom. Golden Bulls were formulated under the same influences; and the spirit that kept alive Bohemian institutionalism fed the fire of the same worship on the political altars of all self-constituted nationalities. The king, lords and commons; the king, nobles and vladykas, representing precisely the same classes, but far more completely in Bohemia than in England until 1832, upheld the same elements and have transmitted the same rights to all generations of men.

Not a little remarkable is it that the formal application of the claims of all ranks to a voice in the public counsels in parliament was proclaimed in England at the time when tendencies toward the depression of it became apparent in the sister state. At the moment when the last Przemysl fell beneath the assassin's stroke, and the ancient system he represented was in danger of being crushed, and obliterated in its own birthplace, the union of all ranks in the national curia in England had acquired sufficient consolidation and self-assertion to maintain itself against all intrusion and encroachment. The voice that had for centuries

been heard on the Moldau and the Elbe was now heard and heeded on the Thames.

CHAPTER XV.

INTERNAL COMMOTIONS TO THE DEATH OF KING JOHN.

The period that we have now reached constitutes the convulsive period in Bohemian history.

The two great factors that form national life, religion and politics—then experienced in all European countries additional expansive force, and fresh obstructions. Former elements in religious and political thought in Bohemia, released from much of the dynastic opposition that had hitherto resisted them, now felt relieved; and forthwith demanded pre-eminence. The old religion and the old political basis had to a great extent been replaced by these recently introduced; but both lived in the heart of the nation. The spirit of autocracy now acquired new force and was often asserted with increased vehemence. In each the substitution of the exotic for the indigenous created collisions. This fact in each case is precisely the object that the detractors of Bohemia have most diligently labored to suppress. The purpose is evident —to represent the Bohemians as rebels in each instance. Henceforth the struggle on the part of the people was for their own; the effort of their enemies has been to represent the new as the native and resistance to it as treason.

During the thirteenth century the general revival of interest in literature, and hence also the general welfare of all classes, introduced a freedom of discussion

on all topics then utterly at variance with the vehement repressive system that prevailed. Multitudes of persons demanded reforms in every department of public life; in the church, in civil government, in public morals, in the status of the poor, in education, in general relief from feudal oppression. Mighty minds engaged in vehement discussions and promoted the spirit of controversy. Old philosophies were furbished up and made to shine like recent revelations. The works of Aristotle formed a mine of wealth for all declaimers on Christian doctrines as well as on philosophical disquisitions. The reconciliation of religion with science became the objective point of universities, and the theme of brilliant expounders.

The efforts of earnest ecclesiastics also for reform of life and manners first inside the church and then outside, that had been noticed and encouraged for centuries, had created a disrespect to the church and doubts of her doctrines that had spread widely since early centuries. The debates of the doctors whether "most lucid," "irrefragable," "seraphic," or "angelic" were imitated in every congregation of men. During the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries these discussions had gradually eventuated in the formation of very numerous communities who believed what seemed to them the true revelation, and applied to this faith observances suited to it. The church itself about this time greatly promoted this independent spirit and practice. The Dominicans and Franciscans quarreled and denounced each other. The Franciscans then disagreed on the subject of private property; and finally became separated into two opposing and hostile factions. To extract the mystic meaning of the Bible seemed the object of all parties. The spirit thus to

investigate and interpret and plunge into mysticism spread widely. Most subtle and ingenious controversies racked the brains of most earnest men. The communities now external to the church abandoned these disquisitions. They believed there was "much humanity in man;" and endeavored to cultivate the good material at hand. The efforts of these persons were directed to the practical amelioration of conduct, the inculcation of a respect for truth, morality, and piety, the purity of life and manners by appeals to the better emotions of the human soul in connection with what they deemed the early, simple, and pure simplicity of Christian instruction. Unnecessary here to recapitulate the sufferings of these persons, in many cases before but chiefly after the calamitous epoch of 1215. The Albigenses expelled from Languedoc* fled to every country that would shelter them. This circumstance materially concerns the story of Bohemia. The greater number found refuge in Poland, Hungary, Servia, Dalmatia and Bohemia.

Western Europe as yet exercised very imperfect control over the interior of these countries; and the refugees long found security and prosperity The divisions among the Franciscans—at first known as Fraterculi†—or Fratricelli on the subject of the ownership of property, and the rise of the spiritualist party, resulted in their adoption of the doctrines of Joachim of Flora in Calabria, and the formation of an independent community who repudiated the church.

* Generally called previously Albigensium.

† Fratres Minores a title they still retain. Any distinctive title by which men or women obtain a mark to distinguish them is a badge of pride, and conceit. It *distinguishes* them. The humble mind will go on its way without seeking to attract attention. The bonnets of quakeresses and nuns are in the highest degree marks of pride that seeks remark.

All these experiences encourged the free inquirers in Bohemia, Poland, Hungary and Slavonia.

During these controversies which culminated about A. D. 1250, the investigating spirit that the rival theologians had fostered exhibited itself in a very great enlargement and wide diffusion of separatist communities, principally that of the "Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit." The sect became exceedingly numerous in France, Germany, Italy, Bohemia, Poland and Hungary.* They were morally supported by the Fraticelli, Begewer or Beghards and Beguinœ, that is Praying men and Praying women, a very pious and popular society that had existed at Vilvorden in Brabant since early in the eleventh century, and probably much earlier. Many varieties of belief, and not a few most unseemly practices have been attributed to all these societies; but all their enemies agree that by a "seeming piety" they drew to them large numbers; and that their principles and their efforts were directed to the eradication of evil propensities which they declared many of themselves had acquired power completely to subdue. By some these societies were named Lollards,† and in many districts they were named indiscriminately Fraticelli. In Poland and Bohemia these people were extremely numerous; and preponderated in many parts of Hungary. Not surprising then that the legate Nicholas was expelled ignominiously from Raab, Gran and Ofen in 1302. He had published an order against the Waldensian

* See Uhlman "Reformers before the Reformation," and Gieseler, Eccles. Hist.

† Lallen-wehr—speakers of mysticisms; or possibly from the low soft voice in which they chanted when carrying the dead during the plague in Antwerp in 1300 when an organization of Lallen-wehr was formed to visit the sick and bury the dead. On such occasions were beat tom toms through crowded streets.

refugees in those places; but as they formed the majority of the population, they went unharmed for a time. In Bohemia the prevailing sentiments were those of the Waldenses proper. These persons had never seceded from the church; but they sought to reform its doctrines and practices, and to restore the primitive simplicity. They declaimed against ecclesiastical pomp and power, against confessions, indulgences, prayers for the dead. They asserted the equality of all Christians in the right of instruction and admonition in a proper spirit. Their lives were correct; and the sermon on the mount was literally interpreted. They objected to capital punishments and war. Two sacraments were by them sacredly retained; and especial importance was attached to the complete observance of the Eucharist supper as originally instituted. The cup was therefore demanded by all Waldenses and the right to partake under both kinds, as Christ and his apostles had done, and according to the mandate—"Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament"—became the central doctrine of their church. In fact the celebrated phrase "Sub utraque," that subsequently became a state designation, was literally obtained from the Waldenses. So great importance was attached to this sacrament that it was administered every week, and even young children became participants.

During the entire course of this thirteenth century a very strong anti-sacerdotal spirit prevailed in Europe. This feeling became intensified by the orders of mendicant friars. The idleness, rapacity and vices of these men created constant irritation and complaint.*

* That the crusading spirit of the day plundered families for the purpose of erecting religious houses is too well authenticated for dispute. The extensive establishment of Könegsfelden contained at the

During the same period the crusading spirit frequently made itself felt; and was now directed and preached against heretics as well as against Saracens. So long as Bohemia, Poland and Hungary continued to be the centers of native sovereignties based on local constitutions refugees were secure. But whenever a candidate appeared who would bargain for deeper submission to Roman dictation in return for Roman votes, that candidate called forth all the force of civil and ecclesiastical crusading. The most recent instance we have seen in Carl Robert in Hungary.

The assassination of Wenzel III. created a splendid opportunity for the exercise of this policy in Bohemia. Albert's first act on hearing of the fall of Wenzel was to publish a decree claiming Bohemia as a reverted fief. His chief supporter was Tobias of Bechin, whose office corresponded to that of chief baron of the exchequer in England, in so far as concerned the supervision of the royal revenues from the public domains and burg rents. Albert received constant information from this officer of the state of affairs, and depended on his counsel and influence. The principal dignitaries of the state, under the guidance of Henry of Carinthia, who had become the actual ruler on the death of Wenzel, at once summoned a parliament at Prague for the discharge of the ancient duties and exercise of the ancient prerogative of the estates on the demise of the sovereign. As soon as Albert became advised of this proceeding through his agent Tobias, an imperial rescript conferred the crown on Rudolph, eldest son of the emperor, by alleged right

same time an order of Minorites, and a nunnery of the St. Clare order. The convent was secularized at the Reformation and is now a mad-house.

of suzerainty over a lapsed fief. The imperial authority, however, had never advanced—except on one occasion, so far as to claim more than the right of homage of the king of Bohemia when elected by the estates. Parliament proceeded calmly to discharge its duties. The great day of Kulm, February 18, 1126, was probably not forgotten. The "Golden bulls" of Frederic II. of 1212 and 1216, declare in substance that whoever should receive the electoral vote of the estates should be welcomed by the emperor, and his successors, as the person entitled to receive the royal dignities after the accustomed ceremonial*.

An affecting scene presented itself during the debates when the princesses Margaret and Elizabeth appeared before the estates, and in most supplicating posture, kneeling before the assembly, entreated the perpetuation of the royal rights of their father's dynasty in the persons of his daughters now that the male line had become extinct.

Imperial rescripts purporting to confer this right on the female line were produced; but their force was nullified by the hesitancy of the members to recognize their genuineness. Albert and Rudolph adopted most persuasive means to influence votes. Commands and expostulations, menaces and entreaties, presents and promises were all employed. Opinions were divided. Some believed that as Rudolph was already lord of Austria and Styria, the union of Bohemia and Moravia under his sway would restore Bohemian pre-eminence as in the days of Otakar II. Others professed apprehension of the growing power of the house of

* Quicunque ab ipsis in Regem electus fuerit, ad nos vel successores nostros accedat, regalia debito modo accepturus." These important documents have been preserved in full but are too lengthy for insertion here. See Goldast.

Habsburg; while others again suggested a marriage alliance between Rudolph, now a widower and one of the royal princesses. The other chief claimant was Henry of Carinthia but his influence rapidly declined. Still more imposing and possibly convincing arguments consisted in the armed forces which the emperor and his son marched into Bohemia, in opposite directions. After an understanding had been reached that Rudolph should espouse a royal princess the estates formally declared him king, October 8th, 1306.

A few nobles of Henry of Carinthia's party forthwith quitted the country. Albert and Rudolph entered Prague, accompanied by a splendid retinue. The new king espoused Elizabeth of Poland, widow of Wenzel II. on the 26th of December* following; and the event was celebrated by a succession of festivals of the most elaborate and imposing character.

Albert's next proceeding was directed to a confirmation of the royal succession in his own family in case of failure of Rudolph's direct line. The Bohemian and Moravian estates the more readily assented to this proposal as their policy traced out for them not only the perpetual union of Austria and Styria with their own kingdom, but the selection of a royal dynasty that should unite the privileges of the nation with a regularity of succession. The proposal was therefore solemnly, although with some incautious concessions accepted and confirmed. The fief of Bohemia was therefore conferred on Rudolph in December following at Vienna; and the succession was established in the line of his brothers on failure of his own, as the chief condition of his tenure.†

* According to other authorities, October 16th, 1306.

† On all these events consult Kurtz "Œsterreich unter Otakar und Albrecht."

At this juncture Bohemia was not an inheritance to be protected but a property to be employed for the personal benefit of the proprietor. Rudolph became speedily a mere instrument in the hands of his father. Bohemia was compelled to expend her treasures for imperial purposes to an extent far beyond her legitimate obligations. A thousand marks in silver every week were exacted from the mines of Kuttenberg on pretense of paying the public creditors. Heavy taxes also were imposed on the nation. Local prejudices and customs were disregarded. The churches were stripped of their ornaments; and even the shrines were despoiled of costly furniture and relics.* The spirit of discontent and revolt spread rapidly, and a large party in the nation openly resisted. Rudolph levied forces, and reduced some fortresses of his opponents. But at the siege of Horaz-diovice, a castle belonging to a noble of the party of Henry of Carinthia, he was seized with a mortal illness caused by camp dysentery, and died in July, 1307, at the age of twenty-two.

Again after a brief interval the estates were convened for the election of a sovereign. Frederic the Handsome of Austria was presented on the part of the Habsburg dynasty. The president of this diet was Tobias of Bechin, still the supporter of Albert. But Henry of Carinthia was assisted by a powerful faction. Tobias formally advocated the claims of Frederic; whereupon the assembly exclaimed "We will have no

* The tone of mind in which prominent occurrences were viewed, and which may well be suspected of having given rise to public events of magnitude, may be understood from the complaint that God shortened Rudolph's days because he removed from Prague the head of St. Margaret and some vestments and gifts. The transition from this feeling to the assassination of the person who did such things is easily perceptible.

Austrian for king." Tobias tauntingly replied, "If you will have a native king go again to the village of Stadice; you will probably find a peasant there of the royal line; bring him hither and marry him to the widowed queen." A tumult followed this mockery; and Ulrich of Lichtenburg ran his sword through the body of the offending speaker, exclaiming, "Learn, Tobias, how we deal with those who would impose on us as rulers strangers and the murderers of our kings." Several other partizans of Frederic fell almost immediately; and on the 15th of August the election of Henry of Carinthia, who had been invited to assume the regency, took place with but little opposition.

Albert felt keenly the rejection of his dynasty by Bohemia; and prepared to inflict vengeance on that country. His power, however, was not equal to his purposes. Although fortunate in obtaining some small acquisitions, all his great projects failed. His friend Boniface VIII. died in madness in 1303, unable to endure his fall from boundless pretensions to mockery, imprisonment, and threat of death at the instance of Philip the Fair. He was defeated in Thuringia, driven out of Hungary where he supported the papal party, and humiliated in the forest cantons of Switzerland. The loss of Bohemia appeared likely to overwhelm his house, especially as he had alienated and provoked his nephew, John of Habsburg, direct heir to the possessions in Switzerland, Swabia and Alsace, by vexations and disingenuous refusals of confirmation in his inheritance. This conduct was the more odious as Albert held these territories only by right of guardianship over his nephew. Although Albert marched against Prague, besieged Kolin and Kuttenburg, and devastated the open country, he was compelled hastily

to retreat, leaving garrisons in Königratz, Chrudim and one or two other fortresses. No better success attended him in Swabia where a greater danger threatened. His expedition against Zurich was fresh in men's memory; and the populations entertained a sentiment of fierce hatred against him on account of the severe exactions and extortions of his lieutenants. The Moravian estates had exhibited an inclination to favor the cause of the Habsburg dynasty; but the presence of foreign garrisons, and the strong public sentiment in neighboring states effected a revolution of feeling in favor of the party of Henry.

During the winter the garrisons of Königratz and Chrudim harrassed the surrounding districts and added another degree to the intense bitterness against Albert. Some parties of the Swabian and Alsace troops, who constituted these garrisons, ventured into the open country, but were cut to pieces by the assembled peasantry. This ill-success, and the general hostility emboldened young John of Habsburg, surnamed "Duke Lackland," in his schemes of vengeance. Associating himself with some Swabian knights he awaited his opportunity. The patriots in Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden, under Furst, Milchtal, and Staffacher, completed their organization to resist Albert's encroachments, and on the 13th of January 1308, the signal of revolt was given. The imperial governors were expelled, their castles seized, and the entire population openly revolted against the house of Austria. Albert therefore proposed to postpone his meditated invasion of Bohemia and Thuringia, and prepared to direct his whole strength against the Swiss. His consort Elizabeth had assembled a strong force at Rheinfelden, and Albert accompanied by a

numerous escort advanced toward that place. At Baden prince John demanded possession of his inheritance situated there, and in the adjoining counties. Albert presented to him a chaplet of flowers, saying that it was more suited to his years than the cares of government. John became indignant; and at once prepared to execute his project of vengeance in company with Walter of Eschenbach his tutor, Rodolph of Wart, Rodolph of Balm, and Conrad of Tegelfeld, all men of considerable possessions in that neighborhood who probably owed a fealty of some kind to John. Having reached the Reuss opposite Windisch, the conspirators passed over; and Albert followed with one attendant, leaving the rest of his train on the other side. As he rode slowly forward over the fields at the foot of the height crowned by the ancestral castle of Habsburg, he was suddenly assailed by the conspirators. John demanded "Will you now restore my inheritance?" and wounded the emperor in the neck. "How long is this corpse to ride?" exclaimed von Wart. "Do your purpose," shouted John, and von Balm and von Wart struck Albert simultaneously on the head, while John himself stabbed him in the back. The emperor expired on the road in the arms of a poor old woman, almost in sight of his son Leopold.

Albert was a severe, unscrupulous man. He did not hesitate to meet crime with crime; and when reproached with being in the pay of France replied, "That is no reproach, for was not Adolph in that of England?" He advanced his family interests with a callous pertinacity. Uncouth in appearance, and fierce in aspect, cold, calculating and gloomy. Albert had some qualities that became an emperor. His military talents were considerable and his tendency to central-

ization rendered him a vigorous champion of order and subordination among all ranks in the empire. His rule was arrogant in spirit and harsh in method; and his promptitude and decision rendered him both feared and hated. Albert first adopted a uniform for his knights, each of whom had previously, as elsewhere in Europe, adopted a cognizance of his own. The establishment of distinct regiments in modern cavalry is due to this circumstance.*

After Albert's death duke Frederic sustained the Habsburg party; and as he commanded garrisons already in possession of strong places, and could have procured additional forces by the aid of his brothers, a desultory war might have ensued. But the rival princes Henry and Frederic in a personal interview at Znaim established peace on the basis of a payment of forty-five thousand marks to the Austrian claimant for the renunciation of his pretensions. In return for this sum he pledged himself to renounce all claim to the cities, towns, fortresses and territory in Bohemia, Moravia, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Wendish March. Payment was promised within two years, and several places were allowed to remain in Frederic's possession as security. The queen dowager, Elizabeth of Poland, resumed her residence on her dower territory, chiefly at Gratz, henceforward known as Kænig-gin-gratz, or briefly Königratz.

Henry of Carinthia now peaceably installed as king might have succeeded in his task had he possessed experience, or weight of character. His position as a

* Dante, a contemporary and an acute observer of public affairs places Albert in purgatory.

O Alberto Tedesco, c'abbandoni
Costei ch 'e fatta indomita e selvaggia, etc.

Del Purg., c. VI.

foreigner rendered him diffident. He could not rule over Bohemians with the self-assertion of a native prince. He could not say, "Ego Przemysl" and then smite with the fist of Przemysl. Dwelling in the midst of riches Henry was extremely poor through constant subsidies to allies, and clamorous creditors. His anger was impotent, and his favor a tenderness. The authority of the crown became relaxed, and the country sank into disorder. The position of King Consort is extremely difficult, and few have filled the position successfully. Where the ruler and his people have been hewn out of the same block there exists a continuity of substance and of grain. Each has a right to deal with the other as with a nature akin, and perfectly capable of forming a correct estimate. But if the two are united only by a political solder no great strain is necessary to dissever them. The experiment of elevating an alien king even over a willing people is always delicate, frequently perilous, and at times disastrous, as Bohemia well knows to her cost. The Bohemians rejected female rule in the belief that only a strong hand could wield the sceptre. They had a strong hand in Otakar and they conspired against it; they had a weak hand in Henry and they despised it. They had felt many strong hands before the days of Otakar and they loved them, and fought and bled for them. A dissevering and antagonizing influence had arisen. A genius not of the nation had become fixed in the land. The unbroken continuity of religious, political, and even national feeling had ceased. The substance that formed the nation was fractured in many places. Homage was demanded and paid to a power far outside Bohemia, one which claimed the highest reverence of fealty known to the soul, and this

influence was unceasingly exercised in every household. Under its penetrating force combined government was fast becoming impossible, unless when completely merged in the foreign influence itself. But when at length the great body of the nation united in one strong sentiment of religious and political principle, and was ruled by the great motive resulting from this union, the resulting force became terrible, and for a period irresistible. Under Henry the elements of the national life were agitated, disunited, discordant, and not every man perceived the disintegrating and fatal cause.

Another indication and effect of the strange revolution that had silently been effected in local administration is perceptible in the contentions that divided the citizen or burgher communities from the barons in 1309. Complaints arose from Prague, Kuttenberg, and other cities that their interests and their property were sacrificed by the nobles, and that the latter enriched themselves out of the wealth of the country by monopolizing all administrative offices. These grievances resulted in an organized assault on some of the principal officers of the crown who were assembled at Kuttenberg. The latter were seized by the angry citizens, fettered, and imprisoned. The affair was adjusted without much disturbance; but by a formal compromise the burgher interests were henceforward protected by an admission of their order through representatives into the administrative councils.

Henry's weakness and unpopularity afforded occasion for renewed display of nationalist sentiment. A party of the nobility led by Henry of Lipa, the gallant defender of Kuttenberg and John of Wartenberg

united their influence with the citizens and endeavored to overthrow the royal authority. Their party took possession of Prague and erected strong fortifications at each end of the bridge. The king invited help from abroad and Otto of Bavaria and Everard of Wirtemberg marched to his assistance. Henry welcomed and assisted them; but after their departure their officers and troops were displaced. The clerical party at once commenced a serious agitation in favor of the election of a new sovereign.

Through the intrigue of Peter von Aspelt, archbishop of Mayence, the German throne had been secured for Henry of Luxembourg, who assumed the title of Henry VII. The election was held November 27th, 1308, under a walnut tree on the Königstuhl at Rense, a point on the Rhine near Braubach where a blast of a hunting horn could be heard in the dominions of four electors. This choice was a declaration of hostility to Philip of France, and his anti-papal policy. The royal crown alone could be employed in the ceremony, for the iron crown of Lombardy and the imperial crown were still in Italy. Henry was known to fame as the best knight in the lists, and possessed a sterling judgment. To Henry the Bohemians now appealed in their perplexity. The princess Elizabeth had been detained under surveillance, and fears were felt or pretended that the king purposed to force her into a mesalliance in order to exclude her from the succession. Elizabeth, however, effected her escape, roused the people to rebellion, secured several towns, and eventually appealed to Henry VII. in person. The archbishop of Mayence pleaded on behalf of the princess, an exceedingly politic proceeding, and the new emperor gave his promise that his royal suppliant

and no other should become queen of Bohemia.

Henry speedily gave proof that Bohemia, as well as the other territories subject to him, might expect a sovereign very different from the last. His position in relation to the house of Habsburg was full of difficulty. The interests of their house were chiefly represented by Leopold and Frederic, the latter a mild conciliatory person, tall, well-proportioned and handsome, the former diminutive and deformed, and of a fiery impatient temper. The Austrians had not yet become accustomed to their rule; and the death of Albert became the signal for an insurrection in Vienna that was quelled only by the most horrible punishments, many of the citizens being deprived of sight, and others mutilated in various ways. The emperor released the peasants of Uri, Unterwald and Schwitz from Habsburg rule, and placed them under the direct jurisdiction of the crown. Henry also put the murderers of the late emperor out of the ban. A solemn funeral service was held, by imperial order, at Spires where the remains of Adolph and Albert were interred, A. D. 1309. There were present the widows of both deceased emperors, Elizabeth of Nassau who had vainly pleaded on her knees to Albert for her son Ruprecht who had been taken prisoner in the battle where Adolph fell, Elizabeth of Habsburg and her daughter Agnes. Frederic was also present and after much disputation the territories appertaining to each party were mutually guaranteed. How different all this from the elective principle of Bohemia.

Henry's position necessitated resistance to the popular demands of Bohemia. The malcontents despatched an embassy to the diet at Spires in 1309. Henry resolved to crush the movement and concluded

an arrangement with Frederic of Austria, by which the latter undertook an expedition against Bohemia, in consideration of acknowledgment as marquis of Moravia for a payment of fifty thousand marks. The constitution of Bohemia suffered another fracture.

Henry of Carinthia aggravated the cause of complaint against him by inviting a foreign re-inforcement under Conrad and Henry of Ausenstein. These troops regarded the country as a conquered province and created exasperation.

Thus the unhappy land became torn by the dissensions between the partizans of Elizabeth and of the king, the latter reduced in strength and numbers until they occupied only the citadel of the capital.

In this posture of affairs the estates assembled at Prague for the purpose of deputing a formal embassy to the emperor, and offering the crown to his son John with the hand of the princess Elizabeth. This deputation reached the court at Frankfort July 12, 1310. The emperor at first suggested his brother Walram, as a mature man, a knight who could ride and rule. "My son," he added, "is only a child; and "woe to the land whose king is a child!"* The members of the embassy "had been instructed" for John, as they hoped that since Elizabeth was already of their party, her youthful husband, even when invested with kingly dignity would also prove sufficiently complaisant. The emperor observed caution; and at a private interview required the chief spokesmen of the party, abbots Henry of Sedlec and Conrad of Königsaal, to state to him with candor whether the offer of the crown now made could be depended on as expres-

* See Book of Proverbs "Woe to the land whose king is a child and whose princes feast in the morning."

sive of the wish of the nation, and as likely to promote internal peace. Twelve days later a formal diet of the empire brought together the ecclesiastical and civic dignitaries of the realm. The Bohemian embassy presented their request in full court under the speakership of Conrad of Königsaal. The diet pronounced the ban of the empire against Henry of Carinthia, absolved his subjects from all allegiance, and deprived him of his crown on the ground of having seized a fief of the empire without authority.* Another fracture in the Bohemian constitution. The emperor's assent to the election of his son John confirmed the full understanding that a marriage should be celebrated as soon as possible between the prince and the princess Elizabeth.†

Bohemia made preparations to enable Elizabeth to present herself at court in fitting splendor. Costly presents arrived from all sides, the most valuable being made by the bishop! The cortege proceeded on its way amid the jeers of the Carinthian party. The princess was received by the emperor at the convent of the Knights Templars at Haimbach; and joyously welcomed by Margaret of Brabant, the empress, and Beatrice of Avesnes the emperor's mother. The court soon returned to Spires, and John did homage for his new kingdom, taking the oath and receiving investiture. The royal marriage followed and the event was celebrated with festival and tournament.

* Goldast Comment. Lib. IV.; c. IX. S. 16.

† Chroniclers narrate that the suggestion of this marriage was made to Henry by Elizabeth herself; and that he was offended thereat; but being assured of the innocence of the princess, and of oriental etiquette in such matters, his good opinion was restored. Court rules required that the princess, having been born in a higher station than John, should make the suggestion, as in a well known instance in recent days in the English court.

During the following September three armies marched, one to conduct Henry into Italy, the second to chastise Eberhard of Wirtemberg who had been escorted to the diet by two hundred knights and had there set the emperor at defiance, the third to establish John in Bohemia. Henry of Carinthia had obtained strong reinforcements from Frederic of Meissen; and prepared for a vigorous resistance in Prague. The citizens favored Elizabeth and John, and easily established communications with them in secret. The formal siege began in November but the invaders made little progress. Strong towers and ramparts covered by wide and deep ditches defended the city. The intense cold induced many to insist on a retreat. But the archbishop of Mayence declared that he would prosecute the siege if it rained spears like snow flakes from heaven. Berenger, chaplain of Queen Elizabeth, effected a parley, and became intermediary. By signal from the great clock the citizens rushed to the gate next the enemy, broke it down and at once admitted the besiegers. During the night of December 9th, Henry and his queen retired to their own estates; and the dynasty of Luxembourg became firmly established on the throne of Bohemia.

The estates assembled at Prague on Christmas day following; and there the ancient rights and privileges of Bohemia were confirmed by royal ordinance in the most formal and solemn manner.

The edict expressing this confirmation of national right constitutes a Magna Charta of Bohemia. Like its great English prototype, it did not originate any principle of law, much less of national custom; but it retained and re-affirmed the laws of antiquity as they had existed before the broken history of a century had

created disorganization both in national progress and the national constitution.

The first article promises strict maintenance of the rights that inhabitants had held from antiquity.

The next regulated the circumstances requiring military services, and dispensing with personal attendance outside the realm except voluntary or for pay.

The assessment of imposts is then arranged. The great taxes called "berna," are henceforth only to be assessed for a coronation, or a royal marriage, and the ratio is fixed.

Inheritance is extended to the female line even to the fourth degree of consanguinity.

Foreigners are strictly excluded from official positions; and if any such persons should acquire estates by purchase, marriage or in any other manner, they are required to sell them to a native born within a year, or such possessions should at once belong to the next heir.

This brief epitome will afford a view of the general nature of this famous edict. Its character is strictly local and administrative; and it contains few if any great principles such as have distinguished the great English charter. Nothing is found in it similar to the "nec super eum ibimus;" or the "per judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terræ," except in terms very general, and requiring explanation from other sources. It is directed against administrative abuses that had arisen; and it is not a re-assertion, or enumeration of specific rights or customs.

But the document formed a most important expression of the principles on which the Luxembourg dynasty established their government; and contains concessions, and sentiments, as well as administrative

systems which never could have been wrung from the Habsburgs. A sentiment of justice breathes all through it, and a disposition to do what seemed to be right and consonant to national character and habits is equally palpable. To all appearance a new era had begun.

The coronation took place in February 1311, at Prague; and the affairs of Moravia at once engaged the attention of the new sovereign, or rather of the new administration. Henry VII. had nominated the archbishop of Mayence, and Count Berthold von Henneberg as regents during the king's minority; and the ambitious and restless character of the former rendered him substantially sole ruler. The towns that the princess Elizabeth had delivered to the Austrians, presumably in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty with Frederic surrendered on favorable conditions, and internal homogeneity was restored. The Austrian duke had already received twenty thousand marks for services which were not required; and he seems now to have extorted a larger sum for the relinquishment of his claims to Moravia of which he possessed not even the equity of redemption. A royal progress through Moravia was followed by the happiest results; and recent lines of division became obliterated. The Moravian estates assembled in June to complete the pacification. An edict as liberal and as equitable as its predecessor confirmed the rights and privileges of the province; and a proclamation of general amnesty encouraged and invited homage now freely rendered.

During these proceedings a negotiation had been opened with the dukes of Austria for the surrender to the king of Bohemia, of Styria, Carniola, and Austria

as fiefs of the kingdom by virtue of the investiture conferred on Otakar by Emperor Richard. Henry supported these pretensions; but Frederic replied, "Tell him that within the limit of fifty years Austria has been the grave of five sovereign princes; and Henry of Luxembourg may be the sixth if he ventures to molest us in our legitimate territories." The emperor, however, had only brought forward the claim in order to anticipate any opposition to the settlement of the Bohemian crown; and as the dukes were then closely occupied with Switzerland, and commotion distracted their own dominions, no danger seemed likely to interfere with the new dynasty. Henry therefore proceeded on his long meditated expedition to Italy. The Ghibelline party regarded this emperor as their hope, and they eagerly welcomed him on his arrival. Some merely desired to crush their enemies the Guelphs; others cherished a hope of a restoration of the ancient empire. Among these the poet Dante immortalized the emperor as the shepherd of his people; and the restorer of justice; and reproduced in his work "De Monarchia" all the arguments employed by Frederic II. in support of his temporal dominion against papal pretensions. Milan opened its gates; but the Guelph party under the Della Torre created a tumult that required all the efforts of Leopold to suppress. Guido Della Torre fled to Cremona; but that city disappeared as such, being taken and leveled in 1311. Brescia detained Henry for some time and Walram his brother fell before its walls. Enraged by the defection of Tabaldo de Brussati who had armed the city, Henry vowed that every inhabitant should be deprived of his nose. On the taking of the city the statues only became noseless. Henry

reached Rome with a small escort in 1312. He did not acquire complete possession of the city; and his coronation took place in the Lateran amid the shouts of the Guelphs. Returning northward the emperor renewed preparations for war. For this purpose the young king of Bohemia as imperial vicar north of the Alps summoned the electors and princes to a reichstag at Nuremburg in the beginning of 1313, and required them to furnish a strong contingent of troops to aid the emperor during the coming summer. Henry affianced himself to Catharine, sister of duke Leopold, and king John prepared to escort the princess to Italy. For this purpose a new disposition for the temporary government of Bohemia became necessary. Count Berthold of Henneberg assumed the office of regent; and the young king accompanied by a splendid train set out by way of Ulm and Zurich, August 15th. The empress expectant accompanied by her mother, advanced across the Alps and reached the Ticino; and the promised arrival of fresh German troops elated Henry with hope of success. But an unsuccessful assault on Siena created a check; and at Buonconvento the emperor died of poison administered in the sacramental cup by a Dominican monk Bernard de Montepulciano. With his failing breath he said to his murderer, "You have given me death in the cup of life; but flee ere my followers seize you." August 24, 1313. At Pisa unhappy Catharine received a corpse instead of a bridegroom. During these occurrences Bohemia presented a thousand petty scenes of local contention. The details of administration being overlooked in the interest of external affairs, very remotely or not at all associated with the good of the kingdom, partizans of small interests strove in

remote places; villages and even towns suffered, and progress was retarded. Nobles claimed restoration or extension of privileges and power from neighboring municipalities, and over tenants and subordinates. Family discords revived and party spirit in cities became aggravated to bloodshed occasionally. Prague witnessed such strife between factions; and similar calamities threatened other cities. Bohemia for a time almost ceased to be a kingdom to be governed as such; and its destination seemed to be that of an appendage to the private property of the imperial family to be devoted to purposes outside his own boundaries or interests.

This year, 1312, witnessed the overthrow of the Knights Templars in Bohemia as elsewhere. Their wealth and pride formed the ostensible—their independent thought formed the real—motive for their destruction.

King John's reign consisted of endless restlessness and strife. The country was gradually rent by parties. Archbishops and abbots were loudly accused of withdrawing excessive sums of money from the resources of the country. The king's constitutional power was slender and he attempted to extend it to the utmost. The strong hand of each local baron, who knew his people and was known by them, held its own throughout the country; and the personal separation between the king and his nominal subjects grew daily wider. He distrusted them with good reason; and they felt a political aversion to him, as after all only an adventurer, with reason equally good. The king hated the contentious barons whom he could not crush, not for their contentions, but because their quarrels were not avowedly on his side, and he was

generally accused of harboring a design to destroy them. Hence arose a universal combination to resist direct encroachments. The king was expected to be the leader; but he was not hewn out of the same block, and no continuity of feeling existed between king and people; he could not think as they thought, could not participate in their feelings and had no right to dictate. Hence domestic government reverted wholly to local magnates.

The struggles between Kings Louis and Frederic involved Hungary and Bohemia; but John's prowess exacted large sums for his claims to disputed cities; and extensive districts became added to Bohemia. The power of Austria was effectually broken for a time. In that day towns were parceled out to princes and princesses as personal estates. The custom is strictly oriental, and in the absence of a fixed revenue was unavoidable. But the custom created endless contention.

From 1324 a wider policy arose. The king of France beheld in John a valuable ally if he could be secured, and the task was not difficult. John's early residence in Paris, his fondness for that city, and the perpetual jousts, junketing, and romantic entertainments of that always gay capital, notwithstanding the grievous destitution in France, entranced his ardent disposition. Welcome always awaited him as he was then the only prince in Europe who possessed money. John's younger sister Marie, queen of France, greatly assisted in enticing him thither. John consigned his eldest son, then named Wenzel, to her care; and the prince as he grew up renounced his name, adopted that of his uncle—Charles, and abandoned his native tongue to almost total forgetfulness of it. During the

constant absences of the nominal sovereign of Bohemia, king, government and the reign of law were likewise exiled; and petty oppressions and waste constantly resulted. Poland had become separated from Bohemia since 1306, and ambitious aspirants sought promotion through the pope under promise of liberal Peter's pence. Silesia, Poland, Brandenburg, Austria, Bohemia and even Lithuania suffered from these intrigues, and only the hand of the locally strongest prevailed. John XXII. interfered in all and exacted from all for liberal promises. War with Austria in 1328, and with Poland in 1329, exacted again money and munitions from John's zealous subjects.

The death of the talented Queen Elizabeth in 1330 caused the king extreme grief; and seemed to disturb his reason, such as it was. About this period he dreamed of German control over Italy, and despatched his ambassadors to John XXII. on the subject; but he only gained the pope's enmity thereby. For seven hundred years the popes had regarded Italy as strictly a church estate, and they regard it as such still. But King John's prowess was felt and his kingdom formed a power in Europe. His own people although distrustful were submissive, through lack of better and apprehension of worse. Even the high roads which according to old chronicle had been dark with spears and shields were cleared of robber knights by the belaboring cudgel of the king. The emperor made great concessions to obtain an alliance with Bohemia. The king was constituted viceroy of Milan, Bergamo, Pavia, Novara, Cremona, Parma, Modena, Reggio and Bobbio, and imperial vicar general in Italy—for a consideration of 120,000 ducats. The honor was utterly empty, and in reality a fraudulent bombast, but the

money was paid. In fact more hard cash was paid down in those ages for the alleged fee simple of "castles in Spain," in heaven and in Italy, than for all the real "real estate," of the rest of the earth. On a similar principle John supported Philip of France in all his quarrels, paying his own expenses, or rather requiring toiling Bohemian miners to pay all this wanton waste of money for him, and flew over Europe to aid him.* In plain phraseology Bohemia no longer possessed a government devoted to its interests. The country was held in the gripe of the imperialist and ecclesiastical allies who had combined to seize it. Both extorted immense sums that were sent abroad; and it was for this purpose the alliance had been effected.

Wars in Italy and on the Austrian border gave occupation to prince and nobles. Young Charles, formerly Wenzel, on the death of the queen, must present himself at home. On his return from the meretricious gayety of Paris he found Bohemia exhausted. The constant absence and wanton extravagance of the chief magistrate, constant local quarrels, neglect of trade, murders, robberies, extinction of law, a wasted country constituted the prospect that the seductions of Paris had largely created. The revenues were gone; castles and towns in ruin. In the melancholy words attributed to him he found "no father, no mother, no brother or sister to anybody anywhere; family ties dissolved, destitution in the palace, not a royal residence remaining, anarchy all around and even Otakar's palace in Prague largely in ruins." The prince

* "In via cernitur non ut equitans, sed potius quasi volans" says the Chronicle. The details of these wild campaignings are not here set down, as they have little or no connection with the story of Bohemia. They formed merely the quixotic adventures of an erratic king.

was glad to accept a burgher's lodging. Charles diligently visited every region. Order was restored; quiet enforced; nobles were conciliated by concession of ancient privileges. The Bohemian language had greatly declined and German was chiefly the official tongue. King John had devoted his attention to tournaments, and in 1334 long lay ill of his wounds in Paris. The marriage of the Austrian duke Otto with John's youngest daughter Anna seemed a token of friendship in that quarter; but really formed only a new cause of claim to dynastic interest in Bohemia. Well indeed might Prince Charles feel thankful for even a yearly income of 500 golden marks from Hungary in right of his wife.

During the winter of 1337 King John's eyes became seriously affected during an expedition into Lithuania, at that date little but a territory. The right eye was injured through the unskillfulness of a French physician who was flung into the Oder; and in Prague the king submitted to an Arab practitioner who destroyed the eye completely. In 1341 the king became totally blind.*

This period was chiefly though quietly agitated by preparations and intrigues on account of the anticipated quarrel between Edward III. and the French crown. Each strove by artifice to procure allies; and King John was naturally the friend of France. John continued to wander through Europe; but want

* "Oculo utroque fuit captus, quorum alterum amisit ex aëre nebulosa in Litvania, alterum in hastiludio læsus, ex dolore et medici imperitia in Bojemia." Stransky. By "aëre nebulosa" seems to be meant cataract. The "hastiludio" or jousting probably caused the king's illness in Paris. The Jews and Arabs at that time enjoyed a high reputation for skill in cases of cataract; and as late as the 15th century the reputation was deserved; the operation having been successfully performed on queen Isabella the Catholic's father.

of money to pay his debts alone compelled his return at times to Prague. The year 1344 witnessed a final effort against the alleged paganism of Prussia; but although prosecuted with the aid of a splendid array of chivalry the expedition ended ingloriously. The acknowledged influence of the Bohemian monarchy, however, procured the election of young Charles to the imperial dignity, and the homage of the Bohemian estates as their future sovereign. These arrangements had been scarcely perfected when the landing of Edward III. on the coast of France summoned John to his last campaign.

July 12th, 1346, Edward entered Normandy with forty thousand men commanded by many of his ablest and most experienced marshals. His army fiercely wasted the country; but frequent skirmishes reduced its numbers. Advancing along the south bank of the Seine the king found difficulty in crossing, as the bridges had been broken; but at length he succeeded. King Philip assembled a great host numbering 20,000 men at arms, 100,000 foot of various degrees of effectiveness, and a picked corps of about 7,000 Genoese archers, then very highly esteemed as soldiers. Philip advanced toward Abbeville in pursuit of the invader; and Edward struggled to march north across the Somme. Knowing that a great host advanced in his rear the English king found himself apparently hemmed in between a river on the north and a mighty enemy not far behind him on the south. Having successfully assaulted some towns and castles he had taken many French prisoners. To these he offered a reward of 100 crowns of gold, liberty and transport to any one who should conduct him to a ford across the Somme. "A varlet of Mons," one Gobin Agache accepted the

offer, and pointed out the easily passable ford of Blanque Taque—the local pronunciation of Blanche Tchae, or White Spot from the chalk formation that crops out there. The passage was hotly disputed by the French under Godemar de Fay. His knights charged their enemies in the water, but were stubbornly repulsed and driven from their position. Edward crossed before Philip knew the fact, and took a strong position on a rising ground close to the village of Cresсy. He had thus executed a movement precisely similar to that of Napoleon at Givet. The night when this feat was executed Philip spent feasting at Abbeville; and after a circuitous march in the expectation of finding his foe still south of the river, and invested on all sides, he discovered the English well posted behind rough breast works and palisades. The French army was in truth a motley host, and seriously imperiled as well by want of union as by the rankling jealousy of its commanders. The duke D'Alencon held chief control on the field. His impatience hastened the battle. The English stood facing south; the day was exceedingly sultry; and an eclipse of the sun and a furious thunderstorm depressed the ardor of the French. The bowstrings of the Genoese archers were wetted and spoiled, while the English protected theirs in their helmets. The Genoese had marched far, and requested some rest; but D'Alencon reproached them with cowardice. At three in the afternoon they advanced with strange leaps and shouts, and shot their arrows which fell far short. Again they leaped and shouted as if to disconcert their impassive enemies. Not an Englishman moved a pace that day until the full moment came. A third time the Genoese leaped and shouted and charged. But their ranks

were smitten with a tempest of arrows. The steady English line moved forward one pace to give their right arms room to draw, and to take aim. The Genoese fell in hundreds. Again and again the arrow flight smote them, and they broke and ran. In their headlong flight they encountered and confounded the first main line of the French in its advance. Confusion dire resulted. A fierce storm of English arrows smote the struggling crowds. The first line was irretrievably broken and routed. The second line led by the gallant Etracelles extricated itself from the confusion in its front, wheeled to the right and assailed the prince of Wales. Here a stubborn fight ensued. Again the rude barricades were assailed; but spear and arrow laid the assailants low. It was at this conjuncture that aid was asked from Edward in command of the reserve line as he stood near the famous windmill. Being assured that his son was still unhurt he left the day to the prince. Etracelles and his warriors were repulsed and himself slain. The French line was broken with great slaughter. The English now advancing smote the struggling and broken ranks and covered the field with carnage. Philip at this point advanced with his third line, and his officers attempted to remove him. But the king advanced into the melée. His troops suffered terribly; he was himself twice wounded, and with great difficulty led from the field. Before the final rout of Philip's corps King John of Bohemia in command of the extreme rear guard advanced upon the field. Being totally blind he was conducted by two Bohemian knights whose chargers were chained to his. Urged to quit the hopeless fight John replied "This sight shall I never see, a king of Bohemia fleeing from bat-

tle." Struggling into the contending lines the king struck out vigorously; but the English advancing in good array overwhelmed him and his knights. The king's sudden irruption into the fight already hopelessly lost, and his frantic efforts to slay somebody infuriated his opponents. John was unhorsed and mortally wounded. Henry of Rosenberg and Mönch von Basel his faithful supporters perished by his side. The unbroken English still advanced and inflicted sore destruction on their foes who scattered and fled they knew not whither. That night and the succeeding day were the French pursued. Many detachments were cut down to a man; and the French host utterly crushed and annihilated as an army. Philip's allies, Don James king of Majorca, Louis count of Flanders, and the duke of Savoy, John of Vienna, archbishop of Rouen, and the abbot of Corbie barely escaped. A large number of the French nobility fell at Crescy. The king of Bohemia still breathed when found by the English. He was carried into Edward's tent, and attended with all care; but during the night his fractious spirit found its first and last repose. Next day King Edward visited the remains; took from the helmet three ostrich plumes which were fixed there; and received also the king's sword bearing the motto" Ich Dien" "I serve," in assertion of the king's knightly homage to the ladies, then the highest chivalry embodied in a soldier's sword. The plume King Edward presented to his son; and his successors wear a triple ostrich plume as a cognizance still.* The body of King John was deposited in the chapel of the abbey

*Three ostrich plumes were not an uncommon princely cognizance. They were worn by the murdered Albert of Austria; and may have betokened a claim to that duchy.

of Valloires; and subsequently interred at Luxembourg. It is stated on apparently good authority that the tomb was rifled during the French revolution, and the bones removed. A portion of them found their way into the cabinet of curiosities possessed by M. Buschman proprietor of a porcelain manufactory at Treves and were exhibited to visitors.

Over the temporary resting place of King John's remains years afterward was set up a quaint legend:

"L'an mil quarante six trois cents
Comme la chronique tesmoigne
Fut apporté et mis ceans
Jean Luxembourg Roi de Behogne."

John's contentious nature ever found congenial occupation in encountering the legion foes of Bohemia, and a host of others besides. His subjects groaned under his exactions; but seem to have felt a distorted pride in the baleful prominence he bestowed on their country.*

* At the commencement of his reign, John actually attempted to exchange Bohemia for Bavaria because the latter state lay nearer to Luxembourg. The estates were not consulted until the agreement had been drawn up. "Pactionemque illis, quam cum rege inire cœperat, scriptam ostendit, in qua diserte aperteque appositum erat." The Bohemians stoutly defeated the project as an attempt to sell them to the Germans. Gold, Lib. iii, c. xiv, § 5. Dobrowski, Hagec. All mention the facts at length.

CHAPTER XVI.

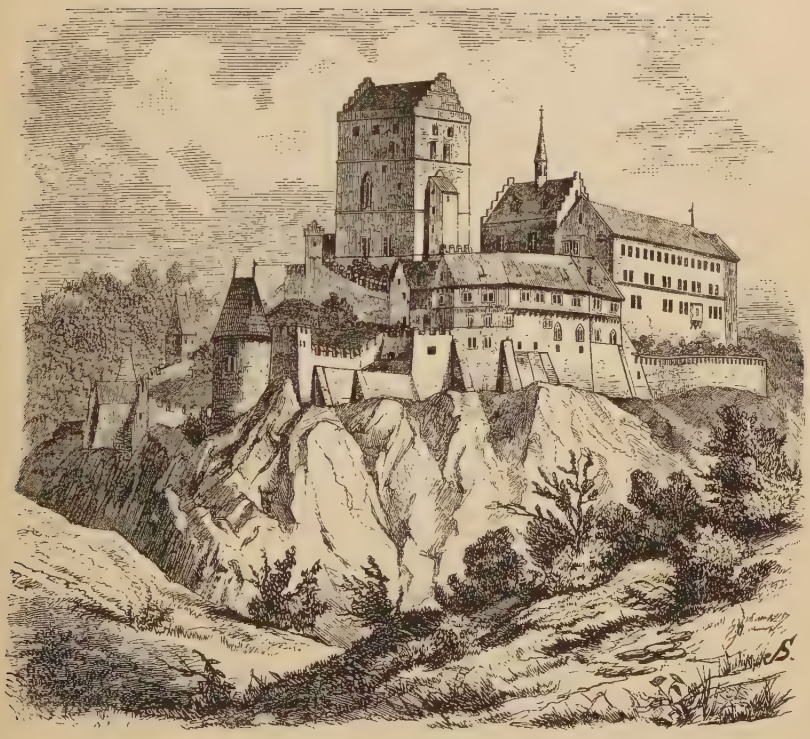
REIGN OF CHARLES IV.

Charles IV. had been recognized by Philip of France immediately on his arrival in the French camp before the battle of Crescy. He fled wounded to the abbey of Ourschamps; but speedily continued his journey and re-entered his dominions without either money or an army. Physically less restless than his father he possessed a combination of intellectual qualities of the opposite character that conferred on him great pre-eminence. He was literary and learned, was gifted with a good address, and much mental application. His designs were bold and comprehensive, and he pursued them more by craft, subtlety and intrigue than by force of arms. Having really ruled Bohemia since his 17th year he entered easily on his weighty dual duties as king and emperor. Negotiations were immediately opened with neighboring princes to secure the peace of Bohemia; and this object was attained in a measure. Charles without an army or money passed into Italy in March 1347. This total abstention from all display of power arose from a secret engagement to the pope whereby Charles renounced imperial pretensions to Italy. The same year the king's coronation was performed with all available pomp at Prague. The estates exacted from their new sovereign a solemn engagement:—(I.) That no Berna* or as-

* The Berna was really a voluntary contribution; but there was danger of its becoming an impost.

sessment on the nation should be made except for royal nuptials. (II.) That the native nobility of Bohemia and Moravia should enjoy their hereditary power unimpaired. (III.) That inheritance of both sexes to estates should be respected, and royal favorites not introduced. (IV.) That Bohemia and Moravia should not be bound to military service outside the kingdom. This last stipulation in fact established the military service on the basis of a militia and not of a standing army.

During the lustrous period that followed not only the glory of Bohemia revived, but far surpassed its former splendor. Prague, the center of the empire, nobly fulfilled its duties, and rose to the full appreciation of its great position. Bohemia stood first in the world in power, wealth, progress and liberty. In 1348 Charles issued his confirmatory charter renewing the grant by Richard of Cornwall, the emperor in 1262, whereby the duchy of Austria and the marquisates of Styria and Moravia were perpetually attached to the crown of Bohemia. This very friendly and appreciative act by the brother of Henry III. of England created a sentiment of close regard for the latter country in Bohemia, and this feeling continued strong among the population at large, especially after Richard's imperial grant had been violated repeatedly by princes of German sympathies. Since 1262 England had been regarded as the especial friend of Bohemia; and the political constitutions and popular aspirations of both countries based on the same origin, sustained on the same principles, and demanding the same rights, were at this date drawn still closer together by the renewal under Charles of the dignities granted under Richard. England and Bohemia thoroughly



KARLSTEIN.

understood each other's claims; and England's parliament always sympathized with and sustained Bohemia's national policy that was identical with its own. In the charter as re-issued by Charles the rescript of investiture of Richard is inserted at length; and was upheld by the Bohemian estates is a perpetual law of the empire. The text of this charter as well as of the original investiture, here referred to is that given by Balnius and accepted and confirmed by Goldast.* At this point the effect of the disingenuous and tyrannical censorship under which Palacky was compelled to publish is clearly perceptible. This learned and patriotic author seems voluntarily to add to the grant by Richard other documents favorable to Austrian pretensions subsequently set up.†

These proceedings, however favorable to Bohemia did not prevent ecclesiastical intrigue from bringing forward a rival claimant to the empire in the person

* App. Document, XVII., and XXXIII.

† These documents are I. an assertion, in King John's confirmation, of the general rights and privileges of the Kingdom of Bohemia in opposition to the Roman Empire. II. The privileges granted by Frederic I. January 18, 1158. III. The Golden Bull of Frederic II. 26th September, 1212, and again of July 26, 1216, IV. Emperor Rudolph's two briefs of March 4, 1289, and 26th September, 1290, fixing the appropriate dignity and election rights of Bohemia in the Empire. V. The same monarch's three briefs of 22d July and 25th and 26th September 1290, respecting Bohemia's rights over Breslau. VI. Emperor Albert's diploma of September 17, 1298. These are all omitted in the copy presented by Goldast from Balbinus; and they seem to have been added at a later date to a spurious copy intruded into the archives at Prague. The spirit of these documents is hostile to the independence confirmed by Richard, and favorable to the pretensions of the Austrian dynasty, especially in opposition to the imperial charter now conferred by Charles IV. The charter formulated by this monarch is complete as given by Goldast, and is consistent at once with itself and the Emperor-King's evident intentions. The disingenuousness in the above documents consists in the evident attempt to seem to confer rights already long possessed, enjoyed and in full force in Bohemia. The quarrel between Austria and Bohemia arose and still arises from that trick.

of Günther of Schwartzburg, a man of splendid presence, skilful and experienced in war. But a brief two years terminated these contentions.

The same year 1348 became still more memorable in Bohemia by the re-establishment of the high school of Prague and its formal elevation to the dignity of a university—the first in Central Europe. Twelve professors were provided. The curriculum broke through the obstructions of trivium and quadrivium, and extended to all branches of liberal learning. A splendid library soon graced the institution.

Charles labored diligently for his own country. His impressions on his return as a royal prodigal from Paris, as he looked on the woe of his own land, created lasting and most salutary effect. Prague was enlarged, protected by ramparts, bridges, towers, supplied with a cathedral and other extensive buildings; and surrounded by vineyards. The king also constructed numerous fish ponds and from time to time created the New Town of Prague; and the nobles imitating his example, vineyards and fish ponds became the fashion throughout Bohemia. Prague had become largely a German city; and now filled the distinguished place of the capital of the industry and intelligence of the empire.

But this year has also been rendered dismally memorable by the terrible ravages of the plague known as the Black Death. This pestilence arose in Tartary in 1333, thence passed west, and spread desolation in its path. Its parents, were extremely conspicuous in Tartarys and their names were Dirt and Dirty. The uncleanness of cities, towns, districts and individual habits, in those days of extreme hostility to heresy of all kinds, including that of ablution, fomented loathe-

some pestilences frequently in those ages. One half of the inhabitants of Germany were swept away; and the enormous number of 124,434 members of the Franciscan minorites of Germany alone who died of this plague, indicates at once the ravages of the pestilence, and the extraordinary concentration of the male population on one occupation.

The discouragement amounting to the destruction of practical and useful knowledge in the pursuit of piety had deprived mankind of those multiplied vocations and industries that are suited to the degrees and kinds of human tastes and talents. This fact also explains the great eagerness of ecclesiastics to embrace the profession of the law that at that period opened before them. Entire cities were rendered utterly desolate by the Black Death; and ships laden with rich cargoes floated over the ocean without crew or pilot. The dreadful ravages of this destroyer deprived the people of all control over their reason, and being added to the other scourges of that period, plunged the population into the violent frenzy that was nursed by superstition and ignorance of natural laws. Since 1337 great portents had alarmed Europe. In that year a mighty comet blazed, and flung the wrath of God abroad; locusts came and covered the earth by miles and leagues; earthquakes devastated Cyprus, Greece, Italy and the Alpine valleys. In Carinthia 30 villages were engulfed. Basle was twice overwhelmed. The air was heavy and deathly; men's minds then intensely and almost exclusively subjective attributed all convulsions of earth and land to the sinful beatings of their hearts, and they sought to exorcise the demons of seisma and of meteor by flagellations of their own backs. The sect of Flagellants increased mightily. They marched

in armies. Extraordinary excitement produced corresponding fervor; and the sect incited all minds. The cry arose that the Black Death was caused by poison in the wells attributed as usual to the Jews. These unfortunates, at once and universally fell victims to the terrorized fanaticism of the population. They were burned and slaughtered by thousands; and their race almost exterminated in Germany. Multitudes fled to Poland where Casimir like a second Ahasuerus from love for another beautiful Esther protected the fugitives. Poland has felt their abundant presence ever since.

The birth of Prince Wenzel in 1350 seemed to assure a succession, and to stimulate the emperor to still greater efforts to enlarge his dynastic dominions. During twenty-eight years following he labored at this task by negotiations, by subsidies, and by show of force.

In 1355 Charles proceeded without an army to Rome; and there received the imperial crown. But by agreement with the pope he lingered only a few hours. Rienzi and Petrarch both hoped for great things from the union of Germany and Italy. Guelph and Ghibelline equally submitted to him. But Charles seized Rienzi and delivered him to his enemy. On his return Charles exhibited some friendliness to the Florentines; and at Pisa the city hall where he lodged was set on fire, out of revenge by the Pisans; and the emperor and empress with difficulty escaped.* From the expedition the king returned laden with relics which present policy alone induced him to accept. His writings and

* Charles had several narrow escapes and enjoyed what is called a charmed life. In 1338 on his return from Italy he was pursued by Venetian galleys to be held for ransom. His vessel was surrounded; but Charles slipped over the side into a fisherman's boat, was conveyed ashore and found refuge with the patriarch of Aquileia.

controversial freedom on theological questions exhibit a mind far above the influence of church bric-a-brac of that kind. His intellectual grasp on the great subjects of the day, free will, predestination, realism, and the philosophical apology for the gospel, was equal to the strongest, and far removed from puerilities.

The year 1356 is especially distinguished by the issuance of the celebrated imperial Golden Bull fixing the electorate of the empire. This great charter owed its form, though not its substance, to Cardinal Talleyrand, then Charles' chief negotiator with the pope. It limited the electors to seven; three ecclesiastical, Mentz, Cologne and Treves; and four temporal, Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Pfalzgraviate of the Rhine. It declared the person of each elector sacred; enacted that every question should be decided by the majority, and forbade all appeal. Frankfort was fixed as the place of session; and Aix-la-chapelle the place of coronation. It abrogated all confirmation by the pope; and pronounced the emperor competent for every imperial function from the moment of his election. Charles' marriage alliances conferred on him large accessions of territory, at the same time the ambition and the scourge of Bohemia. His second queen Anna conferred on him extensive domains in the upper palatinate, which cost him years of contention. His third queen, also named Anna, of the noble Polish family of Piast, brought him Silesia. His fourth empress Elizabeth of Pomerania was a woman of extraordinary strength. Lower Lusatia and Brandenburg were acquired by purchase.

Again in 1367 Charles visited Pope Urban in Rome. His good understanding with this pope continued chiefly through Cardinal Talleyrand. But it proved as hollow as the confidence of Otakar.

In 1377 young Wenzel quietly received the imperial suffrage; and although the bloody and protracted "war of the cities" arising from the union of knights and cities against Everard of Wirtemburg, a favorite of the king, produce serious contentions from 1377 to 1389 yet the energy of Frederic I. of Hohenzollern, and his vigorous use of artillery, restored quiet if not absolute justice in Suabia and Prussia.

In 1378 the emperor, prince Wenzel, now king of the Romans, and Charles V. king of France enjoyed a splendid interview in Paris and established more friendly relations with that monarch in anticipation of Wenzel's accession. The king died at Prague the same year; and bequeathed to his country and his successor a splendid domain, and the example of a magnificent success, judging from outward appearances. The domain, not an integral portion of the Bohemian dominion, might be expected to continue attached hereto only until the next aspirant should arise strong enough or by marriage lucky enough to secure it. For such evanescent property did Bohemian kings lavish their treasures on many occasions.

Charles IV. was of diminutive stature, though thickset; and carried his head awkwardly projected forward. His cheek bones were high; his hair raven black. In features he inherited decidedly the Bohemian cast. The king strengthened and beautified Prague, and other cities in Bohemia; founded Carlsbad, and greatly enlarged and fortified the Hradschin. His policy enriched Bohemia by the addition of extensive cloth manufacture to the commerce of Silesia introduced from Flanders, and also a large industry in linen. All branches of trade revived and flourished. Bohemia became the mart of Europe; and rich stuffs

from Turkey, Persia, and India, added to the splendors of court and hall. Multitudes of earnest traders and zealous reformers found a secure and happy resting-place in Bohemia during this long period which witnessed ceaseless persecutions elsewhere. The social, political, and religious sentiments of the numerous refugees received quiet welcome by the population at large, as they coincided with the primitive and still fondly cherished sentiments, national feelings, and constitutional privileges of the Bohemians. Charles IV. delighted in theological controversy, was learned in theological lore, and encouraged by his example that spirit of bold investigation that was and had long been rife in his dominions.

Although Charles, like his father, exacted enormous sums from his ancestral dominions to maintain his dignity, and could procure little or no money from his outer estates, yet his countrymen sustained his power and supported his policy with constant fidelity. His era is justly pointed to with pride. Stately and splendid edifices arose throughout the land; learning was promoted with ardor and success; books were multiplied and issued in the highest style of chirography, binding, and illumination. Several families frequently united to publish an important volume, and each adorned it with the highest art of the day. Arts and commerce flourished; and the mind of Bohemia received an impetus in the direction not only of intellectual freedom but of national dignity which it has never lost, and which has formed the basis of persistent resistance to oppression to the present day.

When Charles IV. died Bohemia formed a very extensive dominion stretching from the Baltic nearly to the Danube. Only the provinces bordering on the

Adriatic to the south of the present city of Trieste had been wrested permanently from Otakar's domains as conferred on him by Richard of Cornwall. These territories internally were very unequally developed and were still in a process of transformation. In Bohemia itself the nobles had recovered and now held in full their individual control over their retainers and rode at their head on the battlefield as elsewhere in almost all Europe. On public questions these barons usually made common cause with each other. The knightly rank consisted of independent proprietors and served under some great noble. At this period the burghers rose into prominence in the cities established by Otakar, and began to feel their power. The silver mines furnished this class with wealth; and individuals acquired much local political power. The great body of the people were freeholders in their own right, largely on the Bohemian principle of emphyteusis, or inheritance without ownership. Some of these freemen rose to titled dignity; others sank to be servants of nobles or of the church. Only one town — Cista in the circle of Bunslav—was an independent municipality; elected its own magistrates and had done so from ancient times; and every man was a freeholder and elector. These rights had never been conferred by any charter. The humblest classes enjoyed more personal and political freedom than in any other country in Europe. All the people possessed a direct voice in national affairs, and took a personal interest in them.

The policy of the German emperors and of some Bohemian princes had colonized unoccupied districts with Germans whenever possible. These persons were welcomed even in Prague for their energy and trust

worthiness. They were especially valuable in the mines, and in subduing and cultivating wild districts.

All classes worked to cultivate the land; a large trade in horses, fruits, corn, cloth, safiron, wine, linen and many other useful and ornamental articles in wood, leather, basketwork, filligree, besides coarser articles, hay, vegetables, and hides, was sustained with all neighboring countries and largely with Constantinople; while the wealthy apparel, carpets, arms, and decorations of the east found their way into Bohemia, and were exhibited at wedding feasts, jousts and other entertainments. This period formed the golden age of Bohemian social prosperity especially the latter half.

The religious tone was largely philosophic, argumentative, and inquiring. Ethically it was broad and reasonable; and addressed itself to the mind and good sense of the people. Science in our sense was practically unknown, and arts and trades took the form that antiquity had bequeathed. Schools abounded, and poetry, logic, rhetoric and kindred subjects formed the chief studies. The country was fully educated according to the progress of the era; and the literary taste of the people found frequent expression which was generally appreciated. The manners of the people were not below those of their neighbors; but Constantinople and Germany must be credited with having favored an improved address. The constant travels and commerce of a numerous trading class spread an elevating tone of general intelligence among the citizens at large.

The newly acquired province of Silesia presented a rapidly changing scene. From early days and certainly at the end of the twelfth century a race of ancient princes resided on their patrimonial estates in

Silesia; below these were many Slav nobles, and beneath them again a much oppressed and enslaved people. No fixed constitutional system existed as in Bohemia. Herds of wild hogs laired in the extensive swamps; bears picked the wild honey from hollow tree trunks unmolested; elks fed on the branches of the pine; the beaver made its home by the rivers, and the aurochs roamed still master in the forests of Transylvania. From their scanty harvests the wretched peasants were compelled to contribute largely to their masters and to the church. Tribute of fish and honey was exacted from the water and the heath; imposts of corn and personal service were imposed with stern continuity. The Slav cities differed from villages in being composed of more huts, surrounded by a moat and palisades, and, the vicinity of some rugged castle. To the end of the 12th century merchants made payment as in Poland with tails of martens, and skins of squirrels. But the mines yielded gold, silver, copper and lead, and the nobles diligently prosecuted their right of mining and of mintage. Mints were erected in all the great towns, and the coinage was changed three times a year. Tolls on markets, butchers' stalls and taverns furnished state revenue. An influx of Germans into Slav countries distinguished the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. Religious brotherhoods multiplied and occupied large estates; and the activity of western zealots chiefly known as Brethren of the Common Lot, Brethren of the Free Spirit, Waldenses, and others preached and taught and furnished books with great industry. After the terrible Tartar invasion of 1241 these immigrants occupied large districts in Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and even in Austria, Moravia, and Styria; and during the reign of Charles IV. had acquired set-

tled communities far advanced in prosperity, with churches, schools, ministers and numerous congregations constituting in many regions the principal population. Their industry and skill had rendered most valuable aid in restoring the desolate country. German free labor was found in these changing conditions to be the most permanently valuable, and to Silesia belongs the honor of having first accepted the economic maxim that free labor of free men can alone confer prosperity and stability on a nation. During this period also the favor shown to municipal establishments, such as it was, possessed neither a political nor a sentimental character. It was purely selfish, wherever it was not extorted; and the great proprietors discovered that a crowd of slaves conferred little if any wealth on their owners. Voluntary and hopeful labor in cities was seen to prosper and grow great. A German race thus intruded into the Slav countries, and added energy and intelligence to the population. But when national life became stimulated first under Otakar and then under Charles IV. the German element was felt to be an impediment, and not seldom a tyrant. Added to this cause of jealousy was the struggle of the church to obtain mastery chiefly through German domination. Hence an intense antagonism between Slav and German in Bohemia that long smouldered but finally burst into a devouring flame. The church was thus regarded as an intruder and an alien supported by other alien intruders; and a sullen and speechless rebellion against Roman power first, and then Roman dogmas, was nourished in the hearts of the Bohemians.

Prague being the center of imperial and royal dominion during the long and prosperous reign of Charles

IV. that city necessarily became the scene of great political, social, and religious activity. The relations of all countries to each other, dynastic and social, were thoroughly known, and included every review of public affairs. The genealogical relation of every prince to every other, every courtier was thoroughly familiar with. Such knowledge formed an essential part of the education of a councillor. Statesmen, and knights, ambassadors and diplomatists and their trains thronged the palace; and political movements created ceaseless discussion. The leading potentates of Europe maintained constant correspondence with the imperial court; and coming policies, contemplated intrigues, and the actual and approaching relations of states educated the minds of Bohemians to a thorough apprehension of public law, the rights of nations, and the duties owing by rulers to populations.

The throng of students through the university halls, the daily lectures and discussions made students perfectly familiar with the theological and philosophical speculations that distinugished every school in Europe. Every new prelection, each bold speculation uttered in the academic halls of one city became the theme of lively criticism alike at Prague, Oxford and Paris, the great centers of literary enlightenment of the day. Did a bold or daring assault on any favorite doctrine in philosophy find utterance it was reported and commented on. The books publishd by each acknowledged or aspiring luminary found their way alike to and from Prague, Paris, and Oxford without exciting remark. Rival doctors and innovating dialecticians stirred up controversies and hurled rhetorical phillipics at each other's theses, premises and conclusions; and reformers in doctrines, discipline and theological

speculation created vigorous independence, and not a little severe condemnation of existing abuses. The world of Bohemia nurtured great intelligence; and the variety of doctrine publicly taught within its borders, grafted on the self-governing political constitution of the people, fostered a rigorous independence of religious and political conviction that prepared a unity of action on great fundamental principles when the opportunity arrived to assert them.

This unifying tendency received strength from a decree of the faculty of Prague in 1347 when bachelors were required to make use in their lectures of note books of the acknowledged masters of Prague, Oxford or Paris. Many students attended long courses of lectures in all three universities; and frequent visits both of scholars and professors from each college to the others rendered all minds perfectly familiar with not only the discourses, but the philosophical and doctrinal tendencies prevailing in every school. The light that blazed in Bohemia at this time was neither a new thing nor the result of a day. The discussions of two centuries, gradually emboldened and concentrated, found splendid expression both in England and in Bohemia at this special epoch..

In order to avoid breaking the continuity of the narrative presented in the following chapter it is proper to set out here at some length the sources of religious reform then universally sought for, if not openly expressed in Bohemia and the nighboring countries.

During the 13th century, as early probably as 1270 and certainly as early as 1290 the Waldensian pioneers labored in Bohemia, Austria and Hungary. Their Nobla Leyczson dates from 1100, and the professors

of its principles had been distinguished very much earlier. They had spread through Germany and many of them were found in Switzerland, on the Rhine, in Swabia, Thuringia and Bavaria. To them were added great numbers of Albigeois who had fled from Languedoc before the final massacre of 1215. They formed themselves into societies that corresponded with each other, and endeavored with great zeal and success to propagate their tenets. The wranglings of theologians and many other abuses obtained for them both encouragement and proselytes. These communities under various names were particularly numerous in the district of the upper Rhine in and around Strasbourg, where they were called the "Friends of God," and "Winkeler;" and they were present also in Mayence, Augsburg and Dankelsbuhl. From various causes Franconia became a principal seat of these free movements. Here at a very early period we find Waldenses and the "Friends of God." In and about Wurtzburg in 1342 Conrad Hager publicly impugned the sacrifice of the mass and similar institutions which he claimed ministered to the cupidity of the clergy. An unbroken line of evangelical teachers had existed from apostolic days. Up to the year 1100 their record is clearly perceptible; but from 1100 is bright and abundant. Soon after the latter date the believers who were led by Tanchelm and De Stella in the Netherlands and Brittany only continued principles which with various shades of meaning had never died. The same spirit animated the congregations of Peter of Bruis in southern France from 1104 to 1124. Henry of Cluny extended the same generous zeal through wide regions from 1116 to 1148. Many denominations under various titles, some bestowed in ignorance, some in malice by

their enemies taught, exhorted, and evangelized in north Italy; in and around Treves, 1115; at Cologne 1146; and all through southern France especially at Toulouse. Synodical decrees, which were passed very frequently, were of no avail against them, for all the barons of the country afforded them shelter and encouragement. Their numbers increased greatly, especially as a leaven of ancient Greek civilization and Saracenic science prevailed through Languedoc, chiefly in Montpelier. The council of Lombres in 1165, vainly denounced these people, and even the severe decree of third Lateran council, 1179, produced no effect. In the beginning of the 13th century nearly all the daughters of the southern French nobles were educated in the establishments of the Perfectæ, a female branch of the reforming denominations. The Katharoi entered the states of the church and wrought with great success. Their headquarters were at Milan in 1173, and Bonacursus here wrote his treatise against them in 1190. About 1200 they are found in Dalmatia, Bosnia and Croatia and the Tyrol. At this period their numbers received a great accession by the spread of the Poor Men of Lyons, afterward known as Waldenses, and confounded with the Vallenses and Vaudois, or Vaudes as they named themselves in the Nobla Leyczon. All through the last quarter of the 12th century, and during the entire of the 13th these earnest teachers journeyed and labored. As early in their history as 1190 a religious conference at Narbonne attacked them. At the close of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century the Poor Men of Lyons formed the dominant party in many regions of Southern France. Innocent III. hurled his crusading legions at them, and thus diffused their spirit and their principles all the more

widely. The horrors perpetrated against these evangelists locally known as Albigeois need not be retold here. From 1215 to 1226 the ravages of war and carnage devastated the fairest regions of Europe at the instigation of Innocent III. and after that date the Inquisition slaughtered still more cruelly. From southern France these teachers spread to Germany, Spain, when St. Ferdinand of Castile with his own hands carried faggots to burn some of the fugitives: and into the countries of eastern Europe, chiefly Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and Hungary. Styria, Pomerania, Albania and Rascia felt the presence of these persons. The Brethren of the Common Lot, Brethren of the Free Spirit and others received the fleeing Albigeois. The cities of Nordlingen, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Tischingen in Swabia, Solothurn, Bern, Weissenberg, Hagenau, Speyer, Holzhausen near Frankfort, Wörth in Swabia, Friedberg, Mayence, Vienna, Cologne, Strasburg, Metz, and many others acknowledged the services of these teachers. Metz, Constance, Mayence, Strasburg, Bern, Lübech witnessed frequent martyrdoms not by two or three, but in crowds. Magdeburg, the March, the Palatinate, Bohemia, Thuringia, Krems, Saxony, Hesse, knew the zeal of the reformers from 1104 to 1372 continuously. In fact the ecclesiastical history of those countries from the beginning of the 12th to the middle of the 15th century is largely a catalogue of assaults by wholesale on these evangelizing reformers. Even in Florence in 1228 the Katharoi possessed a bishop and a large congregation. In Rome in 1231 they were very numerous. In Viterbo were many and frequent martyrdoms. accused of having held converse with Beguinæ.*

* This proof of the activity of Beguinœ or praying women in Bohemia is very significant in 1381.

Bethlehem Church.

Sicily knew their presence and well would it be for that stagnant island if it knew their presence still. Europe was replete with reformers centuries before Luther or Hus. Each of these took up the work at an opportune crisis; but in Luther's case the world was better prepared. There is a statement that Peter of Lyons himself journeyed to Bohemia about 1190 and labored in a province of that kingdom for twenty years.* That province included Hussinetz, the birthplace of Hus. "In many places within Austria and Bohemia" says John, abbot of Victring in 1336, "the tares were sown among the wheat." And in all these regions during all this period it was remarked that rarely could one person of either sex be found among these reformers who did not know in the common tongue the text of the New Testament. This knowledge of the Scriptures was distinctly a Waldensian characteristic.

The reforming preachers who arose within the church Roman in Bohemia during the fourteenth century expressed the efforts and denunciations that originated with the universities of Paris and Oxford. Here a reform of the church itself had long been loudly called for. Earnest of Pardubitz archbishop of Prague in 1344 loudly heralded the cry for purification of the church. He drew up new statutes for his clergy; but his first concern were the numerous heretics in his diocese. In the region round Pisek many heretics were found; in fact the district was distinctly declared heretical. In 1381 the ordination of Johl of Pisek could not be undertaken because his father and grandfather had been heretics. In the same year during the general visitation of the diocese the vicar of St. Martins is

* See Perrin. Vaughn, Life of Wycliffe, etc.

Earnest, was followed and emulated by Konrad of Waldhausen, preacher of the Teyne church of Prague. His sermons were disseminated through Moravia, Silesia, Austria, the Tyrol, and Switzerland. Contemporary were Milicz of Kremsier, Matthias of Janow, Thomas of Stitny, Jacobell of Mies, John of Steckno, Nicolas of Leitomischl, Stephen of Koln, Adalbertus Ranconius – 1355-1388. This last eminent man composed books in Bohemian for the Chekh youths studying at Oxford and Paris, and bequeathed a yearly disbursement for their benefit. These ecclesiastics created a zeal for reformation of manners and doctrines that long outlived them. Janov* and Adalbert denounced the worship of images almost in the words of Claude of Turin in the tenth century who has always been held up as a favorer of the Vaudois in his diocese. Another influence that created warm religious discussion arose from the wide and constant agitation of the propriety of frequent communion. Evangelicalism lay at the very root of this discussion. The debate continued very earnest from 1360 to the following cen-

* Janov says "From youth up I have loved the Bible, and called it my friend and bride, the mother of fair affection and of knowledge, of fear and of sacred hope." He composed a treatise "for the simple people in Christ" for whom alone it was intended. These sentiments and this language at that time were decidedly Waldensian. With great energy he opposed the veneration of images and relics, the special objects of Waldensian denunciation; and his zeal in favor of frequent communion strongly points to influences from the same source. His treatise on the practice of christianity was composed in five books;—I., of the communion of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the church. II—III., of the judging and distinguishing between true and false christians, and above all pseudo prophets and doctors—a favorite Waldensian theme IV. V., of the frequent communion and administration of the true body and the blood of Christ. The tone of this treatise differs totally from any Roman religious book. Janov always professed to reform doctrine to the primitive standard within the church, as the Waldenses did. In his great work there is no trace of Wycliff's influence.

tury. "Truly I was but a youth," said the Emperor Sigismund, "when this sect arose and spread in Bohemia." If this so-called sect was already organized in 1360 or 1365 very many individuals must have held such views long before they organized as a sect. The sect of 1365 were neither Hussites nor Wycliffites. The youth and early manhood of Hus and his contemporaries were surrounded by these discussions, and controlled by them. The people had never forgotten that their first teachers, their first churches, their first liturgies, and their first doctrines and religious ethics were all Greek;* and although slowly, cunningly and with artifice and force other forms had been substituted, yet the common people preserved traditions, sentiments, sympathies and doctrines, and above all a sense of dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical doings that patriots had taught them. A readiness to listen to something from another quarter was always present. These embers of political and religious dissent, ever kept alive by demands for constitutional rights and national dignity, needed only a breath and a favorable season. The material was now abundant and ready prepared.

* During the reign of Charles IV, Greek liturgy and Greek doctrine were still employed in some of the more retired places. "Exceptis paucis remotioribusque locis ubi Græcæ religiones forma est." Gold, Lib. v, C. ii § 9, quoting Illyricus.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GROWTH OF THE HUSSITE REFORMATION.

. The broken and disastrous reign of Wenzel IV., if reign it can be called, inaugurated the dismemberment of the Bohemian dominions. The fitful, and at times severe temper of this prince, his undignified and over indulgent habits created insubordination. From the outset his restless and intrusive brother Sigismund intrigued against him. Wenzel began well, and applied himself to public business; but a luxurious disposition rendered steady virile application impossible. His father's gift of abundant wine re-acted severely against the son and the country. The first error attributed to Wenzel that betrayed a defective judgment, consisted in conferring Swabia on Leopold duke of Austria in 1382. Soon after this event arose the league of the Swabian cities with the Swiss, the defection of the former, the decisive victory of Sempach, and the triumph of the Swiss, attributed to the devotion of Arnold von Winkelried. Wenzel knew that his nobles had conspired against him, yet his continued severity alienated his friends. Queen Joanna was torn to pieces by the great dogs Wenzel kept about him; and his next queen was Sophia of Bavaria. This reign became early stained by massacres of the Jews of whom three thousand were slaughtered in Prague. Hitherto the clergy had been subject to the civil power and punished for crimes; but in this quarter also with

the beginning of the new reign a spirit of antagonism became rife.

The year 1382 inaugurated for Bohemia an epoch the most painfully memorable and the most transcendently heroic and devoted in her annals. The marriage of princess Anne of Luxembourg and Bohemia with King Richard II. of England naturally promised distinction and happiness to both countries. Both princes succeeded periods of renown and of lustre acquired by manly vigor; both sank beneath the opposite qualities. The close intimacy established between the two courts created constant interchange of residence by students of both countries at the two universities, and visits from learned and influential persons on errands of state, of business, and of courtesy. A large number of Bohemians of rank and intelligence accompanied Queen Anne to England; the literary and religious discussions of the day in that country became still more thoroughly known; and these persons on their return brought each a book or books, and also opinions derived from the earnest debates of the time. No one person alone, most probably no one score of persons introduced English books into Bohemia. Such works were regarded as part of the general literature of the time and passed unnoticed. Many Bohemians entered the service of prominent Englishmen, and through all these means books, pamphlets and writings of various degrees of completeness found admittance into Bohemia. The intercourse literary, political, and commercial between England and Bohemia continued freely up to the death of Queen Anne in 1439,* and even later but on a somewhat narrower basis.

* This queen is credited with having introduced side saddles and hair pins into England.

The rise, distinction, and almost magical influence of the very eminent reformer, John Wycliffe, in England, the "Morning Star of the Reformation" as he is there fondly styled, about the period before us, requires direct notice. A diligent and intelligent student, professor, master of his college, and finally Rector of Latterworth in Leicestershire, John Wycliffe's ingenuous and manly advocacy of wholesome instruction for all classes, of good reputable lives in the clergy, of the control of sound morality in religion, and of the independence of his country, have conferred immortal honor on the name and the memory of this worthy and patriotic man.

Very earnest in his duties as a public teacher, possessing ripe scholarship, a ready pen and an honest heart, Wycliffe, devoted his most useful life to the cultivation of good morals and sound doctrines. For these purposes the correction of prevailing abuses, and the removal of prevalent errors were indispensable. Wycliffe began his reforms as the pioneer in western back-woods begins agriculture. The axe must precede the plough. A tangled and stubborn growth of "brush" and trees must be cleared away; and in this essential process much grime temporarily results. After flame has consumed both "brush" and log, many stumps remain, and only the leveling force of time can remove these obstructions. A partial harvest is reaped indeed, but with many impediments, during the early seasons; but in time clean fields spread out in open sward, and the harvester reaps his reward. And truly he deserves it all. Reformers are always reproached with being negative, with tearing down. No forest ever yet became a fruitful field by other means. The more thoroughly the "clearance" is accomplished the

purer and cleaner will the harvest be. Such became Wycliffe's inevitable method. All his life he toiled, and saw much of the fruit of his labors. All England learned from his lips; and among the throng there sat the youths of another land who eagerly imbibed the sentiments that strangely corresponded with those nourished by many of their own kindred at home along the Moldau and the Elbe. Brought up to reverence institutions, and free speech such as they found in England, these youths welcomed the words that whispered of a freedom congenial to that of their fatherland, and the sentiments of antagonism to foreign dictation that touched the deepest feelings of their own hearts. This good man's books were eagerly bought, albeit copies still were all too scarce, and conveyed or transmitted to friends at home. Not all ponderous tomes did this kindly instructor issue to eager readers. Pamphlets and tracts multiplied, accessible to all, readily procured and easily protected from the hand of the destroyer. This good man's country, likewise, had long been the friend of their country; and had conferred great eminence and advantage upon her, and now the two nations grasped each others' friendly hand, and the palace gloried in the mutual happiness. Bohemians long had felt and thought that which Wycliffe now expressed and England applauded; and Bohemia knew a gladness when the love of her own heart was thus nobly vindicated before the world. The sons of Bohemia loved Wycliffe, and his light spread among them like a flash. By this light Bohemia read the message sent over to her, and her mind found an utterance long denied to her.

This quiet and unnoticed growth of sentiment continued uninterrupted for about twelve years. The

year 1393 witessed the beginning of contention but not with the reformers. The royal chamberlain, Sigmund Huler, had inflicted merited punishment on two ecclesiastics according to the regular course of law. For this alleged offense the archbishop of Prague summoned the chamberlain to his court; and the latter declared that he would come accompanied by 200 bowmen, and on this answer the archbishop condemned the chamberlain to the penalties of an interdict for this act and for some alleged heretodox speeches. The crown resented this unusual assault on its prerogative confirmed as it was in the exercise of this power by formal compact and enactment. The king took alarm in the presence of treasonable designs attributed to the archbishop; and John of Nepomuk suffered the penalty of being flung from the unfinished bridge into the Moldau for refusal to disclose the designs of the archbishop. Sigismund and the Bohemian ecclesiastics were known to entertain common purposes hostile to the king's liberty and much irritation resulted. Sigismund avowed sentiments exhibiting a submission to the church in temporal power that all the recent kings of Bohemia had repudiated. The ecclesiastics affected to be scandalized at Wenzel's religious indifference and free thinking tendencies that only amounted to apathy. His alleged leniency to sectarians and Jews seemed to afford proof of this accusation. The nobles again felt offended at the neglect of their counsel and disrespect for their authority exhibited in the royal policy. Wenzel's personal friends among the higher ecclesiastics died early in his reign; and were succeeded by others far less cordial. Boniface IX. succeeded Urban IV. who died in 1390 and the change brought infinite evil on Bohe-

mia. These changes favored Sigismund's designs. Knowing that the king's influence had greatly declined Sigismund conspired secretly with the ecclesiastics, and openly with Albert of Austria, and William of Misnia, seized Wenzel by treachery at Znaim, and conveyed him a prisoner first to Prague and then to Wildberg in Austria, 1394. Here Wenzel suffered a detention of over two months. He owed his liberation to John of Görlitz, a younger brother. During these events Sigismund had become involved in the ceaseless contentions that distracted Hungary. He had received the province of Brandenburg from Charles IV. and had married Maria, eldest daughter of King Louis. In 1392 he mortgaged Brandenburg to his cousins Procop and Johst, and soon afterward led a knight errant expedition against Bajazet. In 1396 the Christian host fell ûtterly at Nicopolis. Prisoners on both sides suffered massacre in thousands and Sigismund narrowly escaped. Returning home penniless, landless, and destitute both of credit and of loyalty he affected increasing alarm at the growing unpopularity of Wenzel. The king's personal indulgence daily enabled the nobles to secure additional privileges. Yet during these years Wenzel exhibited gleams of statesmanship that demonstrated his possible pre-eminence had he not been overcome by the fatal gift of abundant wine. Wenzel established the seven circles of the empire in 1389 after the great victory won by Everard of Wirtemburg over the Swabian league at Doffingen. At the diet of Eger leagues of cities were dissolved, and in 1390 at the diet of Nuremburg a uniform coinage promised to confer stability on commerce. From 1394 Wenzel enjoyed his liberty; and in 1398 journeyed to France and formed an agreement with Louis XII. to

secure the resignation of one pope at Rome if Louis would obtain that of the other pope at Avignon. This proceeding necessarily gave mortal offense to Boniface and eventually cost Wenzel the empire. Boniface at once created a confederacy including the electors on the Rhine, three archbishops, and Rupert of Bavaria. Rupert suffered defeat by the condottieri in Italy; and lost much influence. But the violent and avaricious John of Nassau, archbishop of Mayence, the "biting wolf," formed the league of Marbach. Both kings competed for the support of this league, but Rupert retained the alliance of the church. John urged the deposition of Wenzel at the instigation of Boniface; and the king was cited to appear at an assembly of nobles at Oberlaunstein. He declined to be present, and Rupert was elected as anti-emperor, A. D. 1400. During the contentions that ensued Sigismund again appeared and seized Wenzel and Procop of Moravia, A. D. 1402. The king was consigned to the Habsburgs. He was allowed much liberty and escaped after seventeen months detention. The princes are charged with connivance at this escape in order to completely destroy the house of Luxembourg by its own contentions. Bohemia preferred Wenzel to Sigismund, and secured for him the crown during his life. Rupert died in 1411; and at once Sigismund besieged Znaim in order to further his designs against Bohemia. Here he was made a victim of poison and escaped death with difficulty. In 1412 the electors advanced Sigismund to the empire. He was an active man, possessed extensive estates in Brandenburg, Hungary and Poland; and seemed the most capable of resisting the rapid disintegration of the empire. Brandenburg was again mortgaged; this

time to Frederic the Wise of Hohenzollern. These territories were soon afterward conferred in perpetuity on this family; and it is needless to state are still in their possession. With great difficulty peace was restored for a time. But Germany had fallen to utter disorganization. From the Rhine to the Elbe the empire had disappeared. Brandenburg, Meissen, Bohemia and Austria were isolated; Franconia and Swabia rent by internal commotions.

This necessarily brief sketch of the reign of Wenzel as emperor exhibits at once the extreme disadvantage wherein Bohemia found itself amid the turmoil and chaos all around. No friends, no allies, no boundaries, little internal government, and a constantly augmenting power concentrated in the hands of the pope to be directed against any one separate province that might dispute his will or disapprove his doctrines. It was this melancholy political conjuncture that enabled Sigismund finally to succeed in procuring the assent of secular princes and ecclesiastical authorities and warring factions to unite in calling a general council of the church. It was also this melancholy isolation that encouraged the council to insult Bohemia under the full impression, that without king, government, union, or defense the country might be despised and insulted with impunity.

The religious condition of the empire, and of Bohemia in particular, also created grave disquietude. Sigismund had long desired to become champion of the church. His disposition was arbitrary; and although as ardent a worshiper of Venus as his brother Wenzel of Bacchus, yet he aspired to be held a devout defender of the faith. The several shades of religious opinion that now distinguished Bohemia and Moravia,

under the many influences, inside and outside the church above indicated, were in essence all blended in the one pursuit of personal sanctity, and the purity of domestic life. All included themselves under the general term evangelical, and all zealously inculcated principles known under that term. The floating doctrines long rife in those regions had received a strong impetus toward distinctiveness and union, during the last half of the fourteenth century, from the discussion then universally prevalent concerning the duty and spiritual value of frequent communion.

These discussions constituted a large element in the religious life of the time. Many orthodox teachers and professors of theology in Prague and elsewhere encouraged this discussion. It became the absorbing religious topic. Monks and learned circles occupied themselves with the doctrine of the supper. All the preachers of Prague reviewed the question, and very numerous treatises appeared on the subject. The popular preachers Milic, Mathias of Janov, Mathias of Cracow, bishop of Worms in 1404, and a great authority, with many others discoursed on the subject. This prelate was the author of a very popular tract in German and Bohemian in which Reason and Conscience hold a dialogue on the duty of frequent communion. Very remarkably Mathias insists that a priest in a condition of sin cannot administer it. Here was Waldensian doctrine pure and simple. John Horlean a doctor of theology and of the canon law, also advocates the rights of laymen to frequent participation. During this discussion young John of Hussinetz entered on his studies at Prague. He was of humble parents, and like other students, he found "chill poverty," and "res angusta domi," a serious obstacle during his early

Birthplace of Hus.

years. Hus* as he named himself had imbibed the nationalist feelings of his village surroundings, and possessed a nature ardent and honest in favor of wholesome morality and useful knowledge. In 1393 Hus became bachelor of arts. In 1401 we find him dean of the faculty of philosophy, and rector in the following year. Two years later he obtained the office of preacher at Bethlehem where he was required to preach in Bohemian on sundays and holidays. Hus had early encountered and studied the books of John Wycliffe then openly read without dissent like other works on theological subjects. These works probably concentrated and gave definiteness to the reflections of the young student, and may also have fortified him in rhetorical skill. The pointedness of Wycliffe's style, his earnestness for church reform, and the identity of the evils complained of by Wycliffe and the Bohemian pastors attracted the serious attention not only of Hus but of all the devoted teachers of Bohemia.

The Englishman drew emphatic notice to special evils. These were found actively oppressive also in the sister country; and had been already denounced there. Identity of experience and a certain degree of identity of sentiments, as was most natural under similar circumstances, produced powerful sympathy between Wycliffe and Hus. Many others had the same feelings. Regard for Wycliffe's principles spread widely and rapidly. They expressed feelings already strong, and vitalized convictions already vaguely entertained. The religious proclivities and aggressive reform principles of the rector of Lutterworth speedily acquired potency in the mind of the rector of Bethlehem. Increased force toward inclinations already working was thus conferred. The mental history of Hus is that of

* Pronounced somewhat as Khoos, meaning goose and being in fact the same word.

his nation at the time. Reform ideas in church and state, in doctrine and government spread with great celerity. The mind of Bohemia had been fully prepared and Wycliffe combined and conferred definiteness on its efforts. A report spread about the year 1406 that Wycliffe had been condemned for heresy, created much excitement in Prague; but Nicholas Faulfisch and another student, George Kugehnic, conveyed to Bohemia a document purporting to be a declaration by the university of Oxford of Wycliffe's orthodoxy. This document created wide discussion, and drew still more pointed attention to Wycliffe's principles. In an academical address delivered by Hus in 1409 he complained of the Bohemians being denounced as heretics. "Here in the city," he exclaimed, "are countless heretics; folk call them Wycliffites. As for myself I confess before you that I have read and studied the works of the Master John Wycliffe, and I readily acknowledge that I have learnt from them much that is good. Truly not everything that I have found in this or the other doctor is on that account of the same weight with me as the Gospel; for only to Holy Scripture will I maintain this reverential obedience. Why then should we not read Wycliffe's books also, in which are written down countless sacred truths?" He then exhorts the students diligently to peruse the books of Wycliffe. Similar bold declarations were made by others at the same period. "It is not I," said Pribram, "who have begun to diffuse the error of Wycliffe, but the whole Bohemian nation with the masters John Hus, and Jacobell." The influence of Wycliffe's writings was also for many years promoted in Bohemia by Peter Payne, who from 1410 to 1415 was vice principal of St. Edmund's

Hall at Oxford, and afterward long resided in Bohemia where he participated actively in religious discussions. He remained through life a zealous Wycliffite, and died in 1455.

Since 1403 the teaching of Hus had been affected perceptibly by Wycliffe's opinions, chiefly on points of philosophy, but without attracting any marked attention from bishop or pope. But Wycliffe's doctrine of the remanence of the bread in the communion supper created hostility; and all who favored his writings in any sense were accused of partaking of the same so called heretical doctrine. The scholastic jargon concerning nominalism and realism provoked senseless party strife among the theologians, and each faction exhibited eagerness to exterminate the other. Never did the odium theologicum assume at once so irrational and so malignant a phase. These causes, pointedly the question concerning the bread, stirred up much antagonism. Wycliffe and his followers in England were furiously assailed by the Lancaster party which became ascendant in 1399, and in Bohemia by the Sigismund party, and the ecclesiastical partizans of the Austro-papal party. Wenzel's imprisonment in 1402, and the death of Wolfram of Skvorec in the same year deprived the country of civil and ecclesiastical authority for many months. A second vacancy in the see of Prague in the month of December extended to the autumn of 1403. During this interregnum theological fuel sufficient for a conflagration was supplied by two members of the cathedral chapter. They handed to the university two series comprising forty five articles alleged, to be heretical extracted, from Wycliffe's writings. Hus and his friend Nicholas of Litomysl, accused the framers of these articles of fal-

sifying the books. The forty-five articles were condemned but only after a most vigorous defense. The Carolinum was in a ferment. Stanislas of Znaim, Stephen Palec and others defended Wycliffe, and Hus was almost drawn to the same side. The inhibition of the forty-five articles forms the starting point of the religious divisions openly created in Bohemia. "Item in the year of the Lord 1403" remarks the University Chronicle, "arose the memorable discussion of the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia, among the magistrates, priests and prelates, about certain articles which were not well extracted from the writings of the English doctor Johannes Wycliffe." As this condemnation occurred in 1403 the knowledge of Wycliffe's books must be referred back; and the statement by Jerome of Prague that he had himself brought in the Dialogue and Trialogue must be referred to 1401 or 1402, and perhaps a year earlier. During these events Wenzel lay in prison in Vienna, and Bohemia possessed in fact no central government. Neither Wolfram nor Zbinco who successively occupied the see of Prague possessed any individuality of commanding power. Zbinco reposed much confidence in Hus; and this circumstance produced comparative quiet for about five years. But Wycliffism spread and occupied all minds. Most clearly the Roman faith had very little if any hold on the population generally. Hus' mind became rapidly imbued with Wycliffe's principles. In 1405 a sermon preached by Hus at the synod is replete with Wycliffe's words and thoughts; and even the doctrine of Predestination, which is the keystone of Wycliffe's system, is upheld in the same discourse. In 1407 the synodal sermon is marked by the same characteristics. During the year 1405 Innocent

VII., at the especial request of the prelates, forwarded an admonition to Zbinco to take severe measures against the errors of Wycliffe. But Hus preached the synodal sermons of 1406 and 1407 notwithstanding the fact that the synod of the former year had declaimed against those preachers who degraded the rank of the clergy on the ground of certain propositions of Wycliffe. In the discourses of Hus during these years and previously occurred severe passages against the avarice and shameful lives of the clergy, which produced irritation, although such utterances had long been fully approved by the highest authorities as supported by undoubted facts. In 1408 the clergy of the capital diocese presented a formal complaint against Hus. These proceedings also involved two other prominent divines—Nicholas of Wilimovice, called Abraham, and Mathias of Knin, styled Pater. Both these teachers exhibited independent principles, the former insisting that laymen had the right to preach, and the latter upholding very evangelical doctrine on the Supper. In May of this year,—1408, the Bohemian nation was summoned to the university, and a decree formulated that no member should maintain any of the forty-five articles; and that no public disputation or lecture should be held on any proposition of Wycliffe's. At the synod of the same year Zbinco declared at the request of the king that no Wycliffian heresy was to be found in Bohemia; and in order that none should arise he ordered that all Wycliffe's books should be publicly burned, and must be surrendered by all persons for that purpose. Many satirical songs and couplets became extremely popular in consequence of this order. They were sung in every home in Bohemia; and were constantly set up in public places as

pasquinades. Wenzel's conduct in this matter arose from his resolve to seize again the real power of the empire, that was at the time feebly held by Rupert.

This fact proves that Wenzel knew the real motive for hostility to him to be the belief that he favored Jews and heretics. If heresy still existed in his kingdom his plan to resume power must fall. Zbinco's motive was the same as that of all high ecclesiastics in their relations with political aspirants both before and since, namely the exaction of large concessions of power to the church in return for votes. The exchange is one sided; for the votes may change to-morrow; but power once grasped by the church is never voluntarily surrendered, after the votes have gone.

The re-action against the rapidly spreading reform in Bohemia set in when the cardinals renounced obedience to both popes—May 1408. Wenzel enjoined absolute neutrality on his prelates. An embassy was dispatched to the council called at Pisa; but two of its members, Stanislas of Znaim, and Stephen of Palec, were arrested at Bologna. This outrage has been justly attributed to the Wycliffian views upheld by these divines. The fact exhibits the abasement of Bohemia in the eyes of prelates. At the university only the Bohemian nation supported the king's policy and declared for neutrality; the others opposed it. The archbishop issued a reprimand against Hus and the others who had supported neutrality; and from that moment Hus and Bohemia had taken issue with the persecutors of both.

King Wenzel's irritation at the proceedings of the three nations encouraged the nationalist spirit in the university to make a bold attempt to regain the leadership. Accordingly during the king's residence at

Kuttenberg at the end of 1408 the leaders of the Bohemian nation petitioned him to reverse the order of voting, and to confer three votes on the native nation, and one vote on the other three. The statutes of the university of Paris were appealed to for authority and example. Hus was the spokesman and the leader in this movement. He was at first harshly rebuked by the king. But Nicklas of Lobkovice, and still more strenuously the French embassy, interceded, chiefly in order to draw the king to the side of the cardinals at Pisa. The example of the Paris university was again presented. Several compromises, offered and debated, were found unavailing, and finally January 19th, 1409, the three voices were conceded to Bohemia. The Germans bound themselves with an oath to obtain a reversal or abandon the country forever. They failed, and on the 9th of May, 1409 the last rector of the old university, Henning Baltenhagen, was required to surrender the seal, the register, and keys. During the same year the master and scholars departed. From this period Hus assumed a more decided position, and became the acknowledged leader of the Bohemian reformers.

So long as archbishop Zbinco adhered to Gregory XII. all was well with Hus; and the Wycliffite interest spread all through the land. Zbinco was even accused to the curia by some adherents of Hus; but in 1409 the archbishop submitted to Alexander V. and the situation changed at once. Zbinco sent an embassy to Rome to represent that all the commotion in Bohemia arose from the Wycliffites, and that they were favored by the king and the barons. Proceedings against the archbishop were quashed; and on the 20th of December 1409, a commission was conferred

on him to proceed against heretical doctrines. Wycliffe's books must be hidden from sight; preaching in unusual places was forbidden, and no appeal allowed. The commission pronounced sentence that Wycliffe's books must be burned and preaching in unauthorized places forbidden. John XXIII. succeeded Alexander V. and resided at Bologna. To him the university sent a deputation to resist the burning of the books. Very strong remonstrances were urged against the destruction of logical, philosophical, moral, mathematical, theophysical works. Moreover it was argued that by the death of Alexander V. Zbinco's authority had lapsed. The auto-da-fe of Wycliffe's books was carried into effect in the court of the archiepiscopal palace in the Hradschin, July 16, 1410. More than two hundred manuscript books were consumed, yet these were only a small proportion of the books treasured then in Bohemia as being by Wycliffe. "We still have most of them," said Stephen of Dolein, "and are collecting others from every quarter to transcribe and then possess them." Two days later the excommunication was pronounced against Hus and all who had not surrendered their books. Great excitement succeeded this event. The multitude were passionately on the side of Hus and Wycliffe. Any exhibition of sympathy with the auto-da-fe created a tumult. Satirical songs were sung in all places. Hus vigorously denounced the proceedings, and the people vowed to support him.

The archbishop had not destroyed all or the most important of Wycliffe's treatises. At least ten of his separate works were possessed, and how many copies of each cannot be known, but they were diligently transcribed. A codex in the imperial library of Vien-

na enumerates more than ninety works of Wycliffe then known in Bohemia. Great literary and controversial activity ensued. Sermons, discourses, and arguments abounded. As the knowledge of practical science was then extremely crude, theology occupied men's minds. Hus and his many supporters were full of energy. Tracts controversial and hortatory were issued, manuscripts were multiplied. Advocates of Wycliffe's doctrine arose all through the country as if all men had thought long and deeply on such subjects. The Bohemian nation was thoroughly aroused and intensely in earnest. The affairs of Hus were entrusted by John XXIII. to four cardinals. A majority decided that Wycliffe's books were wrongfully burned; but counter representations craved that Hus should be summoned before the curia. John XXIII. committed this difficulty to Cardinal Colonna; and he in turn directed Zbinco to proceed with all severity, and to appeal to the secular arm. Intercessions from powerful patrons followed readily; but in February, 1411, Colonna placed Hus under excommunication on the ground of recusancy; and this proceeding cost the archbishop large sums which did not aid to enrich Bohemia, and did not help to exhaust the cardinal's coffers. The writ of excommunication was published in many churches, refused in others. The city council sequestered Zbinco's temporalities; and on refusal to withdraw this writ, the city itself was placed under an interdict. The people sustained Hus. In 1411 the commission against Hus was withdrawn from Colonna, and transferred to four other cardinals. A court of arbitration was next constituted; and consisted of Rudolph elector of Saxony, Stibor Wayvode of Transylvania, Lacek of Krawar, lord steward, and seven

other persons of high rank civil and ecclesiastical; and three days later this body gave judgment that the archbishop should submit to the king, and assure the pope by an embassy that no heresies existed in Bohemia, and that the king himself will extirpate errors. Excommunications and sequestrations to be withdrawn. These formalities were unavailing. Zbinco died in September, 1411, and the movement in Bohemia entered a still more acute phase. The papacy itself is next combated by Hus and his adherents.

The embassy from Henry IV. of England to Sigismund in 1411 with Hartung van Clux at its head introduced a new element of hostility to the reformers. This embassy was attended by the English magister, John Stokes, who represented that most dangerous element in politics, the direct antagonism of a foreign nation to local efforts for improvement, under the guidance of a third power that seeks to establish its own alien authority. The direct and violent intervention in the internal affairs of Bohemia by John Stokes in the train of the English ambassador was in fact the interference by the ambassador himself in those affairs. If a third power has the right thus to introduce strange elements into any nation, then the slavery of mankind is complete. When it became known that the Englishmen were in Prague a banquet was tendered in their honor, and Stokes was invited to the Carolinum. But the latter insolently replied in substance that "whoever read Wycliffe's books, or made them his study must of necessity in time lapse into heresy, however disposed, or sound in the faith he might be at the first." This deliberate firebrand was caculated as a stroke of policy to conciliate Sigismund who was already known as a religious zealot.

Hus challenged Stokes to discuss the question publicly, but the latter evaded the encounter. Henry IV. had thus cast into Bohemia the same spirit of persecution which even had cost England very dear in the loss of a multitude of excellent subjects, and ere long, and under the same dynasty brought her down to the verge of destruction.

The ferment in Prague was intensified by the two bulls of 9th of September and 2nd of December, 1411, wherein John XXIII. commanded a crusade against Ladislas of Naples, the friend of Gregory XII. Precisely at the moment when these missives were received the religious discussion had advanced far enough to include the question publicly announced "whether any one can believe in the pope." The bulls were introduced by Wenzel Tiem, dean of Passau, and were accompanied by a large sale of indulgences to raise money for the new crusade. The money boxes were set up in the cathedral and the churches. A brisk trade was established, and the indulgences were all farmed out to middle men for deaneries and parishes. All this did not tend to promote the ordinary commerce or trade of Bohemia. The indulgences were in fact sold in bulk by auction to the highest bidders. The effect of such a proceeding on a people already sensitively excited on the deep and touching subjects of personal holiness, and the purity of the Gospel, may perhaps be imagined. It was regarded by multitudes with horror, inasmuch as the oft announced doctrine emphasized by Wycliffe and Hus, that the Holy Ghost and not the priest forgives sins, not for money but on repentance, was held as the fundamental verity of Christian belief. The perpetual denunciations of the avarice of the priests and

their waste of the public wealth on wars and crimes here received a most palpable application. The trenchant impeachment of the church by Matthias of Cracow, bishop of Worms, was also recalled to mind, especially his repeated declaration that "the lapses and vices of the clergy are innumerable, and that never were there so many antichrists as now." His celebrated tract "Of the vilenesses of the Roman Curia," composed between 1390 and 1403 was also well known.* In this temper of the public mind it was to be expected that Hus as the leader should resist the traffic in indulgences. June 7, 1412, Hus delivered in the Carolinum a great address before a very numerous audience on the question "whether it is permitted by the word of Christ, and redounds to the honor of God, to the welfare of christian people, and to the profit of the kingdom, to recommend the pope's bulls for the crusade against Ladislas." Let an answer be given to this question by the public opinion of to-day, and let Hus be judged by that answer. A few days after this address the papal bulls were burned by a crowd led by Wok of Waldstein, a royal favorite. "We must obey the honest Master Hus," cried the people, "rather than the deceitful crew of adulterers and simonists."

Wenzel soon grew timid and forbade all resistance to the pope, and the first blood was shed by the decapitation of three humble persons, Martin, John and Stanislas,* who openly denounced the indulgence as a deception. On the other hand the king called on the archbishop to indemnify the

* De Squaloribus Curiæ Romanæ." See Walch Monumenta Medii ævi. Lechlen l. c. 133.

* Surnames scarcely existed in Bohemia in that day.

owners of the burned books, and on his refusal his revenues were sequestrated. The public excitement continued amid a tempest of argumentation wherein "Dialogue," Trialogue," "De Ecclesia," the "Forty-Five Articles," "De Absolucione a culpa et a pœna," and many other works of Wycliffe were continually repeated as authorities and almost as revelation revived. During this commotion, at the request of the king, Hus withdrew from Prague. A national synod assembled in that capital, 6th February, 1413. In the polemics and negotiations that ensued are found curiously mingled demands for national independence, the supremacy of the crown over approbations and condemnations of religious questions in their promulgation to the public, and above all and clearly held up the demands of Hus that his principles be judged after open and free discussion with his opponents. The stigma of "heretic" should be withdrawn until its just application should be proved; the interdict should be recalled, and the peace sought should be based on Christian ethics. The bishop, John of Litomysl, on the 10th of February, 1413, handed in a judgment demanding extreme rigor against Hus, and absolute prohibition of his preaching, or that of any of his adherents. His writings must be placed under anathema. Hus was denounced for endeavoring to submit his contention to the national authorities instead of the supreme power of the pope. The synod effected nothing.

During his absence from Prague, Hus studied, wrote, and preached.* His correspondence at this period was

* During this period Hus conferred very great philological services on his country by his successful efforts in correcting and beautifying the language.

voluminous and attached many more firmly to his cause. His tracts, especially that "Of the church," were widely distributed, and that one was publicly read at the Bethlehem chapel, 8th July, 1413. Wenzel, seeing the vain issue of the synod, named a commission of four persons to negotiate an ecclesiastical peace. Before this commission both parties were to speak and reply. But the wide divergency of opinion prevented a reconciliation from the outset. A demand was made that the doctors on both sides submit to the judgment of the holy Roman church on the sacraments and points of catholic faith. To this proposal one party replied,—"Yes, if *their* notion of the church whose head is the pope, and whose body are the cardinals be accepted, for only the utterances of this church are true." The other side replied,—"Yes, if is meant that holy Roman church whose head is Christ, and of whom the pope is the representative, to this church they would yield in every catholic and ecclesiastical matter." This latter party also insisted on the continued recognition of the terms of union between Zbinco and Hus; the condemnation of the burning of Wycliffe's books, and the rejection of the forty-five articles, on a declaration that there are no clergy in Bohemia who hold heretical opinions; and the acceptance of their offer to obey in all things the holy church so far as a believing christian is bound to obey. This last clause called up a protest and the negotiations failed These demands exhibit the extent and depth of Waldensian principles that lay latent in the minds of the reformers until the occasion gave them utterance. Wenzel was exasperated at the failure of this effort; and another Stanislas and Peter of Znaim, Stephen of Palec, and Johannes Elia were

banished the kingdom. By the withdrawal of these special advocates of the papal party Hus and his friends enjoyed a clear field. Everything inclined toward their side, and in this year seventeen Bohemians were substituted for an equal number of Germans as the city council of Prague. Hus and his co-laborers exhibited constant activity in speech and writing; and in his various retreats many tracts and treatises were composed wherein the predominant influence and mind of Wycliffe are manifest. Hus preached in villages and market towns, and his views and doctrines received universal acceptance almost as old friends in the land. All Bohemia stood at his side, and with truth he exclaimed at Constance,—"Truly I have said it; freely I came here; and if I had not willed to come hither, not that king (Wenzel) and not this king (Sigismund) would have been able to force me, for so numerous and powerful are the Bohemian nobles who love me that I should have been right well able to protect myself behind their castle walls." Blind Ziska's genius proved a stronger defense than all the walled castles in the land.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND MARTYRDOM OF HUS.

We are now brought face to face with the Council of Constance and the influence of that great assembly on the fortunes of Bohemia. By a bull issued from Lodi, Pope John XXIII. fixed the opening of the Council for the 1st of November, 1414. Hus was still in his exile when the date for the Council was fixed. It was by no means certain that he would attend; as it became well known that his enemies had prepared an accusation against him. Sigismund, however, disarmed all fear that Hus might have entertained by sending to him two of his most faithful adherents, John of Chlum and Wenzel of Duba. Hus stipulated for a safe conduct, and it was prepared and sent by Sigismund. Hus, however, set out on his journey before the document reached him. On his way he was received by populations and magistrates with acclamation and every public token of respect and interest. He preached everywhere, and created profound sympathy. November 1st Hus approached Constance, and here he received the safe conduct. This document, in all respects most memorable is here produced:—

"Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, ever exalted, to all and each the princes, ec-

clesiastical and secular, dukes and marquises, earls, barons, nobles, chiefs, knights, men at arms, squires, captains, mayors, governors, presidents and public officials whomsoever, of states, towns, villages, the communities of districts, and the magistrates of the same, and all others owing subjection and fidelity to us and the holy empire, to whom these presents may come, royal grace and every blessing.

"Venerable, illustrious, noble, faithful and beloved, we recommend unreservedly to you all and to each of you, the honorable master John Hus, bachelor of sacred theology, and master of arts, who exhibits these presents and is passing from the kingdom of Bohemia to the general council to be publicly conducted during the ensuing month in the city of Constance, whom we have taken into the protection and guardianship of ourselves and of the holy empire, desiring you to courteously receive, and kindly entertain him as far as possible, when he shall arrive among you, and to exhibit your good will cheerfully and dutifully in providing those means which shall pertain to the speed and safety of his journey by land and water, and besides himself to his attendants, horses, and all his other property, permitting him to pass all gates, bridges, districts, territories, jurisdictions, cities, towns, castles, villages, and all other localities appertaining to you without payment of any tax, or toll, or the burden of any cost, every hindrance being withdrawn, and that you will permit him and his to pass, sojourn and return freely, and that you will cheerfully and dutifully provide for his secure and safe conduct to the honor and respect due to our majesty.

"Given at Spires in the year of our Lord MCCCC XIV., day of October XVIII., in the year of our reign

over our own kingdom and Hungary XXXIII., but over the Romans the V.*"

November 4th John of Chlum and Wenzel of Duba visited the pope and informed him that they had brought Magister Hus under safe conduct from the king of the Romans; and the pope promised to allow no violence toward him. November 28th the bishops of Augsburg and Trent, the burgomaster of Constance, and a nobleman visited Hus and treacherously announced that the cardinals were ready to grant him a hearing. Hus repaired to the pope's palace and after a short conversation the cardinals retired and Hus was left in the hands of the armed guards. While Hus continued thus in custody he was visited by a stranger who represented himself as a simple Minorite monk who asked some most deep and abstruse questions. Hus declared to John of Chlum who was present that his visitor was not so simple as he seemed; then turning to the stranger, "Brother, you say that you are simple (simplex); but I consider that you are double" (duplex). The pope's attendants informed Hus that the monk was Magister Didacus a most subtle theologian of Lombardy.

Vigorous protest was made to the pope and council

* This safe conduct was written in two languages and was therefore of exceptional importance. As Sigismund hated the Bohemian tongue, and always used the German, the second language was presumably the latter. In the enumeration of the injuries wantonly inflicted on Bohemia by Sigismund drawn up in 1421 by the barons and estates the first accusation is as follows:—"Inprimis is, quia magistrum Joannem Hus, sub salvo conductu duplici lingua descripto, damnari ad mortem permisit: Immo ipsum primus ore proprio majestate sedens, condemnavit in gravem injuriam et offensam et linguam Bohemorum." That is, "First, because he permitted Master John Hus, then under safe conduct written in two languages, to be condemned to death, nay more, he, sitting in majesty, first with his own lips condemned him, to the great injury, offense, and wrong of the Bohemians." Art. Exces. Anno. 1421, Gold., app. LVIII.

of the treacherous violation of the safe conduct; but the subject was evasively referred to the emperor when he should arrive. Hus was imprisoned in a monastery of the Franciscans, and after a time in another monastery of the Dominicans, where the sewer foulness seriously threatened his life, and guarded by the pope's servants to prevent any attempt at rescue. Hus' adversaries gloated over their success, especially Michael de Causis and brother Peter, preachers at Prague, dancing around the stove and exclaiming,—"Ha ha, we have him now. He will not escape from us until he has paid the last farthing." The pope himself denied that he had caused the arrest, deceitfully saying "They surrendered him to me, and it was incumbent on me to set him in prison." The pope added, "You know how my affairs stand with them;" meaning that he had imprisoned Hus against his own promises in order thereby to seek favor with the cardinals who had threatened to depose him. But after John XXIII. had himself been condemned,—March 20th, 1415, for incest, adultery, defilement, homicide, and atheism, and had confessed these crimes without defense, he discovered that his treachery to Hus availed him nothing. In January, 1415 the Bohemian nobles forwarded an indignant and forcible remonstrance to the council, but it was wholly disregarded. John of Chlum and others frequently reproached the cardinals with their baseness, but without effect.

Hus was produced before the Council for his first audience, June 5th; but his voice was totally inaudible in the outcries. His next so-called audience occurred two days later, and his third appearace was on the next day. Hus had submitted to the council in the expectation that he should have an opportunity to be

heard in explanation of his opinions But his accusers entertained no such intention. He was brought to Constance to be condemned, not to be tried. The accusations against him were registered early, and in fact had been prepared before the Council sat.

The emperor heard of the violation of his safe conduct, and wrote to his envoys commanding them to insist on the immediate liberation of the prisoner. The order was evaded. On his arrival the emperor was reproached by the Bohemian nobles for permitting the violation. Sigismund blushed in his shame. That blush saved Luther a hundred years later. But Sigismund's conduct throughout was wholly treacherous and hypocritical.

Only unconditional retraction was offered to Hus; but he replied that he was conscious of neither crime nor error. The chief accusations were that he insisted on the necessity of communion under both kinds; that after consecration there remained bread and wine; that any one in a state of grace could administer the sacraments; that priests had not the power so long as they were in sin; that the church did not consist of pope, cardinals and clergy but of the elect; that it should have no temporalities which on the contrary the lords were bound to take from it; that all priests were of equal authority; that the censures of the church were not binding.

The outcry on the violation of the safe conduct was repeatedly heard, and the emperor became seriously disquieted and quitted Constance. But he was persuaded by a deputation, without much difficulty, that it was necessary to the freedom of the council. Ferdinand of Aragon also represented that he ought not to rescue a heretic from death, because of his safe

conduct, since it is not breaking faith with him who had broken faith with God. In order to satisfy the emperor's pretended scruples, or silence his enemies if posible, the council passed the shameless decree that no faith was to be kept with heretics. They also passed a second decree referring to the safe conduct given to Hus. The former is thus expressed:

"The present holy Council, as to any safe conduct by the emperor, declares that if kings and other secular princes have obligated themselves, by any bond whatever, to heretics or persons publicly accussd of heresy, thinking to reclaim them from their errors in this manner, that nothing prejudicial to the catholic faith, or ecclesiastical jurisdiction is hereby created, and no hindrance thereto can be or ought to be thereby afforded; and that notwithstanding any safe conduct, it shall be lawful for a competent ecclesiastical judge to inquire concerning the errors of such persons, and to proceed against them otherwise in due form, and to punish the same as justice shall require, if they shall obstinately refuse to retract their errors, although they may have repaired to the place trusting to a safe conduct when otherwise they would not have come."

An assembly capable of enacting such a decree, could have felt no hesitation in condemning Hus without permitting any defense; and the assembled prelates openly announced their right to deal with a person accused of heresy as superior to the emperor's right to afford protection to a subject. In fact they mocked his authority, which was never seriously exercised. Sigismund had from the moment of his arrival declared his determination to root out this accursed heresy. Being reproached for bad grammar in his declaration he said,—"I am king of the Romans and above grammar."

In addition to the wrathful spirit in the bishops and monks present excited by the denunciations of their vices by Hus, the abstruse and virulent, and all the more virulent because abstruse, controversy between the Nominalists and the Realists, then at its height in Europe, created party fury. Each sect on every occasion that offered accused the other of heresy and impiety, and inflicted punishment accordingly. The leading spirit of the Council, John Gerson, was the leader of the Nominalists, and Wycliffe had been the chief advocate of the Realists. Hus was his disciple, and now stood before the enraged nominalist doctor in all his helplessness. The opportunity was too precious to be lost. Stokes urged Hus to retract unconditionally, stating that the magistrates in England accused of Wycliffism, although good men, did not hesitate to retract at the order of the bishop. Hus declared that he knew of no crime or error to retract. After the close of the session of the 8th of June, Sigismund addressed the fathers about him urging the destruction of Hus without accepting any recantation; asserting that he had many followers in Bohemia, Poland and other lands. This perjured declaration cost Sigismund the crown of Bohemia. Hus' books were condemned to the flames. July 6th Hus himself was led from his prison to the Council then sitting in the church, and was introduced by four bishops. The bishop of Concordia read a decree of excommunication and two months imprisonment pronounced against any man who should presume to speak, move, or testify applause or condemnation of the solemn act about to take place. Fifty eight articles from Hus' writings were then condemned, and Hus himself degraded. Being arrayed in sacerdotal habit with chalice in his

hands and exhorted to retract Hus replied that he was unconscious of any heresy or crime. The chalice was then taken from him by bishops who cursed him as Judas. His sacerdotal garments were stripped off, his hair cut into the form of a cross in order to obliterate all possible resemblance to a tonsure, a tall paper cap with three devils pictured on it, and the word Heresiarch inscribed, was placed on his head. By order of Sigismund he was taken by the elector Palatine to the magistrates as a mock delivery to the secular power. Hus was condemned in form of words to be forthwith burned at the stake. The elector ordered the executioner to do his office. Hus was tied to a stake with his face to the west. Again he was exhorted to retract; but his faith was firm. The fagots were kindled; but the victim was suffocated by the smoke before the fire reached him. Only the dead body of John Hus was burned at the stake. His small possessions, two coats of good cloth, a girdle with a silver-gilt clasp, two side knives in a sheath, and a leather pouch were also carefully burned.*

* The most severe and emphatic statement of the direct interference of Sigismund to procure the death of Hus is made by Æneas Sylvius. Speaking of Sigismund expressly he says:—"Ivannem ac Hieronymum in Constantiensi Concilio cremari nonsolum permisisset, verum etiam procurasset, dogmata fidei quæ ipsi sequerentur, totis conatibus oppugnaret." That is—"At the Council of Constance he had not only permitted, but even had procured the burning of John and Jerome; and with all his might he assailed the dogmas of faith that they followed." Æneas Sylv. Hist. Boh., cap. 39. Goldast De Boh. Reg. Lib. VI., c. XIII. §. 10. In his address to the council Sigismund said "Reverend fathers, you have heard that out of the many things which are in his books, and which he has admitted, and which have been sufficiently proved against him any one would have been sufficient for his condemnation. If th refore he will not recant and abjure and make statements contrary to those errors, let him be burnt, or do with him as you best know according to your laws * * Therefore make an end also with his other secret disciples and favorers * * and especially with that,—that fellow who is detained here in prison." They said "Jerome?" He said "Yes Jerome."

The Council on the other hand, unmoved by the angry protests of the nation, continued its persecutions. A general excommunication was pronounced against the followers of Hus. Their churches were seized, and in many cases destroyed leaving only the foundations level with the ground. Here the people often assembled and knelt in prayer on the broken ruins hallowed by martyrs' devotion. Women bearing young children knelt and wept on the dismal remnants of those houses of worship where their marriage vows had been taken and their babies admitted into the unity of christians. The prisons became too few to contain the multitudes apprehended; and the crowding and foul air drove thousands into the frenzy of madness. Money freely offered for information of the retreats of Hussite followers introduced the pursuers everywhere. Hundreds disappeared in the deep mines of Kuttenberg. Many others died by drowning or by fire. A great army of martyrs arose; and yet the nation continued Hussite still more intensely than before. One Hussite pastor, after much violent suffering, being placed on the pile with three peasants and four children, and exhorted to abjure, replied, "God perserve us from it! We are ready to suffer death not once only, but if it were possible, even a hundred times rather than deny the divine truth which has been so clearly revealed to us in the Gospel." The pile being lighted the pastor took the children within his arms, joined with them in a hymn, and all were consumed together.

Even in remote places the Hussites became the objects of fanatical pursuit. A merchant of Prague, named Krasa, having uttered language upholding the doctrine of Hus at once became a prisoner at Breslav.

JOHN ZIZKA.

The day following a student from Prague was shut up in the same dungeon. The student being young and despondent the merchant cheered him, saying, "My brother, how highly are we honored that we are called to bear public testimony to our Lord. The conflict is short; the reward eternal. Let us think on the better death of our Savior, and the sufferings of the many martyrs for the truth." Such cruelties caused the iron to enter into the soul of Bohemia, and made the nation omnipotent, until disunion on doctrinal theses between the chief parties broke the power of both.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE COUNCIL CONTINUED. RELIGIOUS AGITATION.

In the year 1417 the fathers of the Council prescribed a series of XXIV. Articles intended to withdraw the Bohemians from the Hussite heresy.

I. That the king of Bohemia shall swear to confirm in their liberties the Roman church and other churches subject to his authority, and shall not impose upon clergy or religious the troublous conditions introduced by Wycliffe or the Hussites.

II. That all magistrates and priests who have spread heresies and errors by dogmatizing or preaching in the aforesaid kingdom and have infected others with the same shall abjure the errors of the same John Wycliffe and John Hus condemned by this sacred Council, and shall repudiate all that they have preached or laid down as dogmas; and this very condemnation of doctrines and persons they shall publicly, and clad in a white sheet, approve and pronounce just.

III. That those who have not obeyed in the matter of faith, and have not cared to obey, but have been obstinate in their sentiments, shall abjure, and those who have not obeyed censures, through contempt of the power of the keys, for a year or more shall suffer condign punishment.

IV. That the seculars who have adhered to the Wycliffites and Hussites, and have defended and

protected them shall swear to adhere to them no longer, and to pursue them, and not shelter them; and shall approve and ratify the act of this Council concerning the condemnation of John Wycliffe and John Hus; likewise concerning the condemnation of persons.

V. That the seculars who have despoiled the clergy shall be compelled to make restitution because their offense is not released; and that they bind themselves and swear not to impede further the liberty of the church.

VI. That those who have been expelled from benefices be restored to their benefices and the intruders be expelled and punished.

VII. That all and singular profane persons, either those in favor of the Wycliffites, or in temporal matters, be punished according to legal sanctions, lest contempt of the keys should be approved or seem to be approved.

VIII. That all who have promoted the cause of faith in the Curia and outside be restored to their benefices, and shall have guarantee for residence in the kingdom. But if they have refused so to act, and shall not have acted effectively, this fact is an indication that they do not intend to return. Those who induce them to change their plans—if they had been indeed penitent, ought to cherish all such and confess that they have themselves been seduced into error.

IX. That relics removed and other church furniture and the treasured offerings at Prague be restored as before, and other portables be returned whether removed from this church or other churches throughout the kingdom of Bohemia and marquisate of Moravia.

X. That the university of Prague be reformed and

the Wycliffites who have destroyed it be strictly punished and expelled. Otherwise, if the university be not reformed and the Wycliffites and Hussites rule therein these errors will not cease.

XI. That the chief heresiarchs and doctors of that sect shall be compelled to appear before the Curia and the Apostolic chair. They are these: — John Jessentz, Jacobellus de Misna, Simon de Tysna, Symon de Rockinzano, Christian de Brachalitz, John Cardinal, Zdenko de Loben, provost of All Saints, Zdislaus de Suiertitz and Michal de Czisko.

XII. That all seculars who have communicated under both kinds, or have induced others to do so, and especially since the prohibition of the sacred council, shall abjure this heresy, and shall swear not to promote, but to their utmost to impede such communion.

XIII. That to presbyters and others ordained by Master Hermann, suffragan of the archbishop of Prague, won over by Master Zenko of Wartemberg, no dispensation shall be granted but they shall be sent before the Apostolic chair.

XIV. That the tracts of John Wycliffe's translated into the common tongue by John Hus and Jacobellus, and other tracts issued by them in the common tongue in which they have inserted their errors, shall be, all and singular, deposited in the hands of Legate or Ordinary under penalty of excommunication. If these be not removed errors will not cease.

XV. That the heretical tracts of John Hus condemned in this sacred Council shall be consigned to the same named persons under penalty of excommunication.

XVI. That all the tracts of Jacobellus composed concerning both kinds, and concerning Antichrist, in

which he calls the pope Antichrist, shall be deposited with the same persons and burned. Likewise the tracts issued by him concerning the remanence of the bread on the altar after consecration.

XVII. That all songs introduced to the prejudice of the Sacred Council and of catholics of every station who have opposed Wycliffites and Hussites, or songs in praise of John Hus and Jerome the condemned heretics shall be prohibited from being sung in all states, villages and towns and private residences under the severest penalty.

XVIII. Strict prohibition is issued that in all quarters the word of God be not preached by the clergy without mission by the Ordinary and without the authority of the Plebani. Since *how shall they preach unless they are sent?**

XIX. That Ordinaries and other prelates having jurisdiction shall not be impeded in the exercise of their jurisdiction by any secular under pain of excommunication. For if that accursed heresy ought to be eradicated it is proper that power be freely exercised against spirituals and seculars suspected of heresy or errors, or of favoring condemned persons.

XX. That command is hereby issued to all and singular to obey the subjoined orders under pain of excommunication, that whoever has assisted any Hussite or Wycliffite or their doctrine, or has been intimate with them, and become acquainted with their condemned books shall denounce them to the diocesan or his officials who shall proceed against them according to canonical decrees.

XXI. That the league which seculars have made

* The hideous perversion of the text here quoted is extremely improper.

with seculars and spirituals to the prejudice of the sacred council of the Apostolic chair and Roman church in favor of those condemned heretics, John Hus and Jerome and the preachers of that sect shall be dissolved under the severest penalties. Of this league clear proof is contained in the open decrees decided by the sacred Council.

XXII. That the rites and ceremonies of the christian religion be observed concerning divine worship, images, and veneration of relics. Violators of these shall be punished.

XXIII. That all and singular the spirituals and seculars who shall preach, inculcate, or defend, the errors or heresies of John Wycliffe and John Hus condemned in the sacred council of Constance, and all who shall pronounce or maintain John Hus and Jerome as catholic persons or saints, and shall be convicted thereof, shall themselves be punished by fire as heretics.

XXIV. That all seculars when admonished and exhorted by the ordinaries against actual violations of the above shall be held to afford aid and favor to them under penalty of confession of heresy.

Wenzel forbade the publication of these articles in his dominions; and Cardinal John Dominici who came with a mission to employ the civil power to exterminate the Hussites was expelled from the country. This exhibition of manliness united Bohemia to Wenzel, even with men who had opposed him for twenty years. A complete reconciliation was effected between the king and the nobles. On the other hand the university was not idle. Under Calixtine influence a series of thirteen articles was drawn up formulating a code of religious tenets intended to compose differences.

This compromise forbade I. new dogmas. II. The affirmation of a belief only in what is clear in Scripture. III. Extended communion to infants at baptism. (That is a small morsel of the bread and a drop of the wine were to be placed in the infant's mouth). IV. Upheld purgatory. V. Also masses for souls. VI. Also prayers for the dead. VII. Invocations of saints also. VIII. An oath in weighty concerns. IX. Capital punishment for incorrigible criminals. X. Forbade the laity to consecrate the sacrament. XI. Upheld confession and extreme unction. XII. Upheld pictures, relics, fasts, saints' days. XIII. Limited the Bohemian language in church to the gospel and epistle. All these except the cup were rejected by the Taborites, and the compromise only widened the breach.

Sigismund having returned to Constance attempted to remind the Council of the promised reform in the church. The cardinals insisted first on the restoration of the supreme authority of the pope—now Martin V. elected to replace the contestants for that office. The French, Italian and Spanish cardinals voted for the latter proposition—the German and English for the former. The emperor's persistent determination to root out the "accursed heresy" as he styled it, became his absorbing passion. He was henceforth the obedient instrument and second self of the church, its "image," its silhouette, that reproduced its features with exactness without being itself, and exhibited those features with precision before the eyes of mankind. He was the first to kiss pope Martin's foot on his election.

The following year, 1418, Sigismund wrote an open letter to his brother reproaching him with his irreso-

lution and weakness in permitting divisions to increase in Bohemia, and warning him of the disastrous consequences. A crusade was threatened against Bohemia, and Wenzel was invited to a meeting at Sakalitz in Hungary for the 9th of February, 1419, to discuss the destruction of the Hussites. Wenzel perceived the snare; he had been already seized twice by his brother, and he did not attend. But the king took alarm. He restored many of the banished priests; and the most popular reformer, John Jessentz, was banished.

These edicts created great commotion. The magistrates entreated that three churches in Prague should be set apart for utraquist communion; and the privilege was allowed. The people generally saw the old forms restored with feelings of resentment. The schools also created dissension. The people claimed that the schools were their own, and insisted on the control of them. Some disorders arose, and two Hussite teachers were killed. Threats from without and commotions within his kingdom estranged Wenzel's mind from his former friends and attendants, and the palace became no longer their chief place of meeting. The king withdrew to his own fortress at Wenzestein; and henceforth became alienated from his people.

Two of the king's chosen friends, Nicholas of Pistna, called Hussinetz from his estates at that place, and John of Trocnow a knight well known for his prowess in war ,and his ability, and bearing still fresh upon him the honors of Agincourt where his mace was wielded before the eyes of Henry V. of England, had already been marked as the zealous friends of the followers of Hus, one of them—Pistna—having been the chief

supporter of Hus himself during his exile from Prague. Wenzel noticed a deepening gloom on the brow of Ziska* and said to him "Yanko, what is the matter with you?" Ziska replied, "What Bohemian can exhibit a cheerful spirit when he sees his people denounced as outcasts and heretics, outraged and persecuted, and Bohemia's most distinguished men burned as malefactors in a foreign land." The king replied, "John, my friend, what shall we say to this? What is to be done? Suggest a remedy to make matters right again. If you know of one, so let it be. We cheerfully give our consent."

During the same year the king issued an order for the disarmament of the people of Prague, a favorite measure that was subsequently adopted in other countries under similar circumstances; but failed disastrously under James II. of England. Ziska interposed and stated to the king that the burghers were always ready at his command to use their property and their lives in his defense against his enemies. This polite assertion of the ancient prerogative of the nation happily succeeded.

The royal commander experienced much difficulty in restoring the banished priests; and as the ejected ones on their return employed very harsh measures the land was filled with complaints and irritation. The menaces of the Council, the changed attitude of Wenzel, the quarrels through the country parishes, and the exclusion of the people from the churches created so profound a sense of discontent and approaching danger that the reformers at Austi selected the strong post of the hill afterward named Tabor, and fortified it as a refuge in case of need. This po-

* See Leger p. 22. Pelzel I. 316.

sition formed a natural fortress; and here in the summer of 1419, the people encamped to worship God freely under the open sky.

July 22nd of this year a great congregation was called together on the hill; and from all parts of Bohemia and Moravia a multitude of more than forty thousand assembled. This meeting created strong religious enthusiasm and strengthened the hearts of all engaged. It was a religious camp meeting in the most comprehensive sense. Preaching, processions, singing, praying, communion, led every day by a different pastor from the preceding, and religious rejoicing of the most peaceable but exhiliarating description filled the days. All were "brethren" and "sisters," and all were happy together.

The contentions in Prague resulted in the forcible suppression of Hussite instruction in the schools; and the complete surrender of the latter to the catholic party. The Hussite books were corrupted and filled with catholic pictures. A procession through the streets was overwhelmed with stones thrown from the windows of the city hall where a Catholic council had been installed by the king. The hall was stormed under Ziska's leadership. Seven councillors were flung from the windows. The city was in a turmoil. Wenzel vowed vengeance against the entire Hussite sect; but his days were numbered. The king grew gloomy and sick; and an apoplexy carried him off August 16, 1419. A silent interment in the night of September 12, laid Wenzel IV. to rest in the Dom-church.

CHAPTER XIX.

PERIOD OF THE HUSSITE WAR.

Public order and discipline in the city of Prague, greatly shaken by the events of July 30, were almost shattered by the death of Wenzel. Respect for the royal authority alone had induced submission to the Catholic minority. But the wrongs recently committed against the great majority under the shield of the king's power created a sense of impatience. The anger of the population declared itself, when the restraining hand was withdrawn. The discontented elements of the old city were at once directed against the ornaments, organs, pictures, and other peculiar furniture of the churches. These were all torn down with a fierceness new to the people in such matters. Such decorations, regarded as of very inferior religious importance, were now detested as being made the symbols of a tyranny that menaced the safety of the nation by being thrust on a reluctant people. In fact the power of Rome, introduced and maintained through the churches, and extended from them to the civil government, had always been regarded as an alien intrusion. Priests, monks and friars fled or concealed themselves. Many of their adherents followed, and took refuge in fortresses. A spirit of rapine demonstrated the ebullient wrath of the people. Monasteries were broken up, and the contents of their larders and cellars distributed. Palaces were burned. Public

assignation houses openly encouraged by the late government were torn down. But as yet no bloodshed. Pisek, Pilsen, Königgratz and many other towns followed the example.

Sigismund watched these proceedings from Ofen, his Hungarian capital. He was pressed at once by a threatened war with the Turks, a quarrel with Venice, and another between Poland and the Teutonic order. Queen Sophia was appointed regent of Bohemia with a council of barons, and a guard of twenty-four distinguished knights of the order of the Dragon.

The Bohemian diet soon assembled. Religious troubles demanded first attenion; but civil needs were not neglected. A demand for the redress of grievances was formulated. It contained a demand for communion under both kinds in all the churches, protested against the charge of heresy imputed to the utraquists and the penalty of banishment attached thereto; demanded the withdrawal of all prohibition of the chalice by any secular power; required the severe punishment of simony; insisted that all papal bulls must be first published in the king's council; forbade the trial of any Bohemian before a foreign tribunal; demanded the freedom of the university; confirmation of ancient privileges of the nation; affirmed the rights of succession in all estates; abolished illegal taxes; subjected foreigners in Bohemia to the domestic authorities; prohibited German magistrates being appointed over Bohemian districts; and finally required all official and legal proceedings to be conducted in the native tongue.

These demands, constituting a just and constitutional bill of rights has ever since formed the model on which other parliaments have framed their claims.

The queen solemnly promised to consider these articles, and to do what should be just and right. The diet did what every diet had done for centuries on the accession of a new sovereign.

Contending sentiment speedily combined to form two great parties One voted with the king in all things; the other voted with him in politics but not in church affairs. The mass of the people were Hussites.

Throughout the country camp-meetings were held in numerous strong places, and attended by crowds. The people exhibited an extraordinary zeal and devotion for such assemblies; and were led thither as well by religious devotion as by certain astrological indications, much cultivated and confided in at that period by kings and priests, nobles and popes. October 6th a counter league to destroy heresy was formed by the queen and some barons. On the other hand Nicholas of Hus, known as Hussinetz, and John of Trocnow, commonly styled Zizka, established among their adherents a perpetual alliance for their own protection. These proceedings inspired men with zeal for combination, and ardor for military exercises.

Religious sentiment, however, threatened to undermine these arrangements. The principle of non-resistance operated on many minds; and the leaders solemnly submitted the question of the legality of the sword under such conditions to the university doctors. The decision authorized force to repel cruel aggression and tyrannical oppression.

During the preparations that went forward at this conjuncture Zizka's high renown for military prowess, and his known talents rendered him especially conspicuous. The position of military commander was

universally conceded to him. War was foreseen and prepared for with all the science of the time. They knew Sigismund and he knew them. The queen's party garrisoned the castle of Wysehrad and other points with Germans and menaced Prague; but October 25th, Ziska stormed the fortress and set his own garrison therein. A great meeting to take measures for national defense was called for November 10th; but the queen's troops were posted to prevent all approach. This intelligence aroused Prague. The royal quarter was attacked; the Hussites from without assailed and crushed the queen's detachments; the palace was stormed, and after two days' fighting and much destruction of buildings was firmly secured. The Hussite war had begun. Troops were levied in all directions. The German town of Kuttenberg was the chief catholic stronghold; and around this place the Hussites were murdered in great numbers and their headless bodies flung into ditches. Many were *sold for slaves;* and in this mountainous region within a short time, 1,600 men were massacred. To one open mine pit the satirical name Tabor was applied, and here hundreds were flung down and dashed to pieces. The massacres here numbered more than five thousand; and were instigated and stimulated as well by jealousy of the Bohemian miners, as by national antipathy which converted the prevailing religious intolerance into an excuse.

From Kuttenberg the executioners marched to Kourim, also a mining region; and here similar atrocities were perpetrated. The Pilsen district witnessed similar sanguinary scenes, and the preacher, John Nekvasa, was cruelly tortured and burned.

Sigismund soon returned from the East and called

a diet at Brünn. This proceeding was a failure; and on the 24th of December he retired to Hungary with a great train of nobles and attendants including the papal legate, Ferdinand bishop of Lucca. Sigismund next deprived the Hussite nobles of their offices, and bestowed them on catholics. In January, 1420, the magistracy of Prague by order of the king restored the ejected priests; ordered all street chains to be removed and all entrenchments leveled and the church ornaments to be restored as before. The city castle which formed the general place of security for private valuables, and hitherto had been honorably open to the citizens for that purpose, was now in the hands of the king's party, and closed against the owners of every thing deposited therein. The Hussites on the other hand found themselves in a very dangerous situation, especially as Sigismund's combinations had created a political re-action against them. Opinions were divided. Preachers in their excited state of mind foresaw the speedy end of the world and the coming of Christ. Under such influences the poor simple folk sold their little possessions in many districts of Bohemia and Moravia; and "laid the money at the feet" of the preachers. At the head of the war party stood Zizka and around him many nobles. The leader of the opposite faction was Bohuslav of Schwamberg at the head of 2,000 men raised chiefly in his own neighborhood. Many of these were knights in armor. Both parties actively increased their forces. Tabor formed one principal stronghold, Pisek another. The latter was invested by the king's troops. Zizka advanced to its relief with a force greatly inferior in number; but his march was conducted with great celerity. Fortifying himself behind his wagons on the margin

of a pond near Sudomer, his opponents were compelled to dismount in order to attack. They were decisively repulsed with slaughter. Next day Zizka's reinforcements arrived, and Pisek was relieved. Tabor speedily became the chief fortress of the Hussites, and their seat of government. During the following months Sigismund attempted feebly to obtain some concessions concerning the cup from the pope; but the latter, 1st March, 1420, issued the bull *Omnium plasmatoris domini* for the extirpation of Wyclffites, Hussites, and other heretics.

In Prague much uncertainty prevailed. Many catholic families withdrew; and the Hussites now unopposed drew up a manifesto at the suggestion of the preacher, John of Selan. This manifesto was directed against all crusaders and severely denounced the present tyrannical attitude of the catholic church which it stigmatized as no longer mother but stepmother. It formed the foundation of a union for defense against all aggressors, and pledged "goods and blood" in the utraquist cause. Hearts beat strong with religious hope and confidence in a cause divine. At this juncture Cenekv of Wartenberg, hitherto a zealous royalist exhibited most timely and conspicuous zeal for the national cause. He returned his insignia of office, and of knighthood in the Dragon order to the king; as first burggraf of Prague he formed a close alliance with the citizens, and garrisoned the salient points with his troops. Through all Bohemia and Moravia he sounded the cry of the nation's danger; and labored to unite all men under the people's banner against Sigismund the enemy of his country; and now so wide and determined became the revolt against Sigismund, among nobles and people, that an offer of the crown was made to Vladislav of Poland.

The churches attracted a daily increasing popular enmity as they were regarded as the insidious wedge that had been thrust into the country to split it asunder. These edifices were adorned with all splendor. They shone with jewels and ornaments, magnificent apparel and architectural decorations. Lofty windows filled with stained glass shed attractive light; and all the furnishings ministered to the service of sumptuous display. All this was now condemned as the means whereby the hearts of Bohemians had been stolen too long from their own country, and made the servants of their deceivers now become their open oppressors. The zeal of the Bohemians, half national and half religious, spared nothing, and the churches were surrendered to the flames. The Roman church was never native in Bohemia.

The feelings of the citizens of Prague were still further embittered by their deprivation of all the private valuables that had been stored in the fortress of Wysehrad, which they seem to have been unable to hold at the time. Daily and at all hours the women implored the restoration of their money and goods entrusted to the royal custodians in good faith. Crowds of these unfortunates sat in tears before the gates, in cold and hunger, while the means to purchase necessaries, treacherously retained in the fortress were cruelly withheld from the owners. Such acts as these are more exasperating than edicts. But German craft was here well exemplified.

In the summer of 1420, Sigismund advanced into Bohemia and seized some small places. A strong force dispatched by him to reduce Tabor was, under the eyes of Ferdinand of Lucca, papal legate, utterly routed and all its camp, provisions, supplies, and

military engines taken, and the reformers restored in many towns. Next month a still more disastrous defeat overwhelmed Sigismund at Kœniggratz. But the king having collected a mighty host, numbering by all estimates at least 100,000, gathered from every country in Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and from the Danube to the Thames, advanced against Prague. The terrible destruction of life and property committed by this ruthless throng on its march cannot be estimated. "The land was as a garden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness." They rendered the fair country a blackened desert white flecked only by bleaching bones. The two armies were animated by the highest degree of animosity against each other. Bohemian prisoners were always burned by the German besiegers. Such acts could only produce fury on the other side. The citizens proposed a compromise stipulating for communion under both kinds, the free preaching of the word, the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the civil power, and the maintenance and recognition of the honor of the Bohemian nation. The cardinal's reply was reproachful and insulting, and created only intensified exasperation. Henceforth agreement was impossible and men, women, and children toiled in the defense. July 14th, the great assault was made after most careful dispositions by the besiegers. The first attack was met by Zizka and his men, and repulsed on all sides with slaughter. At every point the assailants fell in heaps. The furious Hussites smote as they had never smitten; and the imperial host was utterly broken. Sigismund rapidly retreated to vent his wrath on the unhappy country, and men, women and children were massacred by his wanton mercenaries without mercy. Seeing their hated

foes in swift retreat the citizens and Taborites who had fought side by side knelt in their ranks, and a loud and long Te Deum signalized their thanks for a wonderful deliverance. During this siege the great library and the national archives were burned.

Still another attempt to terminate these difficulties originated with the citizens, who as has been stated, belonged to the moderate party. But the Hussites of all sections—Prague, Horeb and Tabor—submitted one more proposition to the king. It was drawn up in three languages, Bohemian, German and Latin; and contained four articles. I. Free preaching. II. The communion under both kinds. III. Punishment of priests guilty of heinous crimes. IV. That all deadly sins and especially those openly committed by those of priestly order should be legally investigated and punished by the magistrate of that jurisdiction in order that false reports of the country should be corrected and the commonweal of the kingdom be sustained." The sins repeatedly declared in these propositions to need the correcting hand of the law, and to stain the lives of the clergy and laity alike, were unchastity, intemperance, robbery, murder, falsehood, fraud, perjury, magic, cheating in trade, avarice, usury and other offenses—and of the clergy alone simoniacal heresy, and the greed of gain in baptisms, confirmation, confession, the sacraments of the altar and of unction, marriages, masses and vigils, burials, chanting, and bell ringing, ordinations, consecration of churches, chapels, cemeteries, indulgences, and in fact the entire list of ceremonies of every grade and description.

Notwithstanding recent events Sigismund was eager to complete his claim to the crown; but this cer-

emony was necessarily delayed until the year 1436 when Sigismund and his hosts had been thoroughly humbled for the time.

The city was at once re-provisioned and repaired in preparation for future troubles; especially as the people now heard that the papal legate had persuaded the king that he might now promise everything, but observe nothing, as no faith with heretics was of obligation.

September 15th, the fortress of Wysehrad that had hitherto held out for the king was stormed, and further strengthened. Negotiations were proposed and discussed, but produced no result. October 24th, Sigismund again suffered defeat before Zacs, and retreated in disgrace. November 1st, the king ventured on another advance against Prague; but suffered a disastrous defeat; his troops were pursued and cut down; no prisoners were taken; none were spared except some nobles who were held for large ransom. Not 500 of the assailants remained together. Many hundred bodies fell a prey to dogs, wolves and vultures that now abounded in the desolate country.

In the meantime the war raged also around Tabor and Pilsen, and Ziska hastening thither defeated his chief opponent, von Rosenberg, in several encounters.

The sad story of Prachatic indicates the ferocity that distinguished this dreadful war. The town contained a numerous congregation of Hussites; but the majority, being of the opposite faction, held out against Ziska. When taken by storm a dreadful spectacle was presented. Eighty-five Hussites of every age and sex had been shut up in the sacristy of the church, pitch and straw heaped on them, and notwithstanding the most piteous entreaties, all burned together. Two

hundred and thirty bodies of Hussites were found in the town; and a few women and children who managed to conceal themselves were distributed among the Taborites. Scenes of a similar kind were presented in many towns. On the 18th of November a truce was agreed with Rosenberg who represented royalty in this region. He was offered peace on these conditions;—I. Free preaching. II. Communion in both kinds. III. Subordination of the ecclesiastical to the civil power. IV. Deadly sins be punished by a fine levied on the property of the offender, as far as possible, and a bond given for the payment of ten thousand Prague groschen. Rosenberg simply consented to submit these propositions to the king.

This truce was the more readily conceded by Rosenberg in consequence of the storming of his double castle of Pribenic, a short distance from Tabor. This fortress contained many valuables wrested from the surrounding country and several Hussite prisoners. By aid from within some of these contrived to escape to Tabor, and besought the brethren for aid on behalf of the others. The appeal was at once successful. A sudden assault on the castle, and the loud shout Tabor, Hurra, Tabor, disconcerted the garrison. The fortress was stormed; and among those taken prisoners was found the monk Herman, bishop of Nicopolis, and once a Hussite preacher at Milicin. But he had become an opponent and a persecutor even to the death of many preachers. The stern feelings of the time allowed no pardon for him; and the water of the fosse speedily closed over him.

The closing months of 1420 and the earlier ones of 1421 were passed by the nationalists partly in doctrinal discussions and negotiations, and partly in open strife.

Ziska with his resolute bands of roughly armed militia besieged castles, forts and towns, and speedily reduced the scattered strongholds that had held out for Sigismund. In the course of six months almost all had been converted into Hussite posts, and the power of the king practically annihilated in Bohemia.

In these military movements the people of Prague zealously fought with the Taborites. National sentiment formed the bond of union. The country rang with songs and hymns. Prague exercised chief influence in the north. The government became vested in a burgomaster and council elected by the community. Civil and criminal law were based on religious sentiment, and conducted on religious principles. Every act was estimated according to its religious tendency as affecting dogmatic opinions. The prejudices of the people for doctrinal sympathies and ceremonies were fully gratified. They resisted Sigismund not to dethrone him but to exact from him the simple freedom of their consciences, which had been the right of the Bohemians from time immemorial. Although Prague and Tabor fought together when the common foe appeared, yet the differences of religious views gradually became fixed in formal creeds. Each party endeavored to convince the other and in the divergent feelings that resulted an open rupture became inevitable when the external pressure should be removed. The dispute descended to matters of form, but was not the less felt for that reason. Very earnest and formal discussions treated the subjects of difference. One party contended for the abolition of civil ranks and of property, and the distinction of mine and thine; for the cessation of all taxes and assessments and complete community of goods. They had not yet discovered that in the pres-

ent natural constitution of things apples cannot grow without trees; and that trees and even tenderer plants require air and storms, electricity and thunder, coarse toil and cultivation to yield the sweet meat of the apple, the tender flesh of the pear, or jelly of the currant. Creeds and definitions were formulated; but the more minute the distinctions became the wider the divergence of opinions. The platform on which all men may stand must be wide enough to hold them all.

During the discussions Ziska and his tireless battalions fought and marched, and besieged. Even Wenzel's fortress of Wenzelstien was taken and torn down never again to be a menace to Prague. The city zealously co-operated with Ziska and aided him with troops; and by their united efforts Bohemia was totally lost to Sigismund, cities and towns gallantly repulsing his mercenaries from their walls. Komotau a German and Jewish stronghold, still held out; and poured blazing pitch and boiling water on the assailants. Great severity was therefore inflicted; and many Jews and Jewesses and children flung themselves into the blazing houses. Bœhmish Brod, defended by a German garrison, was stormed, and the defenders who took refuge in the church tower were all enveloped in the burning building. Many places submitted and readily accepted the proposed conditions. Kuttenberg prudently surrendered and the war extended to Moravia. Yaromir, Kœnighof and Trautenau were taken and the victory of Prague was supreme. June 3rd the diet was convened at Caslav and Sigismund sent ambassadors. He promised vaguely; but the diet was determined to preserve the ancient rights.* In this

* The barons and estates drew up and presented a list of accusations against Sigismund as eloquent, forcible, and well founded as any

similar document ever penned. The similarity in style between this declaration and another declaration still more modern is exceedingly striking.

1. Because he permitted Master John Hus then under safe conduct written in two languages to be condemned to death; nay more, he first, sitting in majesty, with his own lips condemned him, to the grievous injury, offense, and wrong of the Bohemians.

2. Although all schismatics and obstinate heretics had received from the church full liberty in the Council of Constance; yet he is piling evil upon evil, against the honor of our kingdom, and all order, and against the safe conduct of the pope and of the kingdom itself given and conceded to all, caused one man namely, Master John Hus to be burned and condemned.

3. Because in the aforesaid council he permitted the most christian kingdom of Bohemia to be unjustly condemned as heretical, and a crusade to be set up in all violence against the aforesaid kingdom to its destruction and ruin.

4 Because not content with these acts he recently in Vratislava ordered the same to be published and proclaimed against the entire kingdom of Bohemia to its intolerable disgrace and many injuries and offenses.

5. Because he assembled and excited all the surrounding regions and princes, with the aforesaid crusade and unjust condemnation, against the said kingdom of Bohemia and in his own person introduced these destroyers and devastators of the kingdom, and required that they should be introduced by others.

6. Because the aforesaid princes and armies so introduced by the king himself into the kingdom of Bohemia, committed outrages, the burning of villages, the slaughter of people of both sexes; that is to say the burning to death of men, women, and children, grievous violation of maidens and intolerable murder of matrons.

7. Because recently in Vratislava by authority he ordered a certain citizen of Prague to be dragged by horses and burned for the sole reason of partaking of the holy Eucharist under both kinds, to the dishonor of the innocent kingdom of Bohemia.

8. Because he caused many citizens of Vratislava to be beheaded, and a multitude to be expelled and tortured on account of offenses committed against King Wenceslaus of pious memory and forgiven.

9. Because he alienated from the kingdom of Bohemia the marquisite of Brandenburg acquired by the toil of the emperor and his predecessors, and the blood of our warriors, and also mortgaged the March without our consent, to the great loss and weakening of the crown and kingdom, to certain strangers, and gave it to them without sufficient compensation.

10. Because he wrongfully carried off the crown whereby our kings are crowned, without the consent of the assembly of the barons and of the city of Prague, and of the knights, landholders and the entire community, to the great loss and dishonor of the kingdom of Bohemia, contrary to his own promise and the good order of the aforesaid kingdom.

11. Because he carried off great treasures of the kingdom which

year the Taborites finding the inconvenience of an absence of regular government elected a bishop or elder, to whom all the others should show respect and deference. Other new sects also showed themselves through the country.

At this interval Sigismund only plotted. At his instigation a strong league of princes combined to root out all heresy from Bohemia. To this band Cardinal Branda was dispatched by Martin V. and an army

our predecessors, had contributed with pious devotion to the honor of God and of the holy patrons of Bohemia, and bestowed and assigned to the churches for safe keeping, and especially from the castle of Prague and Karlstein, and various secure places and churches through the kingdom; and violently seized much treasure collected in the capital, and caused it to be exported from the kingdom to the intolerable loss of the kingdom of Bohemia and to the injury and weakening of the same,

12. Because he has unjustly and iniquitously stained and dishonored the kingdom of Bohemia itself by means of defamatory libels full of falsehood and injuries, written and pointed at the kingdom, asserting falsely and shamelessly that brother and sister, son and mother, man with man, etc., (things forbidden to be uttered and improper even to be imagined) held scandalous connection, to the unendurable shame and disgrace of all; by reason of which infamous inventions very many nations and provinces have been violently excited against the kingdom.

13. Because he has frequently defamed and vilified the nobles of the kingdom of Bohemia to the princes and barons of other lands, saying that they were all traitors, and not one kept fealty, to the injury and grave prejudice of us all.

14 Because he forced and compelled many barons and knights of Bohemia and Moravia to go to their death in front of Vysehraad, and doomed them to a most untimely fate, to the irreparable loss and injury to the kingdom.

15. Because he removed and concealed the accounts of the kingdom without the consent of the regents, and removed and seized all the money of the poor and of widows and orphans deposited with the accounts contrary to the law and the kingdom and the administration of the kingdom.

16. Because he has infringed and by every means has violated the liberties of the kingdom and our laws and those of the marquisate freely bestowed and preserved by the ancient predecessors of our kings.

17. Because with extreme cruelty and persistence he has enforced unjust extortions even to the utter annihilation of cities, villages and all subject places.

of 20,000 men assailed Bohemia from the side of Silesia. The fortress of Brüx—named by Otakar in the days of his greatness the "watch tower of the country," was invested and taken. The same year at the siege of Rabi, Zizka already blind in one eye, was wounded in the remaining eye by an arrow and totally deprived of sight. This misfortune, in view of the opening of the second great crusade against Bohemia; was deeply lamented. But Zizka though blind was still greater than his foes. In June Cardinal Branda's mighty host advanced. It was estimated at more than 125,000 men. Beaten repeatedly from the walls of Saatz the invaders wasted the country utterly. The poor cultivators were hunted into forests, caverns and marshes. Hearing of Zizka's approach the host of murderers led by Sigismund burned their tents in terror and fled in disorder. Zizka pursued with such ardor that not a handful of the invaders were left together. Even the Germans felt so much indignation at the cowardice of the princes that they joined fiercely in the pursuit.

The triumph at Saatz allowed another breathing space; but religious discussions divided the people. In this year, 1422, died at Prague, the most conspicuous preacher of the city—the presbyter John, long the head of the clerical order. He had been a bond of union between the two parties and his death created a vague sense of insecurity and separation between them. Serious disorders followed, and a large collection of books in the library and much other property was destroyed.

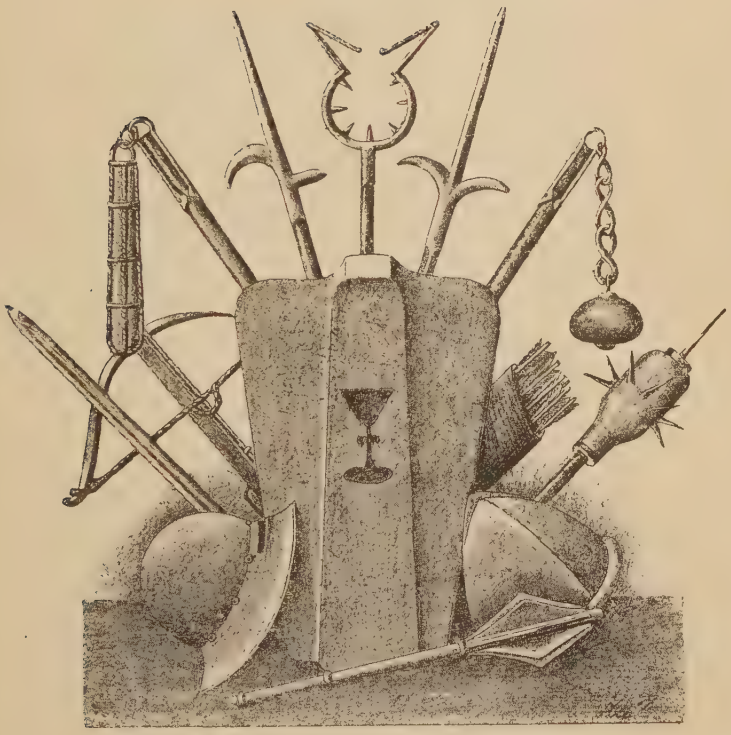
At this period fourteen fortresses constituted the Taborite union. But the country at large felt the need of a political leader, and Alexander Witold of Lithuania and his son Sigmund Korybut attracted

chief attention. Witold was invited into the kingdom and became titular protector, and was acknowledged by Zizka. Karlstein was next besieged, and at this conjuncture the Reichstag at Nuremberg decided on a perpetual war against heretics until their utter extermination. For that beneficent purpose a heavy tax was established on the most useful and necessary manufactures. Karlstein was not pressed; and dissensions broke out at Prague. A demand for a truce with Sigismund was heard. Karlstein and all its garrison were relieved and the efforts before the place wasted. Worse than all, the two chief parties openly quarreled, as they represented in fact the aristocratic and democratic principles Witold was speedily recalled from Bohemia where he had been found worse than useless.

A new league between Sigismund, Vladislav of Poland, and Witold speedily followed, and an army of 30,000 men collected against Bohemia. Zizka, however, had aroused enthusiasm and he found friends. At Heric in April, 1423 he repulsed the new invaders from his wagon defenses with decisive success. But the quarrel between the parties led to serious strife of war at Krizenec. A reconciliation was effected and a dreadful calamity averted for years. Kremzier in Moravia next saw strife. Here the Bohemians encamped to resist an inroad from that quarter; and the invaders were utterly defeated. At this critical conjuncture the opposition to Zizka's democratic tendencies created alienation among the nobles and support was withheld. But the blind hero carried the war into Moravia, Austria and Hungary. In October, 1423 the diet assembled at Prague, and drew up articles of government; provided for the election of representatives from both parties; proposed a cessation of hostilities, reg-

ulated the public traffic; and arranged for an improved coinage. In July the Council of Siena took up the unfinished work of Constance, and fulminated the most dreadful decrees against all heretics. Sigismund, in obedience to its mandates, issued sanguinary orders against all Hussites; forbade aid to them of food, shelter, raiment, barter, speech or act of any kind; and denounced all disobedience of these orders as itself heresy. The entire Bohemian nation was outlawed. At these tidings Zizka returned from Hungary. At Mallshov he intrenched, the ground being as usual described to him by his officers. Here he stood on a hill, behind his wagons; and here his enemies fell in heaps. Many of the dead were citizens of Prague, their standard bearer dead among them.

In April, 1424, Vladislav and Witold completed a new alliance against Bohemia, and were strongly aided by Albert, duke of Austria, son-in-law of Sigismund, and now duke of Moravia, who advanced to Brünn. Prince Korybut a second time entered Prague bearing the title "postulate king elect." Cardinal Brada also assisted in Moravia, and the Hussite barons were forced into submission. This same year Zizka's wrath was directed against Prague itself for past hostility and treachery. But John of Rokyzana, a man already conspicuous, effected a peace most needed in that hour of peril. The last expedition of the tireless and unconquered Zizka was directed against Pribislav, an inconsiderable fortress on the Moravian border. Here the hero fell a victim to the plague. His last words exhorted his brethren present to sustain the truth of God and seek their recompense hereafter. On the 11th of October, 1424, Bohemia's unrivaled chieftain passed away. Zizka was a man somewhat



Hussite Weapons.

above medium stature, broad-shouldered, and of strong physique. His nose was rather more hooked than aquiline. Lips rather thick, chin strong and always partly shaven, but bearing a dark brown half-beard which with the moustache was trimmed in Polish fashion. He wore, except in battle, the Polish cap and dress. From the time when he became totally blind he was always conveyed in a wagon in the midst of his army. Zizka was a man of deep and sincere religious convictions; but his temper was rendered severe by the indignities and extreme sufferings inflicted on his country. His flag was black,* not then the symbol color that it is now, but bearing the same character as in the present German flag, and showing a red chalice emblazoned in the center. He and his followers all bore the emblem of the chalice depicted on their armor or clothing.

Zizka's death stimulated the enemy to still greater exertions. On the other hand more earnest attempts were made to reconcile the two parties. At Zditz in October, and at the diet at Kaurim in March, 1425, most anxious negotiations were undertaken to that end. Sigismund labored to prevent union and widen the breach. He therefore anounced a reichstag at Vienna for November, but this pretense failed. Again articles were propounded—this time 24,—to establish a common religious basis; but they consisted of a mere repetition of the ordinary catholic claims utterly rejected by the Taborites. The discussion was conducted for the Calixtines by Pribram, a violent and abusive man, and produced no result. Sigismund attempted to unite Germany again, but failed. The war proceeded, the citizens of Prague under Prince Korybut, the Hore-

* The black eagle had for centuries been the Bohemian symbol.

bites under Bruk, and the Taborites under John Hevezda. Many Moravian towns fiercely revolted against Albert and joined the nationalists. Albert in revenge collected a great host in Austria; burned and massacred and created desolation. The sections fought side by side, each with its own distinguishing insignia, the Taborites with the least display. During 1425 the Horebites, the least numerous of the sections, merged with the Calixtines. Since Zizka's death less cohesion existed. The strife continued chiefly around the towns on the Moravian border. In July, 1425, a truce was concluded with Sigismund but the latter never abated his designs. Albert knowing he would succeed to the crown and empire struggled to perpetuate the war against Bohemia. But October saw all parties again united at the siege of Worziez; and a fresh union was effected against Sigismund and Albert. Fortified monasteries frequently were the scene of strife and around these the war continued. Of these Trebitsch held out for the Hussites and repelled the utmost exertions of the besiegers. Ricz in Austria likewise resisted Albert successfully, having been taken by the Hussites with great loss to the imperialists. A diet at Prague in 1426 produced no result; but a great assembly of the Taborites at Pisek in February produced revived enthusiasm. A stirring address was issued, concluding with these words:—"And may God grant some almighty blessing that a happy beginning may be made of christian mediation, repose, and friendship and consolation among all true christians, so that in this land the salvation of souls and the freedom of the word of God may be speedily established." The men who employed this language were neither bad men nor fanatics; and while they deliberated, with their hands

on their weapons, yet they fought only for principles of conscience that seemed to them to be of supreme importance. At the reichstag in Vienna on the 10th of February, 1426, another spirit prevailed. Here the relentless prosecution of the war until the total annihilation of the Hussites formed the chief topic. But a strong force rapidly advanced into Moravia, stormed several strong places, burned others, and having garrisoned Lundenburg, the strongest, rapidly retired to Bohemia. At this conjuncture as usual under such circumstances the comparative merits of the officers who had studied and fought under Zizka shone clearly. Among these Prokop Holy rapidly attained preeminence. At an hour when every man, preacher or other, who could wield a weapon was sorely needed, wherever military talent existed it always found opportunity. During this year a great confederation of the dukes of Saxony and Austria and Sigismund constituted the chief antagonist; and a Bohemian force marched north to resist it. The enemy invested forts and towns as usual. The marvel is that there were still inhabited places to invest. They seized some; and the Bohemians now led by Procop reduced others. The duke of Saxony had garrisoned Dar with 500 men; but the Hussites stormed the place, plundered and burned it, and assailing the Saxons in the rear routed them completely. Again in May, 1426, the reichstag at Nuremberg dispatched troops against Bohemia. In June a fierce conflict took place at Aussig. The invaders fully equipped numbered nearly 80,000 men. Early on Sunday morning on the 16th of June as the Hussites were engaged in prayer behind their wagon intrenchment the enemy advanced. The Germans swore they would leave no heretic alive,

This open taunt stirred the Bohemians to a vow to give no quarter. They stood—archer and pikeman and maceman, behind their wagon fence firmly locked with chains. The terrible defense swept the assailants down.

Great gaps and spaces marked the broken ranks. Knights dismounted, but could not penetrate the wagon fence and were struck down in the attempt. The bloody field was covered with the dead, and the remnant of the broken host was glad to flee in disorder. The slain lay in heaps of hundreds. The defenders' loss was extremely small. The towns where the invaders attempted to find shelter were taken and burned at once; and more than 18,000 men, including many nobles and twenty-three standard-bearers were found slain. All the camp equipage, ammunition and supplies fell into the hands of the Bohemians. Procop had, if possible, surpassed Zizka himself. Without loss of time Brüx and Podebrad were invested and great loss inflicted on the Austrians. Still the discussions continued. Prague resounded with the arguments of Pribram and Peter Payne the Englishman. John of Rokycana, now held the foremost place and all listened to his counsel. His labors for a union produced a deep impression. Prince Korybut, unable to sustain his imbecile reign in Prague, retired apparently to aid the enemy. He was speedily surrendered as a prisoner, and his inglorious rule abruptly terminated. The contest now extended to Austria and Silesia. A Taborite army under Procop burst on the latter province and seized many strong places. At Cervenahora and Zleb, great victories crowned their arms. Sigismund retired far from the scene of strife; but Henry of Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, appeared on the scene

and joined his counsels with John the Iron bishop of Olmütz. John of Bedford and Humphrey of Gloucester also took the field at the solicitation of Martin V. All Europe sent its warriors against the beleaguered but still invincible Bohemians. A strong combination of the knighthood of France also under Frederic of Brandenburg and the bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, strengthened by a sacred banner of the virgin and child, and the holy hand of St. George, decreed a crusade against the redoubtable heretics. This tremendous confederation included warriors, bishops and princes from the Netherlands, Alsace, Switzerland, Swabia, France, Bavaria, Saxony, Thuringia, Hesse, Brandenburg, Magdeburg and its archbishop, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Pomerania and Silesia. England and Scotland too lent their aid. This great host, concentrated against Bohemia, in 1427 first concerted measures at Frankfort. The estimates vary from 80,000 to 200,000 men. Eighty thousand horse and as many foot is the record of an experienced eye-witness. This great host invested several strong places at once; but was chiefly concentrated in the Pilsen district. The town of Mies was formally besieged and could be defended by only a small garrison. Every method and siege machine then known was employed to reduce the place, and loud boasts of its subjugation were heard. August 1st, 1427, Procop advanced to its relief with about 17,000 men; and so great was the terror of the very name of Bohemian and Hussite that the investing army confusedly took to flight before an enemy showed his face. Tachan had been invested also and was speedily reduced, and the garrison cut down. Even the cattle were destroyed. The dreary contest continued in Silesia, and extended to Austria and

Bavaria. The imperial host wasted away and effected nothing. Again and again Sigismund and the pope proclaimed a crusade. Throughout the year 1428 castles and forts became the centers of strife. In 1429 a convocation at Pressburg attempted a reconciliation; and in the same year a numerous diet assembled in Prague, and Sigismund was represented. But nothing resulted. The excitement created in France by the maid of Orleans extended to Bohemia. But though suffering from want of food was widespread in the latter country also, the same scenes of mental aberration, and nervous excitement of which Joan of Arc was the center and exponent, were not exhibited in Bohemia. Again and again a truce was welcomed by both sides. The exhaustion was dreadful. New discussions between Pribram and Payne divided Prague; and new leagues of princes prepared crusades. In Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Thuringia, and the city of Magdeburg, bishops, knights and princes again combined and hurled a great host of 100,000 men against Bohemia in 1430. This army lost its wagons and supplies in a river near Grimma; and all fell into the hands of the Bohemians who seized every advantage. The confusion created a panic and the invaders fled. Another attempt at peace at Nuremburg during this year resulted as before. The chief difficulty arose from the unalterable determination of the pope and his advisers to tolerate no opinion in the world diverse from his own.

The years 1430-31 witnessed the last great crusade against the Hussites. The latter still combated in Silesia, and the pope endeavored to persuade the king of Poland to take the field. The Bohemians retorted by concluding friendship with Poland. Silesia, Hungary and Moravia felt the Hussite arms. Poland

listened favorably to an appeal to a general council, and stood aloof. In March, 1431, the council of Basle assembled. February 20th, Pope Martin died, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV. The reichstag at Nuremberg, February 9th, proclaimed another crusade; and Rome was represented by Cardinal Cœsarini. The latter issued a severe manifesto and the Bohemians replied. The cardinal made ready for war and in August 90,000 foot and 40,000 horse invaded Bohemia. This horde burned open villages and hamlets, and destroyed towns; massacred young and old of both sexes. Plunder, destruction, fire and slaughter marked their blackened and bloody track. More than 200 villages and hamlets were burned in the districts of Swamberg and Tachora. The open country was ruthlessly wasted. August 14th, 1431, a day to be well remembered, this destroying horde advanced against Tauss. While the Hussite army was still a mile distant their shout and song were heard and spread confusion and alarm. Wild disorder reigned. The entire host, wagons, horses, footmen became a tangled mob, trampled each other down in a mad effort to escape, and fled in dismay. In vain the cardinal shrieked. No orders were obeyed. The fugitives halted not an instant as they trod each other down. The entire camp, munitions, supplies, treasure and even the bulls of the pope and the cardinal's vestments and baggage were seized by the conquerors. Cardinal Julian fled hungry and terrified, and with the aid of a few German horse effected an ignominious escape. This sweeping victory convinced even the obstinacy of Sigismund, and the persistent fury of his ecclesiastical advisers, that further efforts in the same direction must lead to utter destruction; and with a bad grace, but in earnest at last he consented to treat for peace.

CHAPTER XX.

COUNCIL OF BASLE. RISE OF GEORGE PODEBRAD.

For the first time in 800 years the protest against the alleged corruptions introduced by the Roman see into the system of the Christian church obtained a masterful right to an open hearing by the world. Useless for the present the fire and the faggot. The invisible conscience of men, whatever that may be, was found tougher than forged steel, mightier and more terrible than armies with banners and cardinals. Solemn processions in Rome frequently repeated to assure victory, and a constant appeal to the interposition of supernal influences by the exhibition of the reliquary amulets of deceased saints had all signally failed. Providence seemed to be powerfully on the side of the heretics. The change,—the revolution from the sanguinary council of Constance to the deliberative council of Basle marked a momentous bound in the world's history in fourteen short years.

The victory at Tauss created consternation for a time among the assembled Fathers. Cardinal Julian had deliberately preferred the sword to argument. He still menaced extermination; but his wrath sounded like mockery. Sigismund had no faith in any method but the sword. The Hussites on the other hand had deliberated on an apostolic government of twelve with a chief ruler at their head. But in the field minor conflicts still occurred in Hungary and elsewhere,

with varied success. The invitation to Basle was readily accepted at Prague, but the Taborites were distrustful. The latter in a manifesto reproached the Germans with being the cause of all the ruin; and demanded full freedom of belief without oppression by priests or powers. "True belief," they said, "is of that kind that the more men repress it, the stronger it grows and the wider it spreads." They demanded the removal of monasteries as centers of evil; and they resisted, they claimed, not the service of God but the scandals of simony and the inculcation of heresy. The diet at Prague in 1432 freely discussed religious questions; but these were chiefly such as were demanded by the Calixtines. Procopius journeyed to Prague to attend, and led his army a portion of the way. Eugenius IV. attempted to remove the council to Bologna but failed. A preliminary consultation of Bohemians met at Eger to consider the course to be pursued at Basle. Here the several parties were represented by their leaders including Procopius and John of Rokyzan, and a strong and eminent delegation. Soon we find Procopius again on the march with his army toward the Oder storming castles and taking towns. In Silesia also several important places were taken, perhaps to add emphasis to the demands at Basle. A peace was concluded with Poland. The same year the utraquists presented their demands under a strong embassy to the diet at Kuttenberg. Thus a wide dominion felt and respected the Hussite power. The same year the Austrians piteously complained that the Bohemians carried a high hand into their territory to rescue prisoners and that they were unable to resist them.

A splendid deputation marched triumphantly through

Germany to the council. At Nuremberg a Taborite accession was received. They displayed a Taborite banner, bearing on one side an emblazonment of Christ on the cross, and on the other a chalice and a communion cake above it, with the motto "Veritas Omnia Vincit." The other Hussite wagons carried banners and streamers. Special magisters and doctors were selected on both sides to debate the questions proposed. It was a great time for Bohemia. During the winter of 1433 the debates continued, John of Rokyzan and Peter Payne being among the chief speakers. The appeal was constantly held to the first centuries and the faith then held. The word heretic was heard but indignantly repudiated. The discussions were attentively listened to by the foremost princes in Europe, and have never been forgotten. The voice of Procopius was not drowned in clamor like that of Hus. The world had changed. The same year a deputation from the council attended the diet at Prague. Great was the surprise of the visitors to find each session opened with the hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus." Rokyzan acted as speaker and welcomed the visitors. Procopius recounted the successes of the campaign. A formal truce was arranged, "that the word of God might prevail." In August formal articles were proposed. I. Communion under both kinds. II. Mortal sins to be estimated, punished, and extirpated according to the word of God. III. The word of God to be freely and truly preached. IV. Priests shall not in this day of the word of grace act in a worldly manner for earthly advantage. Added to these was a declaration that only a kindly union with all men was proposed. A concession of double communion to Bohemia was submitted to a committee, but only from

one quarter was dissent heard. Here an open "protest" was raised against the concession. The subject was debated for many days and finally another deputation was dispatched to Bohemia. Still war vexed the land around Pilsen. Procopius seized many towns in that region that had shown disaffection. The necessity of union in the nation combined all parties against Pilsen which the imperialists had secretly alienated. But a temporary accommodation was effected. In November the first agreement, known as Compactata was reached at Prague. Some delay was created by the jealousy of the order of nobles against the present democratic tendency represented by Procopius and the Taborites. This jealousy united the nobles in a confederation, intended to preserve the ancient rights and power of the ruling class; and resulted in a widening of the breach between the two parties. Sigismund expressed a wish to treat with the leaders on both sides. These negotiations, the tedious and repeated discussions at Basle, and the impatience of the Calixtines produced a sense of enmity against the Taborite party who were accused of revolutionary designs, and whose obstinacy was charged with the prevention of a settlement. The military position was thus seriously weakened. The barons took the field; the country became not only divided but broken into now hostile sections. This condition of affairs necessarily led to open strife. Imperialist and papal intrigues embittered the contention. The Calixtines formed the more numerous party, and had the aid of imperial arms and resources. In 1434 the two parties reached open and furious civil war; and at Lipan on the disastrous 30th of May, the Taborites suffered a dreadful and fatal defeat; and both the elder and younger

Procopius were slain. But although the most zealous party was overwhelmed the heart of the nation remained unsubdued. The years 1435 and 1436 were chiefly devoted to attempts feeble on both sides to find an accommodation. At length on the 20th of July, 1436, the celebrated agreement called the Compact with the king was reached in the council after many stormy scenes, and disputations. This agreement contained thirteen principal articles. I. Mortal sins (felonies) shall not be tolerated. II. Communion under both kinds to be maintained. III. One elected member shall be admitted to the royal council. IV. Utraquist priests to be invited to the palace. V. Parishes not to be compelled to restore the churches and monasteries. VI. Monks and nuns shall not be recalled without the consent of the archbishop, nobles and parish. VII. The restoration of the university and the hospital foundation. VIII. The crown of Bohemia to enjoy all its rights, privileges, charters, treasures, in full restoration. IX. The kingdom shall preserve its rights, freedom and institutions confirmed and upheld. X. Preaching in the native tongue of each nationality. XI. Confiscations of property during the war to be investigated. XII. No foreigner shall be placed in office in Bohemia; and in the royal domains the same principle shall prevail as under Charles and the other Bohemian kings. XIII. General amnesty for everything done during the recent troubles. August 14th the nobles in a landtag at Iglan did homage to Sigismund as king. August 23rd, the newly acknowledged sovereign entered Prague amid great demonstrations.

The Taborite towns, chiefly Tabor itself including Austie and Königgratz, surrendered on condi-

tions. October 16th an agreement was effected with the Taborites. I. Priest Bedrich and the community shall not be forcibly deprived of the word of God; but may regulate their undertakings by it. II. The kaiser shall forever liberate Tabor and Austie and their dependencies from all patrimonial claims. III. For six years the Taborites shall elect their own council, and at the end of that time the kaiser or his deputies shall do so; and only customary taxes shall be paid. IV. They shall not furnish troops except as the other royal dominions; all prisoners to be set at liberty. V. All property taken in Bohemia, Moravia and Austria during the war, to be restored; servants to be retained. VI. The king to give a guaranty for the payment within one year of 2,500 Bohemian groschen by the monastery of Launovic and its dependencies.

Sigismund invited all parties to a diet at Prague, December 14th, where he promised to arrange all differences amicably. Early in 1437 the Compact was ratified; and immediately afterward several orders of monks received foundations in Prague. Rokyzan and Payne and his pupil Penning experienced the hitherto dissembled hatred of the king; and were compelled to depart from Prague. Only the rugged hand of power could combat these eminent men: they had always triumphantly held their own in argument and learned discussion. But now the monks ruled again. The last severe resistance occurred at Sion. Here commanded John Rohac, a man very eminent by birth, acquirements and military renown. The place was besieged and taken; and on September 9th, Prague witnessed a painful spectacle and as humiliating as it was strange. The gallant soldier, with fifty-two of his fellow prisoners, was hanged on a lofty gallows,

with a golden chain, and girt with a golden girdle by way of distinction. Clearly it was neither humanity nor prudent policy that hitherto of late had dictated Sigismund's course. It was only fear that had stayed his hand. Although at peace outwardly the land was not contented; and much disquietude rendered present conditions utterly insecure.

But long anxieties and grievous discomfiture had broken Sigismund's strength. Seized with a severe illness he quitted Prague in 1437, but died at Znaim December 9th. Sigismund was large and strong, forehead capacious, eyes full, and cheeks ruddy. He was fickle, unreliable and often deceitful. Lascivious in private life he pretended virtue. Wasteful of money, and of bad temper he was cruel, and careless of promises. Yet could he be candid, with the candor of recklessness. It is related of him that in a conversation with Pope Eugenius he said, "In three things we disagree. You sleep in the morning, I rise before day. You drink water, I drink wine. You avoid women, I hasten to them. But we agree in three; you collect large treasures for the church, I retain nothing; you have foul hands, I have foul feet. You destroy the church, I ruin the empire."

Albert of Austria, son-in-law of Sigismund, succeeded; and his election at Prague presented strong and ominous indications of coming difficulties. National jealousies of a foreigner revived the spirit of revolt. Parties were divided between Poland and Austria; and confusion again distracted the country. Albert, however, was crowned in Prague. The spirit and the acts of the new government and its ecclesiastical advisers were felt to be inimical to the purposes of the recent war, and really hostile to the recent conditions

of peace. Encroachments and aggressions multiplied and alarm spread. Again the Taborites united with a Polish army, and openly resisted the violations of the compact already begun by the clergy. German and Hungarian cohorts again invaded Bohemia. From Brandenburg, Austria and Moravia they came at the call of Albert to destroy Tabor. The fortress was vainly invested for weeks; and the king on his retreat lost many wagons, prisoners and much treasure in a sudden assault. Again Albert entreated foreign aid and obtained several minor advantages. Troubles at home compelled the Polish army to retire, and several strong places still resisted Albert's forces. The open quarrel between Albert and Poland greatly relieved Bohemia, where only in Prague could the royal authority be said to prevail. The long continued enmity of Hungary was now remembered against that country; and Albert's solicitude became extreme when he learned of advances made by the Sultan Amurath II.* for an alliance with Poland and Bohemia against Hungary. The national antipathy of Hungary itself also exhibited its force against Albert. A disastrous campaign against the Turks resulted; and the Turkish woe so much bewailed by christendom was acclerated and intensified by the extreme tyranny of the heads of the christian world against their own people. The Turks were better than the christian powers. Amid these disasters Albert died October 27, 1439. The same year the plague again desolated Bohemia induced by the waste and foulness of the country, and the famine-stricken condition of the people. During all these contentions the principles of nationality and of reform

* Mahomet ii (conqueror of Constantinople) "was the son of the Second Amurath."—GIBBON.

in religion went together. Both were equally threatened by the extreme severities and alien innovations which an insatiable hierarchy and their German abettors struggled to force upon the country.

To terminate if possible the existing, and probably the worse disorders in prospect, the chief men in Bohemia anxiously searched for a sovereign on whom the great majority would unite. The idea of a democracy, as broached and upheld by the Taborite leaders which had provoked the disaster of Lipan, was felt to be abhorrent to the antecedents and political principles of the great body of the nation. Bohemia had always been a kingdom and not a republic. Two princesses of the ancient line still survived, both widows. The Salic law did not operate in principle; but its practical application was felt to be inexpedient. One of these princesses, Albert's widow, began negotiations; but the diet—the perennial and constitutional resource of Bohemia—was awaited. In February 1440, Ladislaus, styled Posthumus, was born to Albert's widow at Komorn. Here was prospect of a settlement; but public necessities divided parties between Hungary and Poland. The diet assembled in May and the election of a king was debated. During this interregnum the districts were governed by their ancient local institutions which no public commotion had been able to efface. After much debate Albert, duke of Bavaria, was selected. A splendid deputation was commissioned to offer him the crown, and promptly proceeded to Cham. Here we become acquainted with a great name among the delegates, George of Podebrad. Albert hesitated; but finally declined with much politeness. The results of the Basle council, the claims of Austria and the supposed rights of the infant Ladis-

laus seem to have prevailed. The Taborites formed still a numerous and compact party, and in the existing political divisions their aid was valuable. Four chief parties divided the people. At the head of the utraquists stood Meinhard of Neuhaus. Ulrich of Rosenberg led the avowed papal party; the chief spokesman of the Calixtines was John of Rokyzan and the chief of the neutrals was Ptacek of Pirkstein. Albert advised his visitors to select two prominent men to act as regents during the minority of young Ladislaus, and Meinhard and Ptacek were chosen. The latter soon died and Meinhard governed alone. In the meanwhile Queen Barbara had been assigned a residence at Milnik. The death of Meinhard soon afterward created not only an interregnum but a total vacancy in the government. The country had been apportioned among local magnates; and George of Podebrad who ruled Königgratz and its district now held a foremost place.

We may here introduce this illustrious warrior, statesman and patriot's early biography more at length. George Podebrad was born at the castle of Podebrad April 23rd, 1420. His father had been a close personal friend of John Zizka, who, it is asserted, became his godfather. The times were perilous indeed. The elder Podebrad died in 1427, and the child was but three years old when Bohemia lost her great hero and defender Zizka.

The youth at the age of fourteen took active part in the fatal collision at Lipan against the Taborites. His capacity was recognized even at this early age, and the year following he was elected to the assembly at Brünn. The purpose of this body was to complete negotiations for the pacification of the

country with Sigismund and the Council of Basle.

In 1437 George was appointed by Sigismund as one of the Kmets of the Council of State of Bohemia and Moravia; but Sigismund died in 1437. A new king must be elected, always a perilous event, especially if a foreigner is to be chosen. Podebrad was one of the national party that successfully resisted Albert of Austria, and desired Casimir of Poland as king. Albert's troops were defeated through the skilful strategy of Podebrad. The purpose of this party was to extend the compact of Sigismund and Albert; and by these eminent services George became recognized and accepted as a strong and reliable patriot. In 1441 he married the beautiful Kunhuta of Stanberg; and although only 21 years of age was regarded as possessing one of the most matured intellects of his time, although the youngest of the prominent men of Europe. Three years later Podebrad was selected as leader of the utraquist party. At this period he was already chief of the Caslau union, a political and military organization, and collected a strong force to operate against Frederic of Saxony, who retained some portion of Bohemian territory. This was the ostensible purpose; but the real object was the recovery of Prague by the nationalists. The chief offices in the city were held indeed by compactatists, but persons favoring Rome. September 3rd, 1448, Podebrad appeared before the city; issued a proclamation; and became master of the capital without serious bloodshed. He was hailed as liberator, and thus the reaction was destroyed at one blow, after twelve years of sullen submission by the citizens. By this success the utraquists again obtained full control of all portions of the country. Podebrad by force of circumstances became governor and exer-

cised some few severities against persistent enemies. In 1449 Kunhuta died and George next was united in marriage with Johanna of Rozmital, a heroine princess. At this period Podebrad received a formal visit from Æneas Sylvius, papal legate, afterward Pius II. The governor and his visitor enjoyed a long interview at Prague. The churchman failed to produce the least impression on the religious convictions of his host; and the knowledge of this fact probably influenced Æneas in subsequent years in urging bloody war against Bohemia and her wise and prosperous administration. April 27th, 1452, Podebrad was formally elected constitutional governor by the assembly at Prague, and his authority was almost universally recognized. Only those who upheld communion in one kind resisted, and allied themselves with Podebrad's old adversaries the Taborites. Both parties leagued with the Austrians and Hungarians who demanded young Ladislaus Posthumus as king. Podebrad did not wait for his foes to grow strong. At one sudden blow Tabor was destroyed, the preachers imprisoned, and the church of Prague established in Tabor. The country was now thoroughly subdued and George of Podebrad firmly possessed of legal national authority. At this juncture great efforts were made to elevate young Ladislaus to the throne, and the governor aided that proposal with all his authority. The young prince, now thirteen, was elected by the assembly at Podebrad's urgent request; and received every respectful consideration from the governor and people. October 24th, 1453, the young king approached the frontier of Moravia and was obliged before setting foot in his kingdom to swear faithful observance of the Bohemian constitution. He was crowned at Prague

by the bishop of Olmütz; and all offices were at once filled by Bohemians. Under the wise and firm administration that followed order and prosperity overspread Bohemia. The king cordially acknowledged the merits of his great minister; and bestowed on him many thousand copa* for the improvement of his estates.

The fall of Constantinople before the Turks in 1453 turned the attention of all Europe to George Podebrad, as the defender of christendom. He might have occupied that great position, to the infinite advantage of christian states, but for the calamitous conditions provoked by the papal partizans. In 1454 the king quitted Bohemia for two years, going to Silesia, Austria and Hungary. The people murmured however, and were apprehensive that foreign influences were at work, and in fact young Ladislaus was detained at the imperial court with something of the appearance of a state prisoner. Another embassy to Frederic requested the presence of the king; but he was then, preparing to proceed to Italy for his coronation. He took young Ladislaus with him and on his return the king was set at liberty. A catholic assembly met at Vienna, and Ladislaus retired to Hungary to await events. The duke of Saxony and other princes renewed the old league against Bohemia; and the prince and his adherents advanced to the Danube. The two armies faced each other for some time; but negotiations prevented strife. Ladislaus advanced to Prague and was welcomed by all parties. Although but 17 years of age the prince was betrothed to Magdalene, daughter of Charles VII. of France; and great preparations for his wedding were undertaken. In the

* One copa equal to three score groschen.

midst of the rejoicings Ladislaus died of the plague then epidemic in Prague.

By the death of the king Podebrad, who had governed as stadtholder for fourteen years, necessarily was recommended by his talents and services as the most eminent person to be elected sovereign; and all parties already hailed him as such. The decease of Ladislaus also liberated young Mathias of Hungary son of the great Hunyadi. He was at once elected king of that country; and Podebrad bestowed on him his daughter Katharina. On March 2nd, 1458, George Podebrad was formally and amid univeral enthusiasm elected king of Bohemia.* All the constituent portions of the kingdom, Silesia, Lusatia and Bohemia, swore allegiance. Only a few German Catholic cities opposed, and they speedily submitted.

So much dissent lingered in the provinces that it became necessary to oppose force to the turbulence of the malcontents. Moravia first felt the new king's firm hand. Olmütz, Brünn, Znaim, Hradicht and Unczov made a show of resistance. Iglau alone held out; but a siege of four months, and the interception of reinforcements from Austria to the city, together with the aid of a thousand men under John of Rosenberg, who had been the first man to bend the knee in homage to King George, reduced Iglav to submission. In the following year he marched against Lusatia and Silesia. Zdenko of Sternberg reduced the former without difficulty. The Silesian estates based their opposition to Podebrad on the fact that he was a utraquist. To

* Goldast pretends to give from an alleged manuscript copy in the vatican a Latin oath said to have been taken by Podebrad. This document carries its own refutation on its face; and is repeatedly contradicted by papal correspondence. No royal oath was ever taken in Latin.

them the Bohemian estates wrote a formal remonstrance declaring that they would reduce them to submission with the strong hand in case of further delay.* The king marched. Scwernitz surrendered and Breslau admitted the king of Poland. At this juncture Pius II. summoned the king to Mantua where a council had assembled. In this communication very respectful language was employed. George was styled "most illustrious son, most devoted prince and distinguished promoter of faith and religion," "Your Sublimity," "Your Highness," "Your Serenity," but the title king is pointedly withheld.† Podebrad did not attend; but he commissioned John of Rabenstein to represent him at Rome. Soon afterward Breslau submitted.

At that juncture the emperor found himself confronted by the angry opposition of the Austrian province. Extortionate imposts, and attempted curtailment of the accustomed privileges of the nobles that amounted usually to absolute power of life and death, and all between. The emperor therefore, sought the friendship of the king of Bohemia, until the storm should blow over. The two sovereigns met at Brünn; and here Frederic acknowledged George Podebrad in the most explicit terms as king of Bohemia. A formal treaty of friendship was concluded; and the princes bound themselves to each other against all enemies except the pope and the apostolic chair. In case of disagreement all variances were to be referred to mutual representatives and by them decided as the right and justice of each case should require. The date of this treaty is August 11th, 1459,‡ and the place

* This communication is a model of politeness and determination.

† Goldast app. Doc. LXXXIII. Date 15th October, 1458.

‡ Goldast app. Doc. LXXXVI.

Brünn. The language recites the king's full titles with the addition of Duke of Luxembourg. To the Silesians Pius wrote exhorting them to submission. The same year the pope also wrote to the king; but carefully omits a royal title, although he spoke of George as king of Bohemia to the Silesians. A formal Concord was established between the king and the recalcitrant cities of Vratislav and Namboslav, in 1460.

At the close of the year the king proceeded to Eger to hold conference with the electors. Here a most important treaty was concluded, after much debate and delay, between Frederic of Saxony, his brother William, Louis of Bavaria, the marquis of Brandenburg and the king of Bohemia. This treaty with the Saxon house bound all parties to mutual help. The electors agreed to abstain from all molestation of Bohemia. This meeting at Eger produced the most important consequences. The Saxon princes at first reluctantly but soon afterward most cordially negotiated with Podebrad as king of Bohemia unreservedly. Prince William at first kept aloof from the meeting; but the king's candor, ability, and manifest fair dealing disarmed all opposition. When Prince William at length approached the king rode out to meet him with a splendid escort. The princes dismounted in mutual courtesy and the prince escorted the king to his quarters before proceeding to his own. Some little difficulties at first arose over some Saxon castles claimed by both parties. As these could not constitute a defense, and their maintenance was burdensome they were cheerfully surrendered. The king, however, stoutly maintained the right of his nation to elect their sovereign. Sigismund, Albert and Ladislaus had all been elected, and thus obtained their only title. Over their

own signatures, elector Frederic and his brother William and Frederic's sons Arnost and Adelbert bound themselves to king George in perpetual amity and compact to mutually esteem, favor, and defend each other against all men. They renounced all pretensions and rights which they had or might have had to the throne of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Bautzen and lower Lusatia, and all liens in France, Bavaria and other German territories. George on his side guaranteed to them their estates in full right forever. A marriage contract between Frederic's younger son Albert and the king's daughter Zdena, and the king's son Hynek and Catharina daughter of Prince William was arranged. On the same day, April 25th, an alliance was concluded between King George and the house of Brandenburg, for mutual assistance in case of violence from any quarter, and all controversies were to be amicably decided in the courts. The pope and emperor were excepted from the terms, so long as they abstained from violence. General amnesty on both sides followed. Still dissatisfaction continued at Breslau and during this year, 1460, the king confirmed all the privileges, customs and liberties of the city.

During this important year, 1460 the king also greatly improved the coinage. The worn and debased coin issued during the past troubles was all called in; and large silver groschen or grosses minted. A new mint was erected. During this year an embassy of discontented nobles from Austria waited on the king asking for aid against the emperor. They were politely received; but active support withheld. The Poles who had plundered a part of the country were expelled. This incursion formed a remnant of the Breslau trouble when the city submitted to the king of Poland.

To make peace with Hungary a diet was called at Olmütz January 25th, 1460. But the demands of the emperor and his opponents were both exorbitant. Another diet assembled at Prague, May 1st. Here nothing was effected. The king had asked the pope's assistance, and Cardinal Bessarion arrived in Vienna May 4th, 1460. The emperor affected disdain at the position of adviser assumed by the king; and on the other hand George complained in private that the emperor violated all the pledges made to him at Brünn the previous year. Here the estates interposed a demand that a diet be convened to sanction the agreements. The emperor disdained to submit to the advice of his subjects, and the negotiations terminated.

At the beginning of this year, 1460, all the states of Germany became more and more rebellious; and both parties armed. The emperor daily declined in strength and influence. Prince Louis of Bavaria secretly visited the king at Prague and formed with him a close alliance. The king's daughter Ludmila was affianced to Louis' son to become his wife eight years later. Ten days later archduke Albert joined the league. In consequence of this treaty Prince Louis acquired a great increase of power, and king George became in fact the umpire between contending German princes.

In the fall of the same year the king sent Zdenek of Sternberg and Prokop of Rabstein to the imperial court to inform the emperor that the king had not aided the Austrian nobles to cast off their allegiance, but to restrain them if the emperor would treat them as he ought. Also that he had intended to take the field against Mathias and Giskra, but that the king of Hungary had agreed to a diet at Olmütz December 6th, and if the emperor chose to send representatives

that friendship between him and the Austrian nobles might be restored; otherwise the emperor might name a place of meeting. Frederic referred the question to the University, and returned a sharp and somewhat menacing reply to the king. The breach grew wider between the emperor and his nobles and the king, and the two sovereigns did not meet again until two years later.

In October, 1460, George allied himself still more closely with Louis. All former treaties were renewed and confirmed; but the exceptions were rescinded, and the princes were bound to aid each other under all circumstances, and in all prosecutions temporal and religious. A special alliance was also concluded against Hungary A third stipulation looked to the elevation of the king to the holy Roman empire and was to have been kept a profound secret.

During this period the religious discussions in the country produced many divisions of believers. They received or adopted various names—Taborites, Picards or Beghards, Bunzlauer, Adamites, Brethren, Gazari or Cathari and others. The king endeavoring to unite the strength of the country issued an edict requiring these separatists from the great body of the nation, the utraquists, to leave the country. But he determined to protect the compactata, and those who observed them, as he himself did. The catholics continued to present earnest demands that all differences in religion be abolished. But the king allowed an eminent deputation to proceed to Rome on the subject, consisting of the chancelor, a catholic, and two nobles, and two theologians of the utraquists. They were instructed to ask a confirmation of the compact. The answer was unfavorable and the king was required to abolish the cup.

While these affairs thus created local disagreements, the external relations of the crown with the emperor acquired new interest and importance. The years 1460, 1461, found the antagonisms between the emperor and his disaffected subjects in Austria become more acute. In the year 1462 the quarrel became serious. The situation of the emperor seemed desperate. In this situation he turned for aid to the king of Bohemia and Paul II. Hereupon ensued a series of circumstances and negotiations that rendered the king of Bohemia the arbiter not only of the kingdom of Hungary but practically of the empire itself Frederic had invited Pius I. to support him; but the reply created such deep disappointment, that a spirit of animosity succeeded; and the emperor determined to make an immediate and close alliance with the king of Bohemia, as he knew that such a proceeding would wreak vengeance on pope and legate, to whom such an alliance was an abhorrence. That the emperor's indignation must have burned hotly is to be inferred from his consent to enter Bohemian territory in order to meet the king. The quarrel culminated in the open revolt of the Austrians, and the close investment of Vienna by the insurgents. In this extremity aid was almost supplicated from the king of Bohemia, and the sovereign who had been refused recognition on his election now magnanimously marched. Prince Victorin with a small force attempted an escalade unsuccessfully. The king following with 8,000 picked troops compelled the city to capitulate. Frederic acknowledged his obligations by a solemn and formal diploma signed December 21st, 1462.*

The emperor in the most formal and solemn man-

* This is the date embodied in the treaty as preserved by Goldast.

ner and by express diploma renewed and confirmed all the ancient rights of Bohemia, and reduced the complement of aid from the kingdom on occasion of a march to Rome to one half of the existing amount, released the king from attendance on the imperial court except at Nuremberg and Bamberg, abolished the custom of tearing the Bohemian banner on occasion of investiture, and limited the king's attendance for this ceremony to his own dominions, or ten or fifteen miles beyond the frontier. The king's official right, title and dignity were also solemnly confirmed, in the words "The most serene George of Bohemia our most dear kinsman." The king himself writing to the citizens of Prague describes the scene;—"He lent and gave to us our regalia openly in the great square of the town with great pomp and circumstance, in the presence of the princes temporal and spiritual of the camp and gentlemen from the various states of the holy empire, and having performed all the ceremonies due he placed us at his right hand and proclaimed us to the multitude, as the lawful and undoubted king of Bohemia, and most eminent elector;" "and so we have entered into an alliance with his majesty." Further the emperor promised to conduct his affairs in general and those of this realm in particular, in accordance with the advice of the king, and also to promote the interests of the latter. Henceforward in the multiplied complications involving Hungary, Austria and other provinces of the empire, and beyond it, the emperor became deeply under obligations to the king of Bohemia. The great eminence thus conferred suggested the still higher project of having the king formally appointed "Conservator of the Peace through out the empire," which must necessarily render the

sovereign of Bohemia practically the ruler of Europe. Podebrad, however, avoided committing himself to this bold proposal. May 14th of this year the king concluded a treaty of alliance with Casimir of Poland at Glogau. To this point has been reserved a statement of some events that transpired in Prague immediately before the king's sudden summons to Vienna, in order to preserve the continuity of the narrative.

When the deputation returned from Rome the king found that his trusted agent had transferred his official services to the pope and now advocated the side of the discussion opposed to the king. The intricacy of the contention induced the king to present the subject before a diet at Prague. Before this assembly he personally defended the compactata, declaring that they had been solemnly agreed to by the Council of Basle and confirmed by Pope Eugenius, and were now the fundamental law of the kingdom and part of the public law of Europe. To the disgust of the assembly the king's agent, Fantin, spoke in opposition to these sentiments; and as he had traitorously combined with others contrary to his engagements, by royal order he was arrested and imprisoned and fed on bread and water for a week. The chancelor also was deposed. Fantin continued in prison until the king's return from Vienna, and he was then released.

As soon as Paul II. heard that his agent had been imprisoned he vowed vengeance. Forthwith he declared the compactata null and void, and appointed Gregor Hein, a Dominican, chief inquisitor at Breslau The king wrote fully to the pope explaining the facts The emperor also wrote at length. Pius had in fact proclaimed a crusade against the king of Bohemia. But his rage proved unavailing. The princes

of Germany and France expostulated. The king of Bohemia, they declared, was the first prince and soldier in Europe, and the crusade against him was denounced. Death seized the pope ere his passion could accomplish any part of his purpose; and he was succeeded by Æneas Sylvius, Pius II.

Former personal acquaintance had induced the king to believe he might find some favor with the new pope.* But he proved to be a more relentless and unreasoning enemy than his predecessor. By direct letters to electors and princes he incited a crusade against Bohemia, then in the midst of profound peace and living under a religious law sanctioned by direct papal authority, and still in force officially. The king was denounced as a heretic, his subjects were not only absolved from obedience but denounced if they did not rebel. The first to revolt was Krussina of Lichtenberg, an old enemy. But he was speedily reduced. The king's catholic officers were required at once to abandon his service. Thus wider disaffection was incited and set in motion. In 1466 came Jodok bishop of Breslau into Bohemia, and held a convention of catholics to oppose and murder the king and annul the compactata. This convention hurled the ban of the church against the king, and summoned him before the papal court. All subjects of Bohemia and Moravia were absolved from their allegiance; and a violent crusade declared. Zdenko of Sternberg was named general in Bohemia; John of Rosenberg, brother of the bishop, general in Silesia; and John of Hazenberg in Lusatia. All the king's adherents were declared under ban, and denounced as heretics. The king was

* Æneas Sylvius was the author of a well known history of Bohemia, published in Latin in Rome, and in Bohemia, at Prague in 1510.

summoned before the papal tribunal; emissaries dispatched all through his territories to stir up revolt, and stimulate animosity. Many princes warmly expostulated against these violent and unprovoked proceedings, both in Silesia, Moravia and Bavaria. In Silesia the estates formally remonstrated, saying "We are the king's sworn subjects; under his reign the catholic religion has enjoyed the fullest security, and the publication of the ban must produce the most lamentable strife in the kingdom." Saxony and Brandenberg protested in similar terms. But Rudolph the papal nuncio persisted, and formally denounced the king as a heretic. Forthwith rebellious violence spread abroad. In Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia and Bohemia cities rose in revolt; and the catholic towns of Budweis and Pilsen, at each religious service extinguished the lights, and exhibited a large sign with the motto 'George is a heretic," accompanied with loud bell ringing.

"Then," says the Chronicle, "murdering, burning, and plundering spread through unfortunate Bohemia. The afflicting and horrible times of the Hussite wars were again renewed." Contemporaries and Bohemian annalists declare that the devastation exceeded that of the days of Ziska and the Taborites. Troops of crusading bandits, hired nominally against the Turks were turned loose against Bohemia. From opposite sides they invaded the land, filled it with murder and fire, and combined in an entrenched camp at Riesenberg castle. Their intrenchments continued discernible for nearly four centuries. All this sudden violence and fury in an hour of profound peace when Bohemia had begun to enjoy a prosperity she had not known for two hunderd years. The king's troops assailed

the devastators furiously. From dawn to dusk the combat raged. Finally the crusaders fled in utter rout to Teenetz. The Bohemians pursued them to the gates and the face of the land was strewn with dead bodies. The few who escaped fled across the frontier. This decisive victory greatly strengthened the king, who had seemed forsaken. Again at the close of the same year the pope thundered the ban against the king as a stiff-necked heretic; denounced all who should serve him; deprived him of all kingly power and royalty, and even of all succession. Nevertheless the king of Bohemia stood firm in his place and dignity. A. D. 1466. The following year not the crusaders alone against the Turks but his own subjects were combined against Podebrad. By the pope the crown of Bohemia was conferred on Matthias of Hungary At this juncture George acknowledged his error, committed in 1461, of expelling the Taborites. He now invited them to return. They had been the strength of the kingdom under his predecessors and himself. Early in 1467 the king mustered his troops; and found that the majority were veteran soldiers, that is men uninfluenced by the recent excitements. He divided his forces into three corps, one under his son Victorin, a soldier worthy of his father, the second under prince Henry, a patriot also true to his lineage, and the third composed of Bohemian knights under his personal command. He first marched to Eger, always true to him. Hereupon the nuncio at Breslau hurled the ban against the king, and assumed to deprive him of his crown. George appealed to a general council. The king took the field, and as Zdenko of Sternberg had taken several towns, John of Rosenberg, a catholic, was dispatched against him. Rudolph the nuncio in-

duced this officer to forsake the king's service, and he concluded a truce with Sternberg, for three months. The bishops of Breslau and Olmütz renounced their allegiance. The cities of Olmütz, Brünn, Iglau and Znaim formed a league against the king to last until the pope chose to name another king of Bohemia. Up to this time many catholic nobles had adhered to the king but the nuncio hurled the ban against them. Nobly was he rebuked by William of Schwihov, as follows:—"I acknowledge myself of the catholic church, and I have never received the holy supper except under one kind But I have no quarrel with the king to whom I have sworn an oath to remain true. He is the most noble and the best king. He obliges no man to take the cup; and he is unconcerned whether a man receives the communion under one kind or both. Nevertheless, holy father, you have included this whole kingdom in the ban against this king. This is surely not the way whereby the renown and the dignity of the Roman chair and of our holy father, or obedience to him may be made conspicuous in this kingdom. There are so many thousands and thousands of men in this land who have their maintenance in the same. Where shall these go to escape the ban? Must they retire to foreign lands to die of hunger? To place all these under the ban means nothing else than that men over the whole world must loathe and despise and hate these church quarrels?" Such wise and patriotic sentiments were held by thoughtful Bohemians; but foreigners sought only their own ends, whatever bloodshed might arise.

During this interval the presumption of the bishop of Breslau, Jodok, drove him into the field with some crusading marauders from Bavaria. He beat down

Munsenberg and Frankenstein, two small places Prince Henry came against him. The Silesian gallantry fled at once; and all his adventurers were drowned or made prisoners. All the military stores, and four hundred siege machines were taken. Another body of 4,000 Breslauers were utterly routed at Frankenstein. These crushing blows broke the bishop's presumption and his heart together; and on December 12th he left his wrath and his diocese to the nuncio. Another band of crusaders fell under the weight of the king's hand at Neersko on the frontier; and the few not killed were chased out of the country. July 2nd, 1467.

During this year the emperor Frederic assembled a Diet at Nuremberg to unite the empire against the Turks. This project was intended to deprive Bohemia of all outside aid, as the pretense of war with the Turks had become a well understood formality for a very different purpose. George not to be surpassed, offered a splendid contingent—every seventh man in his realms. Fantina, now nuncio, indignantly and vehemently reprobated the acceptance of any aid from a heretic. The Turks had no reason to complain of this rejection; and it saved the man it was aimed at. Fantina demanded a combination of imperial powers against Bohemia. The German princes rejected this proposition; indignantly declaring that valiant George ought rather to be made king of the Romans, and leader of the common army. They also declared that the Diet had been convened against the Turks and not against Bohemia, and reproached the nuncio with perverting the purpose of the meeting.

At this juncture king George received an embassy from Casimir of Poland to whom the pope had offered the crown of Bohemia if he would join the crusade.

Casimir indignantly repudiated this proposition, and concluded a treaty with the king. The legate during these proceedings preached a crusade in Austria, and in 1468 Prince Victorin led an army into that region, as the emperor had sanctioned the legate's proceedings. Here the prince did not spare. The emperor sought aid from the princes. They next turned to Matthias of Hungary. With this prince, emperor and pope combined and promised him the crown of Bohemia as soon as he should have subdued that country. Matthias accepted these conditions and forthwith invaded Moravia. Prince Victorin must abandon Austria and return. He could not with his small force encounter the invaders and he retired to Trzebitz. The king at once recalled Prince Henry from Silesia, and marched to relieve his son. But Prince Victorin cut his way through the besiegers before the king's arrival. George and Matthias entrenched and watched each other for a month on the Laga. A rebellion headed by John of Rosenberg in Bohemia compelled the king to retire, and Matthias carried fire and sword through Moravia. Thence he invaded Bohemia, and with Hungarians and crusaders besieged Semtiessy. Here the genius of the king extricated him from a severe military peril. The king observed that the enemy were posted with woods all around them. They were so completely hemmed in by sawn logs and branches that their cavalry, constituting their chief force, could neither advance nor retreat. Matthias saw himself snared in his own toils and concluded a truce for a year. The king now directed his strength against domestic foes, Rosenberg, Guttenstein, Sternberg, Hazenburg and Schwamberg, who had overrun almost half Bohemia. Great indeed were the difficul-

ties encountered. Between Pisen and Budweis and the Moravian border not a single town remained either unburned or utterly plundered. Yet no provocation or military or national quarrel had caused this dreadful devastation. It was wholly the work of the pope and his nuncio, unprovoked, and in the midst of profound peace, and in direct defiance of that solemn compact accepted and registered by themselves. Next year the truce with Hungary expired and again Matthias invaded Moravia. The king took position on the Bohemian frontier near Leitomischl. Apparently the utter waste of the country behind him compelled Matthias to send the bishop of Olmütz to King George as ambassador to ask a conference. After much discussion between the sovereigns at Sternberg in Moravia a treaty was concluded. The papal nuncio denounced this proceeding as made without the pope's authority. The ban of the church was hurled against Matthias. He therefore at once deliberately broke the treaty, and had himself proclaimed king of Bohemia and margrave of Moravia at Olmütz. The legate conducted the coronation, using a tinsel crown taken from a statue of the virgin. Matthias then advanced to Breslau and having exacted allegiance from that province and Lusatia he appointed Zdenko of Sternberg as his stadtholder. In view of the perjury and perfidy of Matthias, Podebrad convoked a diet at Prague to consider the succession. Setting aside his own valiant sons he recommended Ladislav son of Casimir of Poland, a descendant of Charles IV., and acquainted with the Bohemian language. A Bohemian force marched to Poland and made a formal tender of the crown in the following conditions:—Podebrad should continue king for life. Casimir shall intervene with the pope and furnish aid

against all enemies. After the king's death his widow Johanna shall enjoy the dower territories appropriated to Bohemian queens. The king's sons should enjoy the estates already theirs, and their dignities in Bohemia. Ladislav should marry King George's daughter Ludmila. This last condition was not observed. Henceforward the king's political relations improved. Poland was friendly; the emperor fell away from Matthias as the latter had grown dangerously powerful; and the catholic lords were content with a king who drank not from a cup. Podebrad directed his whole force against Hungary. Henry and Victorin took the field. The former invaded Silesia and fiercely punished the traitor lords. Victorin unfortunately was made prisoner in Moravia and conducted to Ofen. His place was well occupied by his general Strzela until Henry and the king arrived. Matthias was compelled to retire and Podebrad took post at Kremzir Here he personally challenged Matthias to single combat in the open field. But the Hungarian knew the king's skill and dared not face it; but kept within his entrenchments. Matthias could effect nothing; and a treaty was concluded whereby Victorin was set at liberty and acknowledged as marquis of Moravia after the king's death.

Soon after these events, March 22nd, 1471, king George died of dropsy, in the fiftieth year of his most distinguished and patriotic life. His friend Rokycan had preceded him a few weeks to peace and rest. Podebrad was short of stature; robust; of light complexion, and was remarkable for his bright eyes. As he advanced in life he grew somewhat stout. His manners were eminently agreeable; and his life was pure. In singleness of aim for the good of his country

no Bohemian monarch ever surpassed this most unselfish and devoted king. He spoke no Latin, and but little German. He was naturally of a philosophizing temper, and just disposition; and was acknowledged through Europe as a most wise, sagacious ruler. Under him Bohemia acquired perfect independence of internal administration; and scarcely a thread connected the policy of the state with the empire. As a sovereign George Podebrad counseled, administered, made alliances as best suited the interests of his government. Instead of being governed by the empire he long controlled the supreme power by the superiority of his intellect and honorable policy and counsels. His great and glorious reign forms the national structure in midstream whereon rests the unbroken connection between the great struggles of the Hussite reform, and the still grander triumphs of the sixtenth century. Schools were maintained, learning flourished, the dignity of Bohemia rose high in the estimation of mankind. George Podebrad was great as a man and as a sovereign; and Bohemians are justly proud of the celebrity and eminence their country acquired under his administration.

George Podebrad ruled Bohemia as regent and king about twenty-eight years. Of this period about twenty years were signalized by great advances in intelligence, industry and prosperity. The land yielded generously again; and with comfort returned health and cheerfulness. The stream of the country's life flowed in fuller and more united volume. Literature, almost annihilated during the civil commotions, and regarded always and universally by the invaders as the especial object of animosity and vengeance, again diffused its elevating and soothing power. So fierce had been the

fury against Bohemian books that the land was almost wholly denuded of literature in every form, scarcely a vestige of a very extensive national literature being discoverable. Hussite books were remarkable for elegance of illumination, chirography, and artistic bindings. Several families frequently combined to publish a book; and this volume was always illustrated with family crests, emblems, and other artistic embellishments. But as with the Arabic books of the Moors of Spain at the same period, the beauty of the illuminations, and exceeding excellence and splendor of the manuscript, only created additional abhorrence in the vandal destroyers, who regarded these wonders of pictorial and chirographic art as the work of the evil one. Moorish manuscripts and mural decorations consisting of enlarged Arabic quotations wrought in stone and the beautiful friezes and mosaics of the period, were frequently imitated and reproduced in christian edifices being mistaken for arbitrary ornamentation. Many of these may yet be seen on christian churches. Not only the form of the letters but the colors of the adornment constituted an art we strive in vain to imitate. Only in the Hussite books was found an approach to the art of the Moors in taste and splendor. But all availed not before the ruthless destroyers hired by legate and crusader. Now again national art revived, and the freshening thought of the nation was clothed in many forms of prose and poetry, and the earnest heart of Bohemia rose again as of yore. All the tendencies of renewed policies and literary efforts exhibited an intensely national complexion; and the address of Rokycan on the final confirmation of Podebrad's election became the fixed doctrine of the state. The king of the country, and

the officials under him must be persons who understood the language, the constitution, the conditions, and the laws of the land. From the religious tendencies of the day, the freedom of discussion in public secured, and the radical simplicity of doctrinal belief, always verging on the spiritual, the sentimental, the abstractly ethical, and even in some cases the quietist and the mystic, it is not strange that among a simple people many sects and parties originated. Several of these proved to be ephemeral. The Taborites continued as a power in the state about thirty years; but when their power had been broken at Lipan in 1434, they declined until out of the essence of their temper and principle was evolved the community always most favorably known as the Moravian Brothers. Not strange is it that the source whence sprang this new community was not single. At such periods men of earnest minds will frequently think alike, and create lines of thought that run parallel while each is mistaken for the other. In such cases the most earnest or the most capable takes the lead, and associates his name with his residence or his following. Accordingly, we find two names prominently associated with the gradual approximation of believers to each other after the death of Hus until they combined in formal brotherhoods. The Calixtines differed little from the catholics except in the double communion—calix, a cup. To many devout minds the essence of christianity needed few if any external forms. It consisted in purity of soul and pious adoration of the One creator and redeemer. These persons who belonged chiefly to the Taborites earnestly contended for a more complete purification of the church than was then generally promoted. Their purpose was to restore purity

and simplicity as most consistent with christian innocence. Among these earnest reformers we find the name of Gregory of Razerhertz, nephew of Rokycan, who became, about 1427, general superintendent of the churches, and practically archbishop. To him the more earnest of the reformers applied for counsel, as they had not yet seceded from the general body. "It is not enough," said they, "to feel our bonds, we must break them." The spirit of union among the more ardent of these persons steadily grew; but during the reign of Wenzel their proceedings continued only tentative. Under the regency of Podebrad, Rokycan was enabled to procure for these brethren, as they now styled themselves, a separate residence in a district of Lititz on the borders of Silesia and Moravia, wherein they might enjoy perfect liberty of conscience and of religious worship unmolested. To this region a large number of like-minded nobles, citizens and pastors removed from Prague, and other places. These united in one body resolving, however, never to take up arms as the Taborites had done. Some pastors from the calixtines who adopted their views supplied public ministrations. Throughout Bohemia and Moravia similar societies were formed and the catholic anger was aroused. The Calixtines also urged Podebrad, then king, to crush the new societies. They were harshly used and very many perished miserably. They were deprived of civil rights, and driven from towns and villages. Many died in the open fields of cold and hunger Even torture was not withheld in an effort to extort a confession of supposed revolutionary designs. Many had hands and feet cut off; others were dragged along the ground, quartered, or burned alive. Many died in prison, others lost their reason.

Yet these persecutions failed to diminish the numbers of adherents. In 1461, Gregory Razerhertz assembled the brethren in Prague for a communion service. The assembly was surprised; and Gregory put to the torture, until he was supposed dead. He survived, however, until 1474, and continued faithfully to labor in his chosen calling. Similar persecutions pursued these brethren in other districts. Ordination of their pastors being refused they applied to the Vaudois. The result created a fierce persecution against both. Stephen, the Vaudois bishop in Austria, was burned along with several others. Many of this community fled from Austria to Bohemia and Moravia, and acquired the name of Brethren of Bohemia, a title that they disowned. In 1468 Podebrad published a new edict against them in a diet held at Prague, urging all persons to seize and proceed against them. All the prisons of Bohemia were filled with the persecuted. Many died in horror, others endured most cruel afflictions. Numbers fled to forests and caves; and kindled fires only at night lest the smoke should betray them. Such was the condition in 1471, when Rokycan and the king retired from earthly contentions.

A still more eminent person in the history of the evangelical movement in Bohemia was Peter of Chelcic (Keltschitz). Born it is believed about 1390 he studied for some time at the university of Prague; but did not obtain a high degree although he acquired much scholastic learning. Peter exhibited from the outset the strict doctrine of the Waldenses. His writings exhibit almost a verbal repetition of the Nobla Leycon, that noble metrical statement of the Vaudois creed. "Pure and true christianity," wrote Peter in his "Sunday Lectures," one of the few of his works

that survive, "prevailed only in the primitive church, that is to say up to Constantine the Great, whom Sylvester introduced to the bosom of the church. Constantine embraced the christian faith without changing his mode of life. But in accepting this religion wherein all his empire followed him Constantine introduced into it all the pagan laws, and from that time christianity became thoroughly pagan. On one side the pope allowed the emperor to be both pagan and christian at the same time; and on the other side the emperor enabled the pope to share in the wealth and grandeur of the world." This doctrine is word for word the language of the Nobla Leycon. Peter proclaims a social and political economy that breathes strongly of the same inspiration. "Christianity," he maintains, "is the empire of the spirit and of liberty whereby man is naturally promoted to good; God wishes no man to be forcibly thrust toward him; and virtue enforced is no longer virtue." "Paganism introduced power and disorder into christianity; hence the necessity for laws. Hence all power, all administration, all public functions, all titles are of pagan origin. The good christian departs from the law of God if he accepts a public charge or a title; first, because he ought to abstain from every thing that comes from sovereign authority, from all that is contrary to the church as Christ made it; and secondly, because all christians ought to be equal in presence of wealth of faith and of charity; that they should recognize neither royalty, nor public functions, nor titles, nor distinctions." That such sentiments should excite the ire of rulers in church and state, in those days of absolutism of emperor over magistrate, and of pope over all, can occasion no surprise. They embody

christian socialism in its most radical form. Yet these devotees sought only the equal union of every soul with God all through its earthly career. The labors of Peter Chelcicky created a wide and lasting effect. His correspondence was increasing, and of great extent. His letters were eagerly sought, and read with avidity. His disciples multiplied; and shortly after his death became organized, chiefly from among his followers, the community known through out the world as the "Moravian Brothers." Eminently practical in his views, Chelcicky sought only the good of mankind by cultivating the better nature of men and not by punishment of any kind. He denounced punishment of criminals except by converting them to good. In this respect his doctrine has found acceptance in every modern social system; and he may be justly styled the author of prison reform. The date of his death and the place of his repose are alike unknown.

The influence of the Waldenses had been for nearly three cenutries very potent in Bohemia; and the aims of these earnest persons had been directed chiefly to practical reforms in human conduct. Even Æneas Sylvius who visited Tabor while it was yet a strong hold confirms the presence and the potency of the old Waldensean peculiarity among the Taborites. "It is the shame of the Italian priests," he says, "that not one of them seems to have read the New Testament; but among the Taborites you will scarcely find a girl who cannot reply to you from the New Testament and the old." The frequent public discussions, that had become largely also political debates, maintained divisions of sentiment during the reign of Podebrad. The numerous church synod at Kuttenburg in 1441 only con-

firmed the participants in their views and resolution to maintain them. Doctrinal investigations engaged the attention of all parties. A final disputation at Kuttenburg in 1443 created no modification of opinion; but at the diet in 1444 the Taborite party as the ruling power in the state yielded to the Calixtines. The chief enemy of the Taborites, John of Rosenberg, secured a strong combination against them. He proposed a national contribution for a crusade; but Bohemia sustained the principle of reform, while it rejected one special phase of it.

An Italian observer at the Court of Matthias Corvinus has left a description of the Bohemians of his day, the exact period when they were most venomously stigmatized as fiends; "The Bohemians, indeed, excel other nations in stature, and in strength and beauty of person, comeliness of hair, and suavity of manners. They pay rather an excess of attention to their personal appearance and style of hair, and are most neat and even luxurious in dress and style, and yet naturally adapted to war and enjoyment. They are sociable and affable, and perhaps excessively inclined to cultivate friendship." Even King Matthias is declared to have said, "I confess that the Bohemians are warriors by birth,—a most conspicuous race of men, especially attentive to their persons and their looks, eager for war and most prompt toward danger. In person they are tall and handsome; great is their contempt for death; and their address captivating."

Even the dreadful excesses of the Hussite wars produced no change in the nationalist tendencies of Bohemia. The sentiment of national unity still reigned supreme, although manifested with asperity toward the weaker party. It spoke through all the policy of

Pŏdebrad. The king's strong sense and steady rule held a dignified relation with all neighboring princes. He understood and clearly pointed out the dreadful political crime committed in the assaults on Bohemia, when the strength of the country was all needed against the common assailant—the Turk. In one letter to Matthias he said, "Dear Brother: - -You can yourself bear testimony that the Bohemians under your own and your father's command have very often broken the fierce assaults of the Turks, have passed over slaughtered heaps of the enemy, and have overcome every peril with undaunted manliness." Æneas Sylvius bears still higher testimony;—"The Bohemians have in our times by themselves gained more victories than many other nations have been able to win in all their history." In the king's family, literature of the highest order was earnestly studied and promoted. Prince Henry cultivated poetry with taste; and the king himself conducted correspondence with the pope, with kings and princes, in language remarkable for dignity and force. His rule in most respects afforded an excellent example of the general aims and principles of the reformers. Under his reign Bohemia rose again; and its people though divided on questions of detail enjoyed a large measure of contentment. After the king's death a fruitful cause of contention was found in the property of the suppressed monasteries. The nation had claimed the right to resume these estates, and bestow them on persons deemed most loyal to the country. This principle has never been accepted by monastic orders, that have always regarded themselves as superior to all national control.

Six principal claimants now appeared for the Bohemian crown. Matthias Covinus of Hungary, the con-

stant enemy who still held part of Moravia; King Louis of France; Prince Vladislav of Poland; Albert, duke of Saxony; duke Henry of Munsterberg, son of the late king; and Frederic the emperor. Matthias, notwithstanding his prowess and renown, was promptly informed that he should never reign over Bohemia. Prince Vladislav, a youth of fifteen, son of Casimir king of Poland was elected after a long debate. No power, imperial or other as yet disputed Bohemia's right to select her own ruler. Even when the crown descended lineally an election was necessary. Matthias finding his ambition defeated, at once sought revenge; and desolated many towns and districts in Moravia. Casimir in return interposed feebly in Hungary. The young king's coronation proceeded. He swore before quitting Poland to observe the conditions imposed; to adhere to the election of the late king; to maintain the compact, and to uphold only such an archbishop as would act with paternal care equally toward catholics and utraquists; to maintain the rights, liberties and possessions of the nobles, knights and municipalities, and to entrust the fortress of Carlstein wherein the crown and regalia were deposited to no person without the consent of the estates; to appoint no alien to public office in Bohemia; to employ his utmost endeavors to have the ban of the church removed from King George and his friends; not to alienate any portion of the kingdom of Bohemia; to concede the allowances conferred on Queen Joanna; and to release Prince Victorin from imprisonment; to pay the troops who had suffered losses on behalf of King George; and to live in peace with the German princes and electors, and to reimburse the duke of Saxony his expenses incurred on behalf of

Bohemia. From these conditions will readily be seen the very strong hold obtained by the late king on the hearts of his countrymen.

Having expelled the Poles, Matthias returned to Moravia and seized the greater part of the province. A Bohemian force routed him; but was unable to reduce Kolin. Matthias had a strong party in Moravia arising solely from catholic sympathies, although the province had always been an integral portion of the Bohemian dominions. This contest alarmed Rome by reason of the threatening attitude of the Turks; but negotiations at Neiss in Silesia produced no result. This vicious contest arose solely from the coronation of Matthias in Moravia by certain ecclesiastics, although he possessed no rights of any kind to hold authority therein. Matthias fearing an irruption of the Turks concluded a truce for three years; but violated it almost immediately. Casimir interposed by force in Silesia; and was aided by a force of Tartars; and before Breslau a truce for three years and a half was concluded. November, 1474. Great festivities and negotiations ensued in Prague. A peace was concluded which gave Vladislav a portion of Silesia, and Matthias upper Silesia and Moravia. In 1478 the Turks again advanced; the truce of Breslau terminated and war was renewed. Both sides were soon exhausted. Matthias held Moravia and upper Silesia, and a portion of Bohemia; set Prince Victorin at liberty; retained Pilsen and Budweis in Bohemia. Vladislav held a larger portion of Silesia. Each king took the title of king of Bohemia. Should Matthias die without a direct heir all Bohemia should revert to Vladislav; but if he left an heir the king of Bohemia should pay him one hundred thousand ducats

for that portion of Bohemia till retained. In 1480 an attempt to reconcile all religious parties produced a serious breach between the utraquists and the king; and the former discovered that paper promises did not overweigh longstanding disagreements. The utraquist preachers were imprisoned for some bold utterances, and the true spirit of the new dynasty became apparent. The overzealous population of Prague grew excited over the changed condition of affairs; and public commotion between the two parties ensued. Many German councilors were installed; and the recent settlement seemed threatened with rapid violation and rejection. Some councilors were thrown from the windows; monasteries and churches were again attacked; and many Jews beaten. The king retired to Moravia to avoid the plague; but the Poles whom he had introduced into the country and placed around himself became the cause of serious animosities. To terminate these troubles Vladislav assembled a diet at Kuttenberg where a religious peace for thirty-one years was agreed on. The conditions were these; The catholics and adherents of the cup (Kelchner) shall not insult each other; nor assault each other, whether they be temporal or spiritual persons; their priests of whatever rank they may be princes, nobles, knights or burghers on both sides, shall preach the word of God freely; they shall not abuse nor insult each other as heretics; princes, nobles, knights, burghers, who take the supper under one kind shall not assail those priests and their adherents who drink of the cup; they shall each in freedom seek the salvation of their souls according to their own dogmas and usages; the princes, nobles, knights and burghers who confess themselves as of the cup shall

conduct themselves toward the other party so as not to oppress those who take the holy supper under one kind; the contract with the council of Basle shall be upheld and in force; every person violating this agreement to be banished from the country.

Peace soon followed between Matthias, Casimir and Vladislav; and in 1486 the electors chose the archduke Maximilian emperor, but did not invite Vladislav to participate. Here was a serious breach. The emperor, however, sought to appease the susceptibilities of Bohemia by negotiation which was purposely protracted. At length the consolatory stipulations were obtained. I. Recognition of the freedom of the kingdom. II. An acknowledgment that in future an election of emperor without the participation of the king of Bohemia should not occur. III. Stipulation that the king should be released from feudal obligations. IV. That he should be released from the duty of accompanying the kaiser or other king of the Romans on an expedition to Rome either in person or by his embassy, and in lieu thereof should pay eight hundred golden crowns.

Through the death of Matthias Moravia and Silesia reverted to Bohemia.

The election of Vladislav, last king of Hungary, followed in July, 1491; and a dreadful conflict ensued. The king led into his new dominions a strong force known as the black legion; and continued in Hungary seven years greatly to the injury and neglect of Bohemia. New religious contentions arose. An assembly was held in Ofen in 1494; and Pope Alexander VI. sent a legate. No results followed as the pope wholly rejected the cup. This refusal created an increasingly widened separation of Bohemia from papal author-

ity; and the nation as such ceased to acknowledge it. In 1495 an embassy besought the king's return; and engaged to assist him against the Turks with fifteen thousand men. The king entered Prague in triumph in 1497; but remained only four months. Serious contentions had arisen between the nobles and the municipalities; the latter necessarily advancing in wealth and power. The king also arranged the respective relations of the nobles in their degrees; and hastened to Hungary with his queen Anna of France. A close combination of the cities against the nobles speedily followed. Civil war spread and all Bohemia was filled with petty strife. But the intervention of some of the chief nobility, who remembered the recent disasters of the country, effected an accommodation.

In 1504 war followed against Maximilian, who was engaged in strife with Pfalzgraf Rupert. At Regensburg a fierce battle again demonstrated before Maximilian's eyes the spirit of Bohemia; and in admiration he made peace, dismissed his prisoners, and took a large force of Bohemians into his pay and to them entrusted cities and fortresses.

In 1509 Vladislav returned to Prague for the purpose of securing the succession to the crown for his son Ludwig. The coronation took place the same year, the boy being only two years and eight months old. During the ceremony the princess Anna, a little older than Ludwig, asked why a crown was not given to her too. Vladislav, to gratify the child, set the crown in her hand, whereat the multitude exclaimed that the princess Anna should be queen if her brother should leave no heir. Thus readily is a mixed assemblage excited!

In 1511 the success of Vladislav's reign was

complete. The religious truce of 1485 was solemnly renewed; and the Bohemian, Moravian, Silesian and Lusatian deputies assembled in a united diet at Glatz. A solemn and formal compact was effected between the deputies present, and they bound themselves to each other to punish all peacebreakers, and to maintain the public tranquillity, and for the first time in nearly a century quiet reigned throughout the land. The impetus given to Bohemian self-assertion as mistress of her own mind between 1421 and 1434 was felt through the subsequent years, and secured at last this great and dignified position.

A crusading army gathered in Hungary in 1514, mutinied and plundered and murdered. With the aid of a strong Bohemian force order was restored. In 1515 Vladislav, his brother Sigismund king of Poland, and his son Ludwig, crowned king of Bohemia, were received at Vienna by Maximilian and a splendid demonstration in their honor. Here young Ludwig by formal decree was invested with the dignity of an imperial prince; and named Stattholder of the Roman empire. Vladislav enjoyed these honors but a few months. He was seized with a fatal illness at Ofen and died on the 13th of March, 1516. Without distinguished talents, or greatness of character, Vladislav was honorable and prudent. He recognized the conditions prevailing among his subjects and wisely accommodated himself to them.

Vladislav was succeeded by his only son Ludwig, already crowned king. By the will of the deceased sovereign three guardians had been appointed for his son, namely Thomas, archbishop of Gran, George Margraf of Brandenburg Anspach, and John Bornemesse a nobleman of Hungary. By these men the boy

was neglected, amused with frivolous shows, and brought up in indolence. Soon after his accession a demand for the full possession of the royal power was forwarded to Bohemia. The estates replied that no king should ever reign in Bohemia until he had on oath confirmed the liberties and rights of the kingdom. The next diet exercised great influence in composing the contentions between the nobles and the cities; and took active measures to subdue the robber chiefs who had fortified themeslves in different places. At this conjuncture—1519—Maximilian I. died; and as the young king had only reached his thirteenth year he could not take part in the election. Intrigues soon developed to control the vote of Bohemia by the appointment of a guardian for the king. This position was coveted by the king of Poland for his own purposes. Finally Charles of Spain was elected. The growing discontent of the people at length compelled Ludwig and his advisers to yield; and he returned with his court to Bohemia, where he had long been a stranger. He engaged, however, formally to confirm the rights of the kingdom in person, as his father had promised for him at his coronation. The coronation of the young queen was performed in 1522 the king himself placing the emblem of royalty on her head. No personal associations or friendly ties, however, had bound the king to his subjects of any rank. He soon quarreled with his nobles; and as his wishes were not complied with he again quitted the kingdom and appointed Karl of Munsterberg, grandson of King George, stattholder of the kingdom. Ludwig's quarrel with the nobles recommended him to the citizens. He united the old and new town of Prague and gave the inhabitants many

proofs of his friendliness to them. The poverty of the crown may be understood from the fact that many of the royal demesnes still stood mortgaged for large sums; and even the personal property of the sovereign had been pledged. In these circumstances it was easy to issue orders for these debts to be paid and troops raised to meet the increasingly menacing advance of the Turks. Long contentions and disasters persistently provoked by outside interests had produced want where native energy had but recently created abundance.

Again in the absence of her sovereign, and in the decadence of the government, Bohemia felt the first breath of another and still more dreadful cyclone of religious contentions. The country still felt the fitful blasts of the doctrinal gales that whirled and eddied, in broken gusts through the country. The "signs of the times," and the tokens of religio-meteorological convulsions raised an ominous storm signal before many minds; and their prognostications of coming tempests were speedily verified. Bohemia was then replete with religious sects, all of whom had totally repudiated the right of Rome to interfere with them, much less to coerce their consciences. Bohemia had ceased to be a catholic country. The zeal of her missionaries had repeated her claims to mental freedom in all surrounding lands; and the basis of her demands, both doctrinal and national, had for a century been perfectly understood and acquired wide-spread sympathy. The rights obtained by the Bohemians largely filled the hopes of the peasants and commercial classes in Europe. For these rights they had struggled by peasant wars and otherwise for five centuries; and the time was not only ripe, but was in

Bohemia the harvest time long and earnestly struggled and prayed for. The very crusades against Bohemia had sounded her doctrines, and her ancient constitution in every hamlet in Europe, and time had been afforded to thoroughly examine them. In this condition of preparation for a still more extensive and complete re-assertion of rights that had gradually been undermined, and broken up, and of religious and social principles that had organized churches and communities during many centuries,—as men claimed in continuation of the first systems of Christian belief and life, new tidings reached Germany and Bohemia that another, and to all appearance still mightier, advocate than Hus had arisen who caused to resound with a thousand-fold louder tone the welcome and now familiar cry of a reform in doctrine and conduct in the church.

Hardly had King Ludwig retired from Prague in 1523 when Zawel Czahera a native of Saaz, and an auditor of Luther at Wittenberg, arrived with some of the Saxon controversalist's books. Property of this kind—books of any kind—had long been objects of hostility in Bohemia, and since the death of King George had been destroyed wherever they fell into the hands of the Rosenberg partizans. Czahera was a priest and preacher at the Tyn church; and at once commingled the Saxon reformer's earnest principles with his sermons. At once a sensation was created. The dormant controversial spirit awoke. As many new religious divisions arose again as there were preachers, and these were many. The new phase of religious faith had much in common with those already established in every hamlet, and still presented some novel features. Great indeed was the astonish-

ment that so mighty a reform should be announced from Germany—a land whence had issued for centuries from priests and nobles the most formidable and persistent hostility to all changes in church doctrine or discipline. But when Germany did revolt against what she now denounced as delusions she revolted grandly. When Germany is united she is magnificent. She has learned to beware of the dividing wedge of ecclesiastical intrusiveness. The old restiveness was revived in Prague. Dissensions chiefly of words again filled the city. Some of the most zealous partizans were banished, to spread their denunciations still more widely. The utraquists assembled in the Carolinum and selected Zawel Czahera as director. The utraquists being the stronger party overcame the catholics, who complained to the king. Ludwig dispatched a deputation to quiet matters. The estates assembled; money and troops were demanded against the Turks; the estates resisted. Then bishop Thurzo, one of the deputation in open session opened the king's written message, which had hitherto been concealed, and read it requiring that in future only catholics and utraquists should be endured in the kingdom; that all other sects, such as Picards, (Beghards,) Bohemian brothers, and adherents of Luther must be banished from the city of Prague. This most illegal and tyrannical declaration, which certainly did not originate with the sovereign, at once created an uproar. Czahera declaimed more earnestly than before. Many of the Picards were imprisoned, and branded with red hot iron; several were burned, and thousands banished from the kingdom. This persecution chiefly affected the poor. The rich readily combined; and the cruel order was revoked.

During these commotions the Turkish woe desolated Hungary. With a clamorous appeal the king sought aid from the kingdom he was at that moment engaged in oppressing and depopulating. A diet was summoned and aid most scantily furnished. Even such auxiliaries as were assembled followed the flag of individual nobles, and on this occasion most reluctantly. Counsels in the christian camp were divided; the spirit of Europe was cowed by repeated disasters arising from continuous internal quarrels. On the fatal field of Mohacz, the christian army after dreadful slaughter fled in utter rout; and King Ludwig died miserably in the mud of a stream where his horse fell over him in attempting to ascend the bank. August 29, 1526. On that direful day Hungary was laid prostrate. The furious Turks slaughtered the fleeing wretches, but the flash of their scimitars did not even yet reflect to the blinded eyes of Europe the glare of putrescence which arose from the baleful light of her bigotry.

At the opening of the reformation in the sixteenth century the religious condition of Bohemia has been fully described by the distinguished scholar, Erasmus of Rotterdam—a reformer in spirit but not in practice. "The kingdom of Bohemia," he says, "and the margravate of Moravia are divided into three principal religions. The first is the catholic. To this belong the greater portion of the chief nobles; one royal city, and the monasteries of different orders which once were very rich, but have been for some time destroyed, or their property taken from them. The second religious union consists of those who celebrate the holy communion under both kinds. To these belong only a few of the nobles, the greater part of the knightly

order, and about thirty of the cities of the kingdom. These observe all the sacraments of the church, and comply with all ceremonies and usages of the Roman church from which they differ only in celebration of the holy supper under both kinds, and that they chant the epistle and gospel in the mass in the national language. They affirm that the council of Basle permitted these two principles, and the force of the compact has confirmed them. They hold firmly to these two church usages. They teach further that by participation in the one kind—the bread in the holy supper, they receive one grace, and by participation in the other kind—the wine—they receive another grace from God, besides that received under both kinds. The third religious party in Bohemia are the Picards. This title they have received from a refugee from Picardy who formerly instructed Ziska and his soldiers in his doctrine. Under the reign of King Vladislav this party became very strong during the time that the king was absent in Hungary and concerned himself but little with what the Bohemians did if only they kept quiet. These people hold the pope, the cardinals, bishops and other spirituals to be only miserable antichrists. The pope assails them with the most abominable names and rejects all their teachers, principles, ordinances, interpretations, and statutes. They elect bishops and priests for themselves who are chiefly rude, unlearned and depraved people. They address each other as brothers and sisters. The Bible alone has with them power and authority. They reject as well the old as the new learning, and despise their books and teachers. Their religious meetings are conducted without vestments. Their only prayer is the Pater Noster with which they consecrate their sour

bread. They hold almost none of the sacraments of the church. They devote themselves to their own community without any infant baptism, and make use of neither holy water nor salt. They reject holy unction. They believe that in the holy sacrament of the altar there is nothing divine but simple bread and wine; therefore they hold it to be idolatrous to kneel before them. Invocation of saints and prayers for the dead, likewise auricular confession, and penance imposed by priests, are with them idle and ridiculous things. Wakes and fasts they pronounce a cloak of hypocrisy. Purgatory they hold to be an idle invention. However, they observe Sunday, Easter, Witsuntide, and Christmas. It would be tedious to relate all their errors. When the first two communities united, men could not with the king's help combine opinions so as to overpower or separate this third party." The title Picards, or Beghards, was only a contemptuous epithet applied to the Bohemian brethren. This congregation was formed from very many small branches existing in various towns who were gradually united when the suitable mind appeared to organize them. These communities had produced, long previous to the year 1500, many distinguished teachers. Many of the chief nobles accepted their principles. One of the most distinguished of these reformers and educators—Martha of Boskowitz, a very eminent lady, and principal of a flourishing school for the daughters of the nobility, long continued one of their foremost defenders.

During the period intervening between 1460 and 1520 classical literature, and all the scholarship of the day, were brilliantly cultivated, and many eminent scholars adorned the chairs of the Carolinum. The

art of printing was introduced. In 1476 quarto volumes were produced at Pilsen. Among others the "Statuta Provincialia Ernesti." In 1478 and 1483 the records of the diet were printed. In 1487 a Psalter; and in 1488 an entire Bible and many other works in the Bohemian speech appeared at Prague. In 1489 another complete Bible in Bohemian was published. Architecture also can boast of a distinguished pupil —Benesch von Laun. He built for king Vladislav the palace known as the Spanish Hall, completed in 1502; and many other structures.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DECADENCE OF BOHEMIA.

In the same year—1526—assembled a very numerous diet at Prague. After earnest debates a committee of twenty-four was appointed to report the selection of the future ruler. The choice fell on Ferdinand, archduke of Austria. This prince acknowledged the favor thus conferred upon him in three important respects. He thanked the estates; and returned his solemn promise to defend the Bohemian kingdom, Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia, against all assaults; to maintain the privileges and liberties of the kingdom and the compact, and to govern according to them; to defend the castle of Carlstein and the regalia and treasures therein; and to permit no part thereof to be removed from the country; not to select foreigners for official station; to restore a good coinage; and rebuild the defenses. Likewise he promised to confirm the charters of King Vladislav, to govern the kingdom according to the laws and usages of the kings, his predecessors and especially Charles IV.; and finally to reside in his capital city of Prague. Ferdinand formally visited his dominions, introduced improvements, and immediately proceeded to Vienna. Here he negotiated with John Zapolya, chief of the "Seven cities" league, who aspired to the crown of Hungary. This reformatory movement included five cities and twelve towns all combined in favor of Lu-

ther's reformation. Ferdinand was enabled adroitly to obtain diplomatic aid from Solyman to resist the pretensions of Zapolya. The Turk besieged Vienna; and Bohemian troops were found both among the assailants and defenders. During these occurrences new religious discussions created animated movements at Prague. Czahera the administrator of the utraquists adopted more comprehensive principles of reform. He exhorted the monks, to lay aside their vestments, betake themselves to useful trades, and take nuns for wives. Luther himself wrote to the estates advising them to convene in regular diet, and expounded his doctrines. These letters were at once distributed and much excitement ensued. Ferdinand hearing of these demonstrations at once ordered that only catholics and utraquists, the parties specifically named in the Compact, should reside in Prague. The king came in person to Bohemia; held a diet at Budweis, banished Czahera from the country; dismissed many of the city council; separated the jurisdiction of the old and new town that had been united under Vladislav; appointed new councilors in both; and issued a decree that who ever should combine these two jurisdictions or propose to do so should lose his property, his rank and his life. Ferdinand, however, confirmed all the former privileges of the old town—the catholic quarter, and retired to Germany. Next year—1531, he was elected emperor at Cologne. Great assistance in men and still greater in treasure was forwarded for the war against the Turks; but Ferdinand demanded all the cannon—in number 234,—that the lords Rosenberg possessed. The latter excused themselves saying it was not advisable to disarm the entire kingdom. In 1534 the sect of anabaptists arrived in Bohemia; they

attracted attention from their skill in medicine and surgery. But they were utterly banished. Next year, 1535, came a new attack of the plague, when the skill of the anabaptists, and the system of ablution which they countenanced, probably would have rendered material aid. Thousands died miserably. None of the magistrates of Prague or of the clergy understood the value of cleanliness. The city was filthy, and the people died in consequence. During the same year a Bohemian army kept the field against the Turks. Of these again thousands lost their lives in every encounter. Thus by banishment, the plague and the sword of the stranger was Bohemia sorely depopulated. The nation reeled under the three fold oppression. While others fled before the Turks the men of Bohemia and Silesia, disdaining to flee, were cut down in their ranks. Still in the following year, 1538, the king demanded troops; but was plainly informed that Bohemian soldiers always obeyed Bohemian commanders. Ferdinand consented and several distinguished officers took the field. But the relentless oppressions practiced against the reformers of all ranks already drove many hundreds into exile, chiefly into Poland, a land of a kindred nationality. These defections created uneasiness; and the king issued an order to confiscate ten per cent of the property of all persons who should quit the country. As the voluntary exiles suffered great losses on removal, and the calculation of the ten per cent was vested in the king's officers, the spoliation was dreadful; yet thousands abandoned the land of their birth and of their pride. The utraquists summoned a convocation in the Carolinum; and loudly demanded the preservation of the religious peace already established. The year

following the king held a diet in Prague; made arrangements for the maintenance of the Turkish war, and speedily returned to Vienna. The year 1541 beheld Prague laid waste by a dreadful conflagration; but as hygienic purification by fire was the only method known the results on the health of the city, as in London a century later, were probably beneficial. Again a diet was summoned and the question of troops earnestly debated. Evidently Bohemia had become from a kingdom merely a recruiting ground for troops to be slaughtered in quarrels not of her own choosing, and wholly for the maintenance of an alien and ambitious dynasty. The same year a multitude of Jews who had fled before the Turks were summarily banished. They retired to Poland, and were systematically assailed and robbed by armed bands on the highways. At that date the rate of interest on money was ten per cent. Hence many persons invested all their property in cash; and found the operation the most profitable. The estates in 1543 reduced the rate to six per cent. As the king continued absent the rule of the estates became practically that of a senate. This body adopted two locations for its sessions; one in Prague, and the other at Carlstein if the first should be again destroyed by fire. At this period the war against the Turks abroad, and the war against Satan at home became the sole objects of attention.* Ecclesiastical offenses and sins created constant complaint. As yet no printed volume of the laws existed; and as the king bestowed all his rewards abroad, the estates decided that the consistories must punish clerical delinquents and that the public law should be

* When the great comet appeared in the following century the supposed fateful trinity "The Devil, the Turk, and the Comet" was complete,

formally collected and printed in one book. Again the king convoked a diet, and made many promises. No foreigner must hold office; an archbishop must be named agreeable to catholics and utraquists. John of Hasenberg was chosen, a man brought up in the native language; the high school was improved; and its government brought into harmony with the general law.

Hitherto the progress of the reformation in Germany and many other countries had created no political difficulties in Bohemia further than intensifying the feelings of the Bohemians in favor of the newly repeated evangel. Individually many had suffered; but the kingdom in its general political constitution had remained intact. The period had now arrived when the dreamy substitution of sentiment for war, when war had been undertaken, was to create a revolution most disastrous, widespread, and long continued in its consequences. Since 1519 the reformed communities in Bohemia had corresponded with Luther and encouraged him. From him again they received new courage. That peculiar force known in modern language as personal magnetism had never been more signally exhibited by any man than by Martin Luther. It thrilled all within its reach, and that was nearly the extent of Europe. The league of Smalkald in 1531 had for a time united the protestant powers. Bohemia as a nation entertained a strong sympathy with this combination; and if prayers and wishes could have set aside natural laws and given physical victory to unmilitary neglect, the league must have triumphed. The uncertain temper, and the ambition of Maurice of Saxony indeed created an unhappy defection from the ranks of the league; but the substitution of prayers

for vigilance and discipline by the elector of Saxony himself inflicted a crushing disaster. The persistent efforts of Charles V. of Germany to crush the protestant power had always received the moral, and as far as possible the physical support of Ferdinand of Bohemia. The weak and exhausted condition of the latter kingdom had never been so conspicuous in times of peace as in the year 1546. The Turkish wars had drained the land of men and money. The population had greatly decreased. Government scarcely existed, and the sovereign only visited his capital to enforce fresh exactions. Antipathy to the prevailing religious sentiments of the people had thrown aside all mask, and Bohemia's sworn ruler had become the declared enemy of the will of his people. In fact Ferdinand formally bound himself to Charles V. at Regensburg, together with Maurice of Saxony and the Margraf of Meissen. To promote the purposes of this alliance the king summoned a diet at Prague, July 27th, and attended in person. Under his authoritative interposition the following articles were accepted: —Twelve in a thousand of the property of every district shall be assessed for raising an army at once; this force shall serve in the field as long as the Turks in Hungary, or any of the electors in Germany, shall continue military operations, and shall act for the defense of the kingdom and the allied states; one district chief, and one military commander shall control the forces of each district, all under one commander-in-chief; Sebastian von Weitmuhle was named field-marshal. The proprietor of each four thousand shock of property shall supply one cavalry man and four infantry men with full equipment; nobles and knights must serve in person; but each might substitute a

son, a brother or cousin; organization shall commence at once, and be ready completely when the necessity shall be perceived, to march either against the Turks or other enemies of the kingdom; the force shall be dispatched whithersoever the king, the stattholder or the chief berg-graf of Prague may decide. Maurice of Saxony was then in Prague; and the former alliance between Saxony and Bohemia was renewed and confirmed.

Scarcely had these arrangements been hurriedly completed when the estates received dispatches from John Frederic of Saxony wherein he reminded them of the reasons of his contention with the emperor, and besought them to remember the ancient compact and alliance, and to uphold it as it had been confirmed and sworn to at Eger in 1459 between the house of Saxony and the Bohemian estates, that the Saxons and Bohemians might not only live in strong friendship with each other, but also stand together against the common enemy. This dispatch was openly read in the diet. The estates replied that they could not perceive how they could disobey the emperor as they had made a treaty with him. They also declined the offer of the monastery of Dobroluk in Lusatia, and requested its withdrawal. The elector knowing the real feelings of the Bohemians replied that the emperor Charles V. had determined to root out the evangelical religion; for which purpose he waged the present war, and to banish it first from Germany and at last from Bohemia; he besought them once more to maintain their inheritance, or at least not undertake any measures against his subjects their brothers and fellow believers. As to the monastery of Dobroluk he had taken possession of it when King Ferdinand had

seized the monastery of Grunhain. He spoke also with little respect of Charles and Ferdinand against whom he endeavored to incite the Bohemians.

The king affixed his proclamation of war against the allied electors, and Philip of Hesse throughout Prague in the Bohemian language. He also appended another declaration that all alliances between these electors and the emperor were now void; and at the same time he forbade all Bohemian nobles, lords, knights and burghers to extend to these electors any assistance in provisions or supplies; and declared that those who should disobey this order must suffer death. Soon thereafter another peremptory order required all the troops provided for by the estates to be ready to march under Sebastian von Weitmuhle. Two thousand horse and four thousand foot were required instantly to follow his own standard. The entire country was at once in commotion. The troops assembled first at their district headquarters, and then marched to the council chambers. The king's own followers marched to Prague, some hussars, some footmen, the greater number Hungarians with eight lumbering cannon, each drawn by forty horses. As soon as all had assembled the commander-in-chief directed the march toward Germany. Instantly the Bohemian contingent was in an uproar. They insisted that they were enrolled to defend the country, and not to pass beyond the frontier; the diet had never consented or agreed that they should go beyond; they now perceived that they were intended to wage war with the elector John Frederic of Saxony; they referred to the old alliance with Saxony, declared that these undertakings were proposed for an unnecessary war, and that the electors were grievously wronged; and finally that they felt

no inclination to fight with their fellow believers who received the holy supper under both kinds.

Intelligence of this refusal reached the king at Ohren; and his rage grew deep. Instantly officers were dispatched to Prague to bring the troops to another mind. The hope was felt that if the men of Prague could be induced to march the others as usual would follow. By repeated and threatening orders the men of Prague and some others took the field; the others retired to their homes. As soon as this contingent reached Germany Weitmuhle issued his proclamation in the name of Ferdinand and the crown of Bohemia declaring war against the elector's dominions The seizure of Dobroluk, the attempt to create disaffection in the estates, the violation of old treaties between Bohemia and Saxony were assigned as reasons. The elector's troops were attacked—many slain at Adorf and Delsnitz where two thousand fell in the streets. Believing that these services were sufficient the troops clamored for their return, and resolved to keep the field only one other month. A few more towns were taken, Zwickau, Schneeberg, Altenberg, Torgau and a few more, and then the army retired to Bohemia. Ferdinand's wrath against the recusants now found expression in the most truculent orders. Many of the commanding officers of the contingent that had refused to march were imprisoned and condemned to death; some were beheaded, of whom a noted person bore the ominous name Tabor. Many others whose contingent had failed to arrive were thrown into prison. Bohemia was not only prostrate but in the uncontrolled power of her most cruel and relentless enemies, as soon as they chose to crush her. Ferdinand well understood the exhausted condition of

the country, her want of allies, the combination of her foes, the depletion of her treasury by his own exactions, and the divisions among her friends. He was a man of vigorous mould, and stern stoical character; and he displayed to an exaggerated degree the peculiar personal features of the Habsburg family. His unusually thick lips obtained for him the title Hubachek; and he prided himself on his unyielding temper. Animated by his education and surroundings by the most violent hatred of all reform movements he lent his brother Charles V. the most zealous and unscrupulous assistance in all the most violently repressive efforts against the recalcitrant preachers and princes of the empire. Herein Charles and Ferdinand laid the foundation of that retroactive system which has been felt with most consuming and crushing power in their own dominions ever since. By the arbitrary system they adopted all elasticity and independence of mind were annihilated for ages in their provinces, and these have necessarily sunk under the force which destroyed the best elements in their people. In 1547 furious and irritated bigotry held high carnival in Bohemia. The king's first measure indicated his full knowledge of his kingdom's prostration. He issued a peremptory order for a general enrollment without any appeal to the estates and solely on his own authority. The imperial policy to annihilate municipalities and national councils found its first application in Bohemia. The king's proceedings were utterly subversive of the fundamental law and constitution of the kingdom, which no king had ever dared to assail, and Ferdinand himself had solemnly sworn to maintain. His acceptance of the offer of the crown was accompanied with the following pledge among

many others similar. "We likewise promise to keep, observe, and effectively to protect without hindrance, and opposition from any person whomsoever, the kingdom of Bohemia, all barons, knights, the cities of Prague and others, and the whole population of that kingdom according to the laws, ordinances, privileges, liberties, immunities and donations of the kingdom and all other anciently kept good usages, and especially those of King Otakar of divine memory, King John, the emperor Charles, King Wenceslaus, the emperor Sigismund, King Albert, King Ladislaus, King George, King Vladislaus, and all rescripts issued by them, and maintained until their death."*

The king's order was distributed through every district and in every city, and declared; "The aforesaid elector of Saxony, John Frederic, will subdue Bohemia, and the territories of Duke Maurice of Saxony and Meissen; he has already seized the monastery of Dobroluk and the districts of Insterwald and Sonnewald. The estates of lower Lusatia as adjuncts of the crown of Bohemia desire protection, wherein the Bohemians are already guilty toward them, and also to Duke Maurice, the strength of the alliance between Saxony and Bohemia which was confirmed at the recent landtag. We as king of Hungary will personally lead into the field fourteen thousand men of our own subjects. The emperor, our brother, commands our aid. The men of Lusatia, Silesia, and Moravia are already in motion. The Bohemian army must also take the field. For this purpose must every retainer provide a man and horse, or three footmen for each thousand shock of property; and with them must each proprietor personally appear at Leitmeritz on the Monday

* Goldast App. Doc., p, 207.

of Paul's conversion and his men also with weapons, money, and other supplies for one month; and if it shall be necessary, shall remain another month, and take the field in person with them. Finally either we, the king or our son the archduke shall command in person. Whoever shall disobey this our order, shall, under the law of land tenure, lose his rank, his property and his life." January 12, 1547. This decree created the greatest commotion. Every law, principle and usage of the country was violated. The people of Prague although submissive in some matters were still Bohemians. They speedily assembled and formulated vigorous remonstrances. When their deputies appeared before the king he addressed them in heated language. In the genuine arbitrary spirit he exclaimed, "What we require is for your good, and you are guilty to act thus. And we say further that your estates are the cause of all the misfortunes which have happened during the war and which happen still. God will punish this disobedience." The deputies protested their innocence, saying they were not masters of other people's thoughts. The king replied, "We have told you our mind and we can give you no other decision. This is not the first time you have exhibited this disobedience toward us." The deputies drew up a circumstantial statement showing the reasons why they could not carry out the order. "First because this levy must have the sanction and confirmation of the estates." The king replied, "You have seen the letters from the estates of Lusatja that there is an actual danger which demands speedy assistance. The time is also so short that we could hardly call a diet or we would do it. You are all bound by the land law to aid the crown when it is assailed. We

remind you also of the oath by which you are bound to obey our command and with us or our son to take the field. We also hope that you will show your selves to be true vassals to us and the public by earnest proofs of obedience. Reflect within yourselves that we have taken our position within our own states. You will not escape from us. You are also chief over the other cities, and you are the citizen order, and will be an example to others." The king also declared that they must take the consequences of the course they adopted. The Bohemians at this serious conjuncture lost a constant friend by the death of the queen who had always been their advocate with her husband. This princess was daughter of King Vladislav and sister of Ludwig, and by personal intervention shielded many of her countrymen from the fury of her husband. Ferdinand published an announcement of the death of his queen and at the same time renewed his recent orders. The people of Bohemia regarded these proceedings only as deliberate assaults on their privileges and their liberties. They commissioned some of the magistrates of Prague to present a remonstrance wherein they set forth their objections to the king's unusual orders. I. Because they were required to obey at the peril of their lives and under all circumstances; and by so doing it might happen that friends, brothers and fathers would be brought into mortal strife with them. II. As soon as they passed the borders they must abandon their wives and children to the probable fury of the Turks. III. They rejected the recent treaty with the duke Maurice of Saxony, and could only recognize the old treaty with the Saxon house. IV. They dreaded the heavy anger of God if they fought against the supporters of the elector

who received the holy supper under both kinds as the Bohemians did, and were their fellow believers and dear brothers. The king replied blandly that the elector John Frederic, did not wage war on account of religion, but solely for rebellion against the emperor; that only a few months previously by means of emissaries he had intrigued with the Turks to break the truce, to overrun Hungary and at the same time assail Bohemia from another quarter. A few days subsequently he summoned the burgomaster and council of the city of Prague before him, and entrusted his daughter, the archduchess, to their protection during the campaign; and these matters disposed of, he rode off to the army at Leitmeritz with the archduke Ferdinand. Soon after his arrival the king made the same requisition for troops on this place, and demanded the number of men they could supply to complete their complement. The council replied as those of Prague had done; and requested the king to assemble the diet. They expressed their willingness to comply with his requests when the proceedings corresponded with the ancient usages and constitution, and were not contrary to the fundamental law of the land. The decree of the 12th of January was not only in violation of the statutes and customs but subversive of the liberties and rights of the kingdom. The king at once summoned the remonstrants before him at the city hall, and declared that the time was too short to convene a diet and engage in lengthy debates and prolix discussions; he had promised assistance to duke Maurice. The latter was encamped only four miles from his enemies, and expected speedy assistance. He besought them not to abandon them this time, and compel him to violate his kingly honor, and if he must

do that he could not show his face again. He promised them to abolish, recall and abrogate the decree of the 12th of January. He pledged himself that he would confirm to them a solemn assurance that for the future no disadvantage should arise, or assault against their liberties; and he would answer for it that they should not undertake this campaign as a duty but as voluntary service to their king. Finally he presented to the assembled estates of Leitmeritz the following ultimatum. Every lord, knight and city must be individually free, either to march into the field with the king or not to march; if they do so they must do it voluntarily and without compulsion, not in order to aid Duke Maurice, not because the king by the decree of January 12th had ordered it, not to maintain the alliance with Duke Maurice, but simply to undertake this campaign and face danger for the king personally.

Hereupon they consented to take the field; but the expedition would probably require a contribution of twelve in the thousand. This promise was not absolutely made. They agreed, however, to induce general consent of the kingdom to this agreement. The king thanked them and forthwith proceeded to Dresden.

During the course of these last events a strong and resolute combination had been formed of all parties at Prague. The commons of the old and new city assembled in the Carolinum and solemnly pledged themselves to maintain with property and life,—"Gut und Blut"—their rights, liberties, privileges and ancient customs and statutes, namely those that had been confirmed by emperors and kings, and recently by King Ferdinand. At the same moment another assembly

of deputies from another district, consisting of lords and knights had also assembled in the house of Bohus Kostka of Postupicz, and after some earnest debate these persons proceeded with devout songs and prayers to the Carolinum. The articles of union already proposed were read to them; and when they perceived that the king was not attacked they agreed to join the confederation. After a formal union had been agreed on an address to the king was prepared. They earnestly requested him to assemble the diet at Prague and to decide on the serious matter of a campaign with the consent of the estates. They also pledged themselves, if the king should refuse, to assemble of themselves and consider the subject.

The day following they again assembled, again pledged themselves to each other, and especially engaged each to the other, to defend themselves with property and life and resist the decree of the 12th of January.* They then marched in formal procession with bare heads, and singing devoutly, to the Tynkirche, listened to a sermon from John Mystopul, then the chief minister of the utraquists, who exhorted them in the present emergency and confirmed their courage. They were all men of the cup, and for this reason especially adverse to make war on the elector of Saxony or his followers. At this time a report spread that Ferdinand proposed at the end of the campaign to overwhelm Prague with an immense army, and not leave one stone of the city on another, so that men

* Let the reader compare these proceedings with others that transpired on and about a certain 4th of July and say whether the one was not the lineal forerunner of the other. Bohemia appealed to her ancient common law and her inherited rights as America also did. Neither asserted any new principle. Bohemia was and is the most consistent assertor of constitutional civil liberty that the world has ever seen. But her story has been hidden for bad purposes.

should hardly point out the site of the city. Great was the alarm. The estates assembled and besought the king to contradict the report. They did not believe that they had disobeyed his orders; but the rumor provoked disorder. The king who was at that moment at Aussig referred them to his statements at Leitmeritz, reminded them of all that had transpired there, and that it was important that his instructions should be obeyed. Eight days after Easter, he said, he would hold a diet at Prague, and expected all the property holders to appear there. In the meantime he besought them to meet and do something. In another letter he assured them that all these reports were groundless, and that they should not be troubled by them. He reminded them that they continually permitted all kinds of satirical writings and songs against the emperor and himself to be openly printed and sold. At the same time he summoned a diet for Monday called Quasimodo. The estates were pacified by the promise of a diet and had assembled to correct the misunderstanding when another dispatch was received from John Frederic in which he renewed the old alliance between Bohemia and Saxony, appealed to them as fellow believers with himself and his adherents, declared that they constituted his chief hope; he sought their friendship and asked them to remain at peace with him and his dominions. Before an answer was received to this dispatch the elector attacked and defeated Albert of Brandenburg who had advanced to the aid of Maurice. Ferdinand, who was then at Ohren, felt disconcerted at these tidings and became apprehensive that the victory would slip from him, and that the elector would invade Bohemia. He therefore ordered the Bohemian estates to place them-

selves under arms at once, and march under Weitmuhle's orders. This officer with what troops he could muster advanced to Schlagenwerth expecting an attack in that direction. He also wrote to the king and the estates to forward supplies to Eger where he expected the emperor and Maurice to join him, and promised that all should be paid for. This notice was published through the kingdom The estates paid little heed to these orders. On the contrary, they assembled as usual in the Carolinum. The king's letter and Weitmuhle's were read, and also the edict of January 12. But as the king had summoned a diet for a week after Easter they selected a hundred persons from the three estates to draw up articles to be submitted on that occasion. During these debates a dispatch arrived from the elector stating his success at Rochliss. He assured them of his constant friendship, and his resolve to punish all invaders of his dominions likewise. He asked their aid against the same enemies who would injure or entirely destroy their ancient liberties. Finally he reiterated his devotion to the ancient alliance. They replied that they desired a renewal of the alliance; and as they were informed that his people meditated an irruption into Bohemia, they besought him to prevent it as it might injure the long established union between them. They also besought a prompt explanation of all seeming injuries on both sides. To Weitmuhle they wrote that they had no reason to make war on the elector's supporters; that his commission from the estates had long expired; and that he should keep quiet and relinquish all thoughts of war. Immediately afterward they were formally notified by the elector's officers that Joachimsthal was formally surrendered to their jurisdiction.

On a full review of the situation the estates became convinced that the defenses of the country must be strengthened. They therefore disregarded all preparations but for their immediate safety. They printed and distributed a peremptory order for a general levy of troops to be commanded by their own officers, and appealed to the patriotism of the people to defend their native land, their wives, children, and property against a hostile invasion which they had good reason to expect. Precise orders were issued for the enrollment and organization of the army, and the terms of service, with the contingent required for each man's property. Four nobles, four knights and the magistrates of Prague were constituted a commission to perfect these arrangements. Commanding officers were named, and the proportions of horse and foot, and the distribution of arms and pay were definitely determined. March 23, 1547.

In the meantime Maurice and Augustus of Saxony with seven thousand men had advanced to Brüx. This fortress so coveted and relied on by Otakar, as "the eye of Bohemia," had long formed the advanced frontier post on that side. The news that Maurice had seized this place created alarm at Prague. They fully understood the hostility of the proceeding and they at once put the troops in motion, with a view to instant concentration. They also wrote to the king expressing their surprise at this invasion by hostile forces of which he had not notified them; besought him to order Maurice to retire, and discontinue his violent assault on them. During these and the subsequent negotiations Ferdinand exhibited a depth and ferocity of craft, duplicity and treachery which none of his previous proceedings had even approached. Hitherto he had sworn to

the legal requirements of the established laws and constitution as his predecessors had done. Symptoms of strong impatience had indeed shown themselves; but his course was direct and explicit. But at this period he was evidently inspired by deeper, darker, more subtle, and more unscrupulous spirits than himself. The imperial camp had been recently rendered the focus of deceit, craft, hypocrisy and dissimulation hiding the most ferocious designs. The report that had already reached Prague of an intention to overwhelm the city had its foundation in proposals and threats made in Ferdinand's camp from the moment the Spaniards arrived. These men brought with them the representatives of a deeper, more torturous and more vindictive policy than had hitherto been practised in Germany.

The estates posted troops in Prague, issued orders to the other strong places and prepared for resistance. They even notified Ferdinand's daughter still in the citadel not to be alarmed at the presence of armed men. Ferdinand replied that he had marched into Bohemia in order to meet his allies. His intention was to defeat the duke of Saxony who had seized Joachimstahl and Presnitz, and had endeavored also to alienate the inhabitants from their oaths of fidelity. Duke Augustus also replied that he came as a friend and not as an enemy, and proposed to lend them assistance. The estates were duped into false confidence by this duplicity. They believed that their religion and liberties had received the support of these professors of their own faith. This was the second base use made of Maurice and his adherents. The estates were the more confirmed in their delusions by a dispatch from Caspar Pflug, to the effect that the em-

peror with twenty thousand men chiefly Spaniards had advanced to Eger, and would speedily reach Prague; and he requested reinforcements of men, precise orders, and money. Prague was in arms forthwith and the districts were required to forward their contingents by the day after Palm Sunday to defend the country against its enemies. Clearly Caspar Pflug was a useless person. In fact Bohemia at that moment possessed no leader, and her constitutional methods obstructed her efforts. The estates isssued a proclamation wherein they declared:—"We, the established authorities of the kingdom of Bohemia, and we, the burgomaster, council and commons of all three estates of Prague, do issue these presents for the information and instruction of all who have at heart the honor of God and of the kingdom of Bohemia and the true liberties of the same. We are fully convinced through the letters of credible persons, and through verbal reports, that a great peril confronts this kingdom, and danger to our wives, children and property as well as the greatest disasters to the proprietors, inhabitants, and possessions of this country. Let every man who has the privilege to render knight's service, according to his strict obligation, to himself, to the kingdom of Bohemia, our lives and our fatherland at once vigorously resist the violence of the enemy, and defend the realm against those who have unjustly attacked the kingdom and its inhabitants with violence not only to destroy our lives but to rob us of our enjoyments and our property. Let every man of our adherents present himself at the public hall of his city at the nineteenth hour of this current day, and be enrolled by name, in order that every man so enrolled shall have his pay fixed and receive his present allowance." Pas-

sionate appeals of this description may be well on occasion; but they cannot assume the place of organization and guidance; apples cannot grow without trees. The estates also wrote to Caspar Pflug that they had ordered levies to march to him with all speed, and that he should take the field on the following Palm Monday. But in the meantime, during the latter part of March and while Bohemia vexed her soul over an enemy not yet openly declared, King Ferdinand, Maurice and Augustus had joined the emperor with their troops at Eger. On his march the king heard of the proceedings at Prague; and at Brüx he forwarded a dispatch to the magistrates of Prague stating that they incurred useless expense when they enlisted men for the defense of the kingdom. Joachimstahl had been already recovered, and there was not an enemy in all the country; but he marched by way of Eger in order to join his brother against the elector of Saxony. A dispatch to the same tenor was sent by Ferdinand from Commotau to all the districts of the kingdom. From Luditz he wrote again to the magistrates declaring that their precaution in garrisoning the castle of Prague, in summoning the country for public defense, and enrolling troops was wholly superfluous as no enemies were present, he hoped that all persons who supported him and the emperor would present themselves at Eger within three days; and there the emperor would give proof that his army intended to act not against Bohemia but against the elector. The king also requested and earnestly required them to lay aside all weapons, and quietly to await his arrival at Prague. In order to more fully convince the people of Prague he sent to them the chief burgomaster, Wolf Kragirz of Krageh, and the chief steward of the

palace, Vladislav Berka of Duba, with a dispatch to confirm the confidence of the people in the statements of these emissaries. On their arrival these persons invited the magistrates before them and assured them that the king entertained no purposes whatever against their liberties; and they should remain quiet and lay aside their weapons.

The estates could not be thus adroitly pacified. The magistrates replied in the name of the whole body, that they had taken up arms for the following reasons: —I. Because the estates had been informed on credible authority that persons purposed to destroy the kingdom of Bohemia and root out the Bohemian language, and that these tidings were confirmed by repeated threats heard uttered as well in the royal as in the imperial residence. II. Because neither the king nor the burg-graf were compelled to remain in the country to defend the crown, they had of themselves enrolled an army and elected a commander from among themselves; and these orders had been issued first to defend the archduchess who was in their care in the fortress of Prague from all mischance, and second to protect the kingdom from the violence of hostile forces who had broken into the country without any notice. They assured them, moreover, that they entertained not the least thought against the king nor his lords. The existing excitement they could neither remove nor prevent; and they besought his majesty to dissuade the emperor from shedding christian blood, and to withdraw, the sooner the better, to the capital of his own dominions. April 4th, 1547.

At this juncture the estates received another dispatch from the elector. They had written to him that the old alliance was no longer observed but that they

desired its renewal. He made them the proposition to send deputies to Joachimstahl where they would find persons authorized to renew their friendship and alliance. He also announced that a mob from Bohemia who adhered to the king had plundered his city of Zwickau, and they must punish the guilty by burning their houses and property in Bohemia. The deputies also replied that they would ever act with him according to their treaty, and would abide the former friendship as became good and honorable men, and that when the former alliance should be renewed, as now it was, they would gladly so act that similar mis adventures should not again arise; that in the meantime they were assembling troops from all sides, to defend the kingdom, and defeat the present inroad which they could not have foreseen, while at the same time they would observe the treaty with Saxony They had requested their king to dissuade the emperor from the present campaign; and when peace should be renewed he should not conclude a treaty independently of Bohemia. On the same day they also dispatched an imperative printed order through all the districts that all estates must instantly take up arms for the defense of the kingdom, of their liberties, and their native speech.

Charles V. had, during the period of these discussions, advanced with his army to Eger in order to effect a junction with the king and with Maurice. The emperor had already written to the Bohemians to furnish supplies to his army on its march and they would receive compensation therefor. As he understood that the Bohemians imagined that he had entertained designs against their religion and had taken the field for this reason, therefore he declared that he won-

dered they would believe such false reports as that he was at war with Bohemia; he assured them that his sole purpose was directed against the elector of Saxony in order to subdue his pride; their religion had nothing to apprehend, and during the entire war he had not molested any man on account of it; they should not permit any man to encourage their revolt, but should dismiss their troops to their homes, and remain quiet; they must furnish the necessary transportation for compensation; and non-compliance would be punished as criminal by his brother and himself. The same day the king wrote to the estates and districts of the kingdom as well as of Prague, stating that he was astonished they had placed troops in the field while he, their king and lord, had issued no order to that effect; that they should yield no further belief to such groundless and false reports and tales as their messages and dispatches indicated; he assured them that neither he nor his brother entertained any designs against the kingdom; his march was directed solely against the elector of Saxony; he besought them again and very earnestly to lay aside their weapons. The king added that whoever rushed into the contest against this advice must assume all the guilt, and should be punished for overt acts of disobedience.

Hereto the commissioners of the estates replied that they had not undertaken any hostile proceeding either against the emperor or his majesty their king, or against the kingdom of Bohemia. These assurances they held in full belief as true, and must continue to maintain them. Wherefore they besought the king at the same time to be assured that they would commit no act contrary to their obligation to their king and lord; that the troops were under arms

according to the natural right of all nations to defend their established rights from all violence from every man whosever should assail their government or unjustly assail them; they hoped that the disagreements between his majesty and the estates would be arranged at the coming diet; they besought his majesty to desist from the campaign against the elector of Saxony since a long established alliance existed between Bohemia and the Saxon house; this was one of the privileges of the crown and they should regret deeply that any man should ever be able to assert that his majesty of his own accord had committed any act in violation of it. The commisioners also wrote to all the estates of the kingdom to maintain the alliance with Saxony inviolable, as this union was one of the established rights of the crown of Bohemia, and their defense likewise; and that none of the neighboring nations should ever reproach them with faithlessness to their alliances which they contracted under semblance of honor.

They also replied to the emperor almost in the same terms as to the king, and respectfully requested him that as he was bound as head of christendom to spare christian blood, to be reconciled with the elector, and henceforth to wield his power and that of all christendom against the Turks and other such formidable enemies of their religion.

The emperor and his allies marched with great celerity from Eger; no halt was permitted, as they expected the elector to overpower Rochliss. The elector had disposed a portion of his troops toward Bohemia, and seized Ellbogen and Falkenau. This division acted under the command of William Thumshirn, and his purpose was to unite with the Bohemians and

block the emperor's march on that side. But the emperor penetrated the Voigtland, separated Thumshirn, who had spread his forces too widely, from the elector, by the seizure of Annaberg and Schneeberg, and continued his march unimpeded.

Pflug at this time wrote to the estates for reinforcements; he complained that his force was reduced to two thousand men; that the other forces encamped separately from him refused to render him obedience; that the elector's generals required him to join them and march against Annaberg. He also asked for instructions, and money as promptly as possible. The commissioners gave him the agreeable reply that the reinforcements were on their march and that money had been forwarded to him to Joachimstahl for the pay of the troops and expenses. But they issued no orders for junction with the elector's forces. He therefore marched to Kœnigswerth and held a conference with Thumshirn, assuring him that he was without orders and money and could do nothing. The elector's troops at once crossed the mountains.

At the date fixed the estates assembled for the appointed diet, and in numbers corresponding to the importance of the occasion. The king had promised to be present. The articles already half accepted would be confirmed; and all present hoped and perhaps expected that those lords who had not as yet joined the common cause would now enroll their names. They assembled in the Carolinum; but the officials asked where was the king? Some replied that he would not come; but that his commissioners were then on the way, and would arrive the day following. They appeared and in such number that the greater part were compelled to remain in the space in front of

the Schloss. On the desire of the commissioners the alliance between Bohemia and Saxony concluded under King George was read aloud; but the renewed alliance with Maurice could not be found. On the following day some landholders complained that the king had punished them because in the previous year they had refused to cross the frontier. The commissioners appeared. They were John, bishop of Olmütz; Wenzel of Ludawitz, chief recorder of Moravia, William Kuna of Kunestadt, George Ziapka of Limberg, Prczenko of Wiczkova, and Wenzel Tetauer of Letau. After they had exhibited their credentials they desired to be heard. They explained the reasons of the king's absence, and excused his non-appearance to the estates. They expressed the king's surprise that they desired to hold a diet while they held an army in the field and had formed a combination among themselves; they desired also in the king's name that the estates would disband their troops, and dissolve their alliances, so that the diet might be free; they declared also that in case of refusal they were themselves powerless to act further. The emperor himself conveyed an especial admonition to lay down their arms; and to extend true allegiance to the king their lord. The estates replied that neither their union nor their armament meant ought of wrong, and were directed only against invaders; and as to violation of the king's orders they pointed out to the burg-graf and the other lords that their offense was so gross that it consisted in assembling and proceeding together, singing and happy, to the Tynchurch, and there singing the Ambrose hymn. When the commissioners discovered that the estates would not comply with the king's desires they produced a letter wherein king Ferdinand requested

the magistrates to convey the archduchess his daughter to Insbruck with a guard of fifty horse. This request caused a sensation. At that moment they were in receipt of a request for instructions from their commander in chief; and they directed him not to cross the frontier and to notify the elector's officers not to pass into Bohemia.

Then they resolved to send a deputation to the king to explain to him the various reasons and justifying circumstances of their previous proceedings and undertakings. For this embassy two distinguished members of each order were selected. This embassy was instructed to make the following explanation. The Bohemian estates had from ancient times formed alliances for friendship and union among each other, whereof the documents and records had unfortunately been burned in the late fire. While it was well understood by the public that the present union of the states was not intended to injure or oppose the king so much as, once more, to resist invasion, so they had by divine guidance again renewed the old alliance, and deposited the document for record. As concerned the enrollment of troops, their ancestors had always broken the bones of all who had with hostile arms crossed the borders of Bohemia, and crushed all disorders which could be discovered contrary to the orders of their commanders; this ancient custom would now be followed by the estates who had not, however, the least design to injure the king or his lords. When the estates adjourned the diet to Friday after Ascension day, the ambassadors were required to bring back the king's decision at that time, and at the same time to request him to establish peace between the emperor and the elector, and

to dispatch his army against the Turks, these formidable enemies of christendom. Similar representations they were ordered to make to the emperor in person.

During these events in Prague the disunion of the protestant princes in Germany ruined the cause which the Bohemians zealously sacrificed themselves to promote. Charles V. in person commanded his troops, an event not common even in those victories attributed to the emperor. He was not present at Pavia where Francis I. surrendered his sword to Lannoy. He was not at Rome when the pope became his prisoner. He did not acquire renown against Solyman by any achievement of his own. Although at this period, and during several years previous he was sorely troubled and partially disabled by his old enemy the gout, yet the latent fire of his soul burned fiercely against the protestants whom he hated far more than he hated the Turks or the Algerians. During the present campaign Charles exhibited extraordinary energy; he was constantly in the saddle although one foot was supported by a cloth bandage instead of a stirrup. He rode round continually examining the discipline of his army, or exploring the country. Even during the utmost severity of the winter, when sentinels were frozen to death at their posts and frost-bitten noses and eyes and hands were common in both armies, the emperor was still active. Charles knew how to appeal also to the sentimental side of his soldiery; and the Spaniards were often edified on seeing through the tent door purposely left open the kneeling emperor at his devotions. He exhibited equal adroitness in secret intrigue. The protestant army at Ulm assembled 70,000 to 80,000 foot, 10,000 horse and 130 guns; but several of the most powerful princes had been overreached by the

emperor's diplomacy. Our friend Maurice of Saxony was, during the present momentous crisis, detached from the league, and even induced to betray his family and his faith by delusive promises of which both Charles and Ferdinand possessed abundant store. The weak union of the princes prevented action at the most favorable crisis. Had they attacked the emperor before his Spaniards arrived the result must have been different. The imperial army consisted of 35,000 foot and between 3,000 and 4,000 horse. But they were concentrated. Not only the defection of Maurice, but his assault on the elector's dominions compelled John Frederic to withdraw from his allies in order to defend his territories. This separation proved fatal. John Frederic stood alone against Spain and the empire. At that moment also his troops were much scattered; some in Bohemia, and some in Saxony, and he was far from being prepared for a conflict. In April 1547 John was at Meissen with about 6,000 foot and 2,000 or 3,000 horse. Hearing that the enemy approached he broke the bridge, and slowly retired along the right bank of the Elbe toward Wittenberg. Here and at Gotha and other strongholds he possessed means for protracted resistance. Charles strove to intercept his march and followed the course of the stream purposing to cross at Mühlberg. On the evening of April 23rd he was informed that the elector was in that town. He therefore halted on the opposite bank. At this point the Elbe is about 300 paces wide; and the bank held by the Saxons was much higher than the other where the ground was low, flat, and open, there being no cover except a small wood at some distance from the water. The Saxons had drawn the boat-bridge to their own side; and even ordinary diligence

and skill could have defied Charles even if much stronger than he was. On the morning of Sunday, April 24th, the low ground was covered with a thick fog. The imperial engineers early prepared pontoons and posted guns in the wood. These opened fire as soon as objects could be seen. The Saxons replied. John Frederic persuaded himself that only Maurice with a small body of men was his assailant. The Saxons manned their boats and moved them into the stream to prevent the enemy from crossing. The Spaniards waded in and their greatly superior numbers drove back the boats. The engineers, however, being still short of pontoons some Spaniards swam across with swords in their teeth, captured some boats and safely conveyed them across. A miller whose horses had been seized by the elector's people guided the imperialists to a ford, and the light cavalry, each carrying an infantry man behind him, safely passed before the Saxons understood their danger. On their side generalship was totally wanting. The emperor and the king of the Romans—Ferdinand—*our* Ferdinand—advanced to the river with their squadrons. Charles rode a dun Spanish horse and was enveloped in white armor, gilt, and crossed with a broad band of crimson taffeta. He wore a Dutch morion and carried a demi-lance in his hand. The troops of all arms crossed the river on the newly completed bridge, and Mühlberg was evacuated by the Saxons, who were immediately pursued. The duke of Alba, known afterward in the Netherlands, clad in white armor with long plumes floating down his back, commanded the manœuvres. The elector, whose apathy on that fatal day is inexplicable, had sent forward his main body in the early morning toward Torgau, and then went to

church to hear a sermon. His devotions finished he proceeded slowly in his carriage while his relentless enemies thundered in his immediate rear. Maurice hearing of the elector's movements sent a trumpet to summon him to surrender but John Frederic persisted in believing that only a few troops approached him. About four in the afternoon Alba overtook the Saxons; and the elector drew up the small body of troops he had on the edge of the wood of Lochau. After the first volley, and being enveloped by ten times their number they broke and fled and the field became at once an utter rout. The elector clad in black armor, striped with white, attempted to rally the fugitives; but he was promptly surrounded by hussars, wounded in the face, and forced to surrender his sword. The emperor and king of the Romans entered the wood where all was confusion, victors and vanquished intermingled. Here the duke of Alba reported the duke of Saxony a prisoner. The emperor commanded to bring him, and he was brought. The duke of Alba came on his right side and presented him. The elector alighted with difficulty, took off one glove and attempted to touch the emperor's hand, but Charles rejected the proffered courtesy. "Most mighty and most gracious emperor, I am your prisoner," spoke the elector. Charles replied, "Now you call me emperor; this is another name than you have given me in times past." From that moment the league of Smalkald was hopelessly broken. The emperor's motto "Quod in cælis sol in terra Cæsar est," became an established fact. Germany was broken up and crushed. The chiefs were captives led in triumph. The emperor was more than emperor. He was controlled by no law and impeded by no resistance. His temper, hitherto compelled

to dissemble and tolerate protestantism even in his camp, now exhibited all the cruelty and harshness which the Jesuits had instilled into a mind of itself sufficiently arrogant and pitiless. Charles used his power with the utmost severity and vindictiveness. He was remorseless and unforgiving to his opponents, crafty and faithless to his friends. Where Germany fell before one brother Bohemia was dashed to the earth still more violently before the other. The disaster at Mühlberg at once released Ferdinand, according to his ideas of the binding nature of oaths and promises in certain cases, from all restraints of power, all control of law, all oaths to subjects, and all fidelity to the most solemn obligations. His pent up fury became at once directed with concentrated venom against Bohemia now in her agony at his feet.

The announcement of this momentous intelligence was conveyed to the estates at Prague by Zbinko Berka of Duba, grand prior of the order of Malta, during the debates and before the embassy had yet started. King Ferdinand himself conveyed the tidings of this decisive victory to bishop John of Olmütz and the commissioners. The dispatch was openly read to the assembled estates, and the unexepcted announcement produced a profound sensation. Some members were incredulous and declared the statement to be mere artifice; others at once quitted Prague and retired to their domains. Some who had involuntarily joined the league openly rejoiced. The canons of the cathedral set all the bells ringing, and sounded their gladness loudly all the day. The peal of those bells tolled the death knell of Bohemia.

The changed condition of affairs a once altered the policy of the estates, if policy they could be said to

have. As the embassy had not yet begun their journey some additions were made to their instructions. They congratulated both their majesties on their almost bloodless victory, saying also that as the war was now at an end, and they submitted wholly to the king's promises that he would introduce no troops into Bohemia, so they would now disband their own forces, and would forward at once the necessary supplies to the imperial camp. Furthermore they entreated king Ferdinand to prevail on the emperor, to march his entire army against the Turks in Hungary, and that they would not fail to assist in this undertaking. On the day following they sent orders to Pflug to disband his troops and dismiss them to their homes. Finally they dispatched the embassy to the imperial camp before Wittenberg. They arrived during the early days of May; and presented themselves to the king. He received them in front of his tent, and shook each by the hand; then heard mass; and retired to a small hamlet close by where like the emperor he resided in a farm-house. The ambassadors followed. The king seated himeslf under a tree, and his sons, Maximilian and Ferdinand, with the ambassadors stood beside him, with some Bohemian lords. He listened to the burgomaster's statement which George Ziabka translated into Latin. The commissioners handed the king their written despatches and he replied that he would have them translated into German and answered. Hereupon they requested the king to procure for them an interview with the emperor. He forthwith stood up and led the way to the cottage. Charles advanced to the threshold to meet them, and shook each by the hand. The day following he gave them an audience and promised an answer; when they presented themselves the

following Saturday at his request he said that he would forward his answer by his own messenger; at the same time he admonished them earnestly to relinquish their resistance, to dissolve their union, otherwise they could not expect him to prevail with his brother, king Ferdinand. The king gave them the same reply; and the day following they set out with light hearts for Prague. Was all this smooth courtesy mere dissimulation and hypocrisy? At that moment Spain stood at the summit of her power; and the emperor and Ferdinand represented in themselves and in their education the supreme effect of the guile, craft, subtlety, and dissembled cruelty which constituted the highest aim of Spanish religion and political doctrines. The concentration of all, supported by the might of both the eastern and western worlds, was then directed against Bohemia.

The day after their arrival the estates convoked the diet of their own volition. The ambassadors explained their cordial reception by the emperor and the king; both their majesties desired and counseled the estates most kindly to dissolve their union, and the king had taken it ill that they had convoked the landtag of their own accord without his will and consent. The imperial messengers afterward entered the assembly and reported the emperor's instructions to the ambassadors in his camp. Then appeared the king's deputies, Berthold von Lippa the chief marshal, and George Ziabka of Limburg the vice chancelor of Bohemia. Their dispatch was openly read to the estates, and herein the king reproved them for having arbitrarily summoned the diet already fixed by him; declared that their alliance now established was wholly void, and was formed to do him the great-

est injury, without his will and consent and without the presence of his commissioners; that it was aimed against his royal sovereignty and supremacy; that they had held assemblies in the Carolinum and had passed resolutions of all kinds of themselves contrary to the express royal prohibition; he warned them to dissolve their union under the penalty of banishment; that they had levied a tax, elected a general, and other commanders, and of all these acts had not announced one to their king and lord; that they had conducted themselves throughout as if no king existed, and the kingdom was without lords, that they had raised levies through the country—a right appertaining only to the king; that they had attempted by interception to prevent the junction of his troops and those of his allies with the imperial army; that their general Pflug had assisted and not impeded the elector's orderly Thumshirn on his march by Commotau, Ellbogen, and Falkenau; that the citizens of Saatz, by the orders of the estates, refused him their king and lord admittance into their city; that their general Pflug had held frequent conferences with the elector's general Thumshirn, most probably against the king's interest; that they had forbidden all transportation to the imperial as well as to the royal army through Bohemia, but supplied his enemies with abundance in Bohemia itself; that they had forbidden payment of the royal revenues, beer tax, and excise; that they had arbitrarily shut up in prison the royal council- and private-secretary Florian of Griesbek without a hearing; that they dismissed the royal administrator from the country; that through these proceedings they had assailed the royal sovereignty, and had held its majesty for naught.

The king likewise ordered the estates most peremptorily in this rescript to dissolve their union at once and without contradiction, and to deliver the records of the union to his commissioners; but should they—contrary to all his suppositions, refuse, he should be compelled to think of means to protect his royal sovereignty, and to defend his authority and the crown of Bohemia. Thereupon he promised them his favor when they had dissolved their alliance and yielded true obedience to him as their national king and lord.

The estates agitated by these bitter reproaches and imperious menaces of the king fell on their knees and implored God for assistance. This act was perfectly in accord with the habitual religious customs of the estates on all important occasions.

Be it remembered that Ferdinand was only elected king of Bohemia, although he claimed the crown in right of his queen. He had been chosen king and accepted solely on conditions. These conditions were mutual. The estates had acted in conformity not only with the law and constitution of their country, but with the legally established forms of government based on that law. They exercised their proper and inherited authority. Ferdinand had solemnly sworn to observe each and all of the laws, rights, customs and parliamentary formalities of the country. He had insidiously assailed them all, had openly violated his oath, and asserted a royal authority in himself totally repugnant to the constitution and laws he had sworn to obey and uphold. He represented the arbitrary system of government. The estates of Bohemia had for nine hundred years represented and embodied the popular form of government; and it was because the habits and disposition of kings were well known to be antagonistic to the

control by the people of their own affairs that all Bohemian kings, even those of the direct and ancient line, had been compelled to pledge themselves, in the most solemn and binding manner before coronation, to maintain and defend the free institutions of the country. Ferdinand's coronation was as much subject to these restraints as that of any other king; but the Spanish school of princes, who in that age taught the world what the necessary effects of their system must be on the intelligence, industries and prosperity of nations, and who have bequeathed to men for all time an inheritance of warning against any approach to a renewal of that system, had been brought up in the new school of religio-political absolutism which found its chief adversaries in the struggling nations who strove hard for freedom of mind and political enfranchisement during the sixteenth century. These two blessings are necessarily associated. The Bohemians had enjoyed and successfully maintained for more than a century and a quarter, as a nation, those two great advantages in combination; and had defended and upheld one of them for many centuries as their acknowledged national system. Even during the ages when all other nations in Europe, except the English, had fallen under a despotism, and their liberties had almost disappeared, Bohemia still preserved intact, and after tremendous struggles, the ancient freedom of her ancestors. The Spanish school of the sixteenth century had concentrated all the force and virulence of dogmatic asperity, arbitrary imperiousness, and monarchial concentration in church and state against the rising spirit of popular self assertion. Bohemia, the most ancient and prominent representative of this national aspiration, and inherited free system,

became at once the object of the most intense animosity and cruel vindictiveness on the part of the princes who in 1547 united in themselves and their ambition all the worst features of the Spanish school in their most aggravated form. Hence an intensity of fury, duplicity, and violence was hurled against Bohemia, and produced an amount and degree of woe and agony such as no other country in all the world's histroy has ever paralleled. This atrocious cruelty did not cease until the momentous era which marked the middle of the nineteenth century; and hardly terminated even then.

After the reading of Ferdinand's letter the debates were quiet and dignified; and a brief and conciliatory reply was forwarded. But the estates were allowed very short time for deliberation. The king broke up his camp before Wittenberg, and entered Bohemia with an overwhelming force. All the available power of the empire had been combined. The deputies waited on the king at Pirna, and delivered their message. They informed him they bore another for the emperor; but he curtly stated that he would speedily return them an answer in person in Bohemia. Next day he reached Leitmeritz by a forced march. His cannon were planted in the market place; and his troops encamped between the Elbe and the monastery of Doran. He had at last begun to signify his purposes openly. But he did not even yet abandon his duplicity. Guile was still necessary. Here the king dispatched a proclamation to all the districts, renewing his reproaches, denouncing their alliance and demanding its abolition. He ordered them to report their intentions on that point at once, and desired them to relinquish their imprudent and precipitate proceed-

ings. The well-disposed must meet him at Leitmeritz. To these he promised a remission of punishment, and reserved his severity only for those who had usurped his sovereignty, and had committed acts of hostility. The greater number of the lords and knights at once repaired to Leitmeritz. The people of Prague prepared for defense. They proposed to garrison the citadel, and to entrench themselves on the White mountain; but Ulrich von Prostieborg, deputy recorder of the kingdom, dissuaded them from all such attempts. They followed the example of the other estates, and sent deputies to Leitmeritz. These envoys could obtain no audience with the king. But the public officials and nobles drew up an apology, stating, I. That they had formed the union of the estates with no other object than the best interest of the kingdom, and the defense of their liberties and of the crown. II. That they had no knowledge of any of the offenses whereof the king had accused them. III. That at the next diet they would withdraw their engagements and tear the seals off. IV. That they supported their king, and would never abandon him, whenever any person should assail his authority. Ferdinand thanked them, and had all their names enrolled.

The king's troops rapidly advanced. Duke Augustus of Saxony encamped with seven thousand cavalry at Lowositz. The imperial general Marignau followed with seven regiments of German foot. The Silesians, Moravians, and Lusatians, and the bishops of Breslau and Olmütz with troops advanced also to Leitmeritz. Next twelve large battering guns crossed the Elbe, and the stone cutters of Leitmeritz toiled day and night in the manufacture of stone balls. The king

replied to the envoys from Prague His majesty would enter his palace at Prague the following Saturday; and in the meantime he ordered the magistrates to provide the requisite supplies for his army. Before the answer reached Prague a large force of German infantry seized the citadel by night, and filled the citizens with wonder and alarm. In the early morn-king the burgomaster informed them that the king in person would arrive next day. They did not welcome him as had been customary. He enquired the reason of the change. They ordered him to omit closing the gates, and remain with them. The following day the king himself marched with a very numerous staff, among whom were Duke Augustus of Saxony, Wenzel of Tes-chen, and three bishops into the citadel. With him came a very large force. The cavalry encamped in the suburbs; the German infantry seized various di-visions of the city; one division secured the bridge and set heavy guns against the old town. Some troops fired on citizens from across the Moldau and wounded several. Hereupon an uproar arose. Weap-ons were seized by the crowd, the foot soldiers on the bridge were attacked; but there existed no leader to direct operations. The citizens generally kept aloof. A deputation waited on the king requesting him to restrain his troops from violence. When they attempted to touch his hand he repulsed them. They explained, however, what had occurred. He replied, "I will not begin; and my people will not begin; but if you begin you shall see that the affair will lead to a disagreeable termination." They explained that the king's people had caused the trouble. The king said, "Hold your people in check, and I and my people will do no injury. I will issue orders that my men shall be quiet."

Early on Sunday the king sent two chamberlains to the magistrates of all three estates with a summons that the chief persons, the burgomaster, council, officers, aldermen and a hundred of the foremost citizens of the old city, and an equal number from the new city, and forty from the Kleinsite, should attend at the citadel on the following Wednesday, and await an interpellation; but the time was afterward extended to Friday. At the same time the king had seven guns posted against the old town, and thereby created great alarm. Among the populace an uproar arose. The troops had broken into a mill and commenced to plunder; the miller and his men resisted; but he was compelled to escape to the new town in his boat. Shots were fired at him on the river. Then the populace became excited and the parish bells were set ringing. Weapons were seized and a sharp conflict took place. The suburban population heard the uproar, and understood it as a cry for aid; they armed themselves with flails and spiked clubs. As the concourse increased the king ordered the hussars to drive back the men from the country. The hussars acted as if they would approach the gate, but some cannon were posted on the wall, and fired to drive them off. The people of the old town now commenced a general assault. The hussars were cut down and seventy of them killed. Their ensign bearer was killed in the gateway. Guns were trained against the citadel but the people desisted.

During these events a messenger was dispatched to the king to request him to restrain his men from violence. The magistrates said they were not then in a position to restrain the people and prevent bloodshed. The king listened; and then hurled at them the most

bitter reproaches for having assaulted his soldiers and killed some of them; he pointed to the shot that had been thrown at the castle; then he complained of the assault made against the castle and still worse against himself their king and lord; and said with much asperity: "If we pleased we could attack the city with stone and iron and red hot shot, and utterly destroy it; but as a christian prince we are willing to spare it this time and moderate our wrath. We will order our officers to keep quiet. You also must compel your people to lay aside weapons and retire to their homes; and remove the cannon from the bank. But you must not fail to appear here on Friday next according to our summons."

Before the messengers had returned a large meeting collected in the town and compelled the burgomaster of the old city, Klatowsky of Dalmanhorfft, to issue a proclamation to all the estates and districts of the kingdom, urging them to hasten to the deliverance of Prague as the king had seized the castle, the Augezd, the Hradschin, the Kleinsite, the Sommerberg, with his troops, had pointed heavy cannon against the city and threatened to annihilate them all. But the chancelor Sixtus von Otterdorf assured them of the friendliness and good intentions of the king, and induced them to retain the mounted messengers with the proclamation. The tidings soon arrived that the king's hussars had burned the town of Babny near Prague; and the commotion arose again. Men loudly declared that it was now high time to resist and defend their fatherland since the enemy had assailed it with fire and sword. The people had raised a loud outcry and marched in arms toward the castle when the king himself advanced to meet them, and assured them

that he had sent the mayors and other distinguished men with the notice to warn all persons that the town had been burned against his will and consent, and that his majesty would not only make good the loss but would punish with death those who had burned the place. He further promised to forgive their recent extravagances and be their kind and gracious lord if they would return to their homes, and be at peace.

Still the same ruthless craft and duplicity. Probably the world had never seen in human conduct so desperate an example of deceitfulness and treachery. At that moment Ferdinand not only purposed but planned the most bloodthirsty vengeance and cruelty against those people; and his perfidious promises were based only on falsehood and fraud. The people, recently so clamorous, readily permitted themselves to be pacified and retired.

On Thursday those who were to present themselves to the king held a meeting in the council chamber of each city. After long debate they resolved to hold no disputation with the king but to surrender themselves either to his favor or disfavor.

On the following day—Friday, July 8th, 1547, the burgomasters and citizens of both cities in full number repaired to the palace of Prague. The moment they had entered the doors were barred, and held by a numerous guard. The king pointed to a scaffold erected for this occasion, assumed an angry look, and took his seat on his throne; near him sat the judges, namely on his right hand the archduke Ferdinand, then the Moravian lords, Wenzel, chief recorder, Berthold von Lippa, chief marshal of Bohemia, and a numerous array of the foremost nobles. The bishops of Olmütz and Breslau sat there also; and Ladis-

lav Popel of Lobkovitz, held the naked sword before the king. The chief burg-graf proclaimed silence; and the summons published to the citizens, and also the articles of accusation were read. The king announced to them their several offenses, and pointed out how in many particulars they had committed wrongs against him, and thereby had been guilty of the crime of high treason; and they must now explain and plead to each particular charge.

Sixtus of Ottersdorf, chancelor of the old city of Prague, replied in the name of the citizens that they would not enter into any dispute with the king; that they all surrendered themselves to the favor or disfavor of his royal majesty; that they earnestly requested the intercession of the archduke, the dukes, bishops, and councilors then present with the king. All then sank on their knees, besought the king repeatedly to receive them at his pleasure, to forgive their disobedience, and to forbear to impose on them the full power of the law. The king finally permitted them to stand, and informed them through the chief recorder of Moravia Wenzel von Ludanitz that he witnessed their submission and had heard their petition; that they must now proceed to the court house and remain imprisoned there until he should have consulted with the lower court; he would then make known his determination. The king at once despatched an orderly to the emperor with the intelligence that he had now the Prague folk in his own power and imprisoned like a bird in a cage. After a few hours Wenzel of Ludanitz visited the prisoners and informed them that at the intercession of the princes and nobles present he had determined out of his natural goodness and clemency to spare his subjects of the estates of

Prague, on the condition that they would assent to the following articles, which were then read:—

I. That they should utterly dissolve the league they had formed on Valentine's day with the other estates, and that the next diet should tear off and destroy the seals of their bonds. II. That they would without delay surrender all the documents and writings relating to the alliance which they had made as well with each other, as with other lords, knights and estates, and especially with the late elector John Frederic of Saxony. III. They would also abjure and surrender together all privileges and charters of liberty which they had received from emperors and kings and from ourselves, and "will abide submissively by all and everything that we may therein graciously ordain, alter or revoke." IV. Likewise all councils and guilds shall surrender all their privileges to us as they have ever been the cause of many disturbances and disorder in the estate. V. You shall convey to the palace at Prague all your cannon and munitions; and the selected citizens shall convey to the town halls and deposit there all your fire arms and other weapons except swords. VI. You will likewise surrender to us all your rights of tenancy and of property in common together with all agreements and bills of sale, and shall receive such from us and our heirs the kings of Bohemia through a diet. VII. You will pay all tolls which you have hitherto determined in the three estates to us your king and strictly bind yourselves to impose, and pay to the king and his successors in Bohemia for all time, for every cask of beer one silver groschen, and the same sum for every bushel of malt. VIII. If you consent to all these we shall pardon all, and impose severer punishment on none

with one slight exception; that we have determined to punish according to the course of justice, and for the good of the state all those who have grossly offended against our royal majesty.

The prisoners, numbering six hundred, sought time for reflection, and for permission to take counsel with their fellow citizens; but this would amount to a denial, they were informed, and they must not only accept the articles at once, but themselves make the beginning of their execution so that they could be distributed through the cities. These men were distributed in each vault and chamber of the building and strongly guarded.

After an interval some of the prisoners were set at liberty though only within the limits of Prague; others received their freedom still later; some died, others lost their reason, while others again dropped dead on being set free. They had all been closely confined where they must eat and sleep, and wholly exist in the same rooms where the air and stench were deadly especially during the summer heat. Only forty remained in prison to receive a special sentence from the king.

The same cruel inhuman and remorseless procedure was adopted in the other cities. The chief persons, burgomasters, councilors, and aldermen to the number of forty or fifty in each city were imprisoned in the schloss. Here they remained until the king had confiscated all their lands, tolls, and corporate revenues, had surrendered all their liberties to him, and had further paid a fine of a hundred thousand Prague groschen. Many of these men forfeited their lives or their reason in prison.

During the same month—July, 1547, a summons

was issued to the aforesaid nobles and estates who had been charged with disloyalty, to appear on a day appointed before the tribunal, and answer for the offenses imputed to them. Several were banished for life; others were deprived of dignities and titles, and landed property, and even their lives were declared forfeited. A price of five thousand meissen shock was set on the head of Caspar Pflug; but he fled to Saxony. All those summoned appeared on the day fixed and surrendered themselves unconditionally to the king. Only six and twenty remained in prison. Some of these were deprived of their lands, others of their lives at once; the remainder were compelled to surrender their freeholds to the king and pay ruinous fines.

On the day appointed for the diet the nobles, knights and envoys of the estates appeared in a numerous assembly. This diet received and has always been known by the name of "The Bloody Diet." The proceedings were opened with public executions of the condemned. A large scaffold had been erected in the Hradschin; and thither the condemned were led from their dungeons, guarded by a strong body of soldiers. Wenzel Pietepetky was first brought to the block. The executioner announced to the multitude assembled the criminal's offenses. He had not conducted himself as a loyal subject to his king, but had incited the people to elect another king; and for these reasons he was condemned to death. Then he was beheaded. Barchanecz advanced next. The executioner said, "This man has encouraged others to stand together, and not abandon each other; they should adopt his advice, and be prepared to forfeit property and life for the good of their country;" then his head

was struck off. Similar charges were announced against the others. They had resisted his majesty, and had declared that what was right in Duke Maurice of Saxony in rebelling against his sovereign was not wrong in them who had much greater reason for it. With the other victims appeared Jacob Vikar, who had, as usual in that age and previously, derived his name from his office as a court dignitary, jurisconsult and judge. He was evidently one of the vicarii or judicial representatives of the state first, and later of the crown, who constituted the connecting link between the ancient courts of the vicinage and the king's courts. As the freeholders who made up the court frequently absented themselves, and difficulties arose in procuring the required number, a class of persons skilled in the laws and usages gradually took the places of the freeholders, and constituted the court. Hence the vicarii became an established body of judicial persons; each of them as a vicarius, and the office supplied the name. Many of them rose to eminence for individual acquirements in every age, and the name under various forms has descended to the present time. Jacob Vikar's crime consisted in his being a judicial officer sworn to administer the established constitution and laws, in having resisted the king's proceedings, and reported his illegal measures to the estates.

After this bloodshed the diet commenced its sessions. The chief burg-graf delivered a discourse in the name of the lords and knights wherein he declared they had no other purpose in their union than peace and unity in the kingdom; and as his majesty had ordered them to dissolve that union they were ready to do so. They resolved to depute the chief burg-graf of Bohe-

mia, the chief recorder of Moravia, and some others as agents to proceed to the archive office, and tear off the seals of the Bund records, and destroy them without delay. One thousand seven hundred and thirty lords and knights besides the citizens of Prague and other cities had associated themselves in this union. The high chancelor of the kingdom next declared in the king's name to the deputies of the estates that through their disloyalty these had certainly deserved to forfeit all seat and vote in the diet; but of his especial grace he would not inflict this punishment now; that in future first the members of the old city, then of the new city, and after them those of Pilsen, Budweis and Aussig should cast their votes. These three cities had obtained the privilege through their support of the king in present circumstances, and that as to the privileges of the estates, they must all first be examined so that some of them might judiciously be restored.

The day following a large convoy conveyed to Vienna all the muskets and other arms, and all other munitions taken from the citizens. Then the forty prisoners received the determined punishment. Eight of them were flogged in three successive public places. During each march the scourger proclaimed the offense; and pronounced that in the same manner would all rioters be punished; and all those who mutinied against the king. Eight others were exiled. The remaining twenty-four were fined and required to give bonds. Thus fell Prague; her weapons broken, her strength crushed, and her force so utterly subdued that her former national dignity and greatness appeared a dream.

"Dropped from her nerveless grasp the shattered spear
Closed her bright eye and curbed her high career."

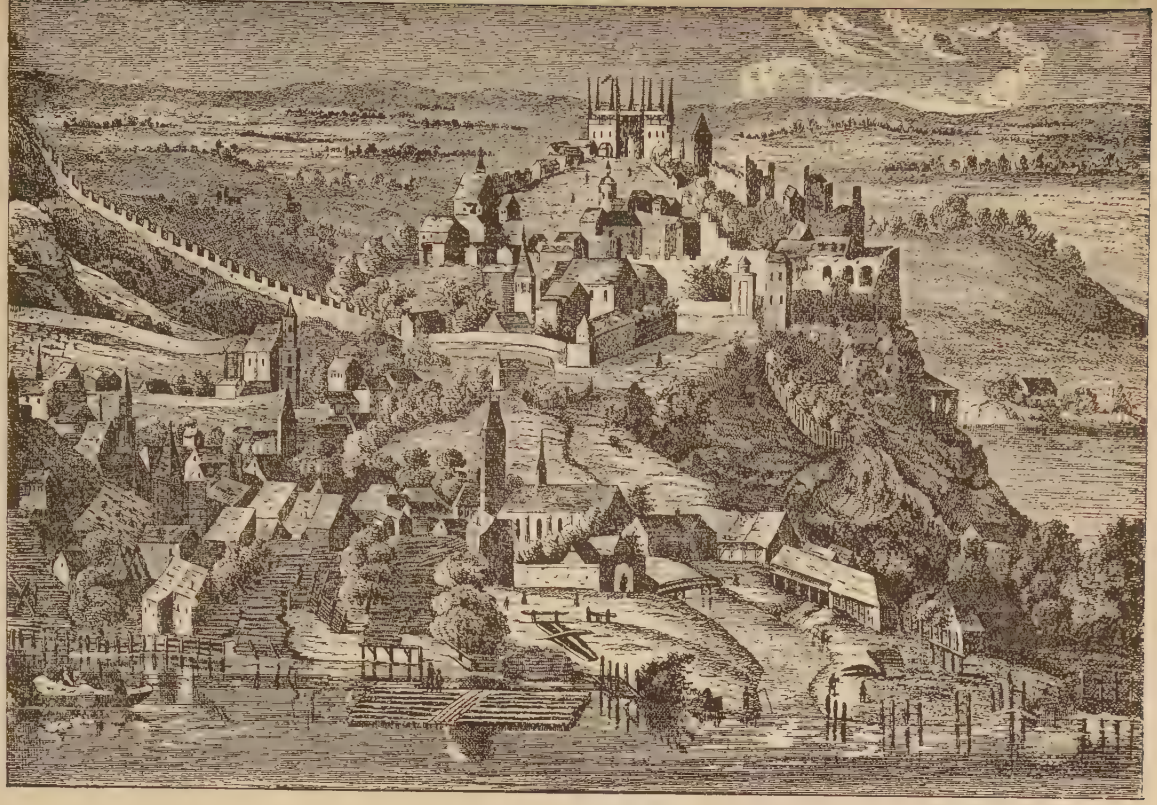
Henceforth Bohemia remained but a fragment of what she had been. Vestiges of her ruined institutions lay prostrate before her eyes, only to mock her in her sudden overthrow and spoliation.

"Septimus a nato Christo dum curreret annus
Supra quingentos mille quaterque decem,
Mense datum est primi nomen cui Cæsaris, orbi
Octavum Phæbo restituente diem
Praha suas et opes et vitam perdidit, uno
Tempore, quam multa quæsiit ante die
Illius reliquos casus mox perculit urbes
Et factum capitis cauda sequuta sui est.
Ergo jacent pariter nudatæ dotibus omnes,
Quas ipsis peperit cura decusque Patrum.
Lugeat hunc casum turbato pectore quisquis
Venturæ curam posteritatis habet."
Matt. Collinus a Choterina farr. III.

Man machte damals auf den Fall der Prager
Städte verschiedene Gedichte.
Pelzel II. Ann. 1547.

Vincitur elector princeps a Cæsare Saxus
Obruitur sævis regia Praga malis. Matt. Coll.

Notwithstanding Ferdinand's ferocious severities the pulse of Bohemia still throbbed and even that throb caused the king anxiety. He apprehended the reprisal of despair; and the uprising of fierce resentment. The Bohemians had not fallen before his power great as it was, but before his craft and the subtlety of the new Spanish school, applied with extreme duplicity. In the king's proceedings the counsel of John of Olmütz—the "iron bishop,"—was distinctly visible. It was the policy this prelate had advocated long before, and had put in force in Moravia. It was the policy that had invited Matthias Corvinus to smite and to bleed Moravia. The course pursued by



View of Vysehrad.

Ferdinand, while strictly in accord with his disposition and education, had not been conceived by him until his Hispano-Jesuitical allies had counseled him in the imperial camp. It was the policy now dictated at Rome. Ferdinand felt compelled to relinquish a portion of the ancient rights of the kingdom suddenly and violently snatched away. For this reason he restored some of the municipal privileges; but he compelled the citizens to purchase them at an exorbitant price. He consented to a municipal council, but of his own selection; and compelled the members to take the oath of allegiance to him and his successors. The new councils consisted solely of the king's appointees; and scarcely a vestige of the former corporate rights remained. When this process had been accomplished the king reported to the emperor that he had pacified Bohemia.

The year 1548 was spent by the king chiefly in arranging the internal administration of the courts, and in appointing judges. The opinions they held necessarily accorded with the new principles of government. Ferdinand next attempted to entrench his government with a power that had hitherto, and has always since that day formed the great bulwark of his dynasty. At the diet in 1549 he proposed that the church and monastic lands which had been transferred to private hands should be restored to the ecclesiastics; and that the bishops and abbots should again form one order in the estates. But with all his authority he could not effect his purpose. But he obtained the recognition and declaration of his son Maximilian as his successor on the throne, with the reservation that the prince should not intervene in the government during his father's life.

Bohemia was quiet with the quietness of exhaustion; and an expedition into Hungary against the Turks produced only some acts of heroism. The body of the people were still utraquists, and their position in that respect required adjustment. The two parties were invited to a conference with a view to a union.

A few consented to this proposal; but the great majority still adhered firmly to their love for Luther and the proposition produced no effect. The Jews next felt the force of ecclesiastical displeasure. Their presence in the country was denounced; they were accused perhaps with truth of having secretly allied themselves with the Turks, and they were tolerated only on condition of wearing a yellow badge on the left arm. Up to that period the legal right to transmit propetry by will had not generally been conceded to all classes in Europe; but the year 1551 found this concession necessary in Bohemia. The property of a priest, who died intestate, was ordered divided into three portions, one part for the church and parish of the deceased, the second for the lord of the manor, and the third for the nearest relatives

The year 1553 saw Margraf Albert of Kulmbach overthrown chiefly by Bohemian troops; and the following year is credited or discredited with the first openly noticed passage of the gypsies through Bohemia, and thence the rest of Europe. In France they were misnamed Bohemians, and the words wanderer, vagabond and bohemian, have been in common speech almost synonymous since that time.

In this year also the much vexed question of common schools again arose. The utraquist consistory was attacked in the diet: the high schools of Prague were in the hands of the same community, and the

professors belonged to the same denomination, and adhered to Luther's followers. Some small treatises were also printed. The Catholics denounced this arrangement and complained of being obliged to send their children to those schools. Hence arose a demand for the introduction of the Jesuit order into Bohemia. A petition was presented to the king for their admission as they devoted themselves to the education of youth, and Ferdinand readily complied. Twelve of this order arrived at Prague and were allowed to take possession of the site of the ruined Dominican monastery The king bestowed on them other estates in Bohemia and their schools were at once established.

During this year, 1555, the formal decree of the council of Constance was revived and put in force throughout Bohemia. The literature of the Hussites formerly, and now of the Lutherans and United Brethren, excited the especial hostility of their opponents. The power of the estates even for self-defense was broken. Their remaning slight authority did not extend to the country districts; and the most zealous utraquist proprietors had been either banished, beheaded or reduced to poverty. The adherents of the bishop of Olmütz enforced his orders and attacked the especial objects of his vengeance. Domiciliary visits thoughout Moravia and to some extent through Bohemia also pursued the literature of the people as well secular as religious. The search became unsparing. Books of all descriptions, even those that illustrated the artistic skill and taste of the day in the highest degree, as well as the humblest primers fell equally beneath the inquisitorial ban of the iron bishop. Many of the Hussite books were bound in most costly fashion; adorned with family records illuminated with

all the excellence and much of the splendor of the pictorial art of the age, and formed family possessions very highly prized. But every thing without distinction fell under the interdict of the stern vengeance of the victorious ecclesiastics. Moravia within a brief period became utterly bare of books, and none others were substituted.

Hardly had Ferdinand's "bloody diet" closed its labors and annihilated the constitution and liberties of the kingdom, thus exposing the reformers in both municipal and individual capacity to the unrestrained lawlessness of their persecutors, when the canons of the cathedral at Prague, supported by the bishops and the entire military force of the invading Spaniards, exacted from the king a decree for the total suppression of printing books. The king was informed that not only heretical works were printed in Bohemia but frequently imported and distributed. A stern censorship became at once established. Little more than a few Latin fictions, cosmographies and city ordinances and such like were printed in Bohemia. This condition of affairs continued during the remainder of Ferdinand's reign to be strictly enforced. Some relaxation was gradually felt but not officially permitted afterward, until the fatal day of November 8, 1620, when it was again renewed with tenfold rigor. But it must not be supposed that the people did not find means to supply themselves albeit scantily with the learning they coveted and prized.

Books were smuggled across the frontier in every conceivable method. In casks of wine, in wool, in cloth, in coffins, in the bodies of dead animals, in small portions and separate leaves afterward bound together, books and tracts passed in.

Even the epitome of Balbinus was subjected to the censorship seven times. Down to 1848 the same interdict continued. Not even trade circulars were tolerated, unless they had been submitted to the censor for a month. The best books were frequently wholly rejected and forbidden on account of a single passage. Such total inhibition of general literature necessarily recoiled fatally against the authority that ordained it; and the effects have always been felt when populations and armies under Austrian control have been pitted against men of better knowledge and apter skill and training in the use of their natural intelligence. The ignorance of those nations subject to severe literary censorship has at the same time beggared their treasury and chastised their military ambition.

The fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and twentieth sections of the decree of 1417 were revived in more than all their former severity because now less impediment existed to the enforcement of them. The terrors of Prague and other cities, the bloody executions crushed the hearts of the helpless people. The nineteenth section of the dreadful decree authorized the most excessive persecution by means of domiciliary visits. Books on general literature fell under the common condemnation, and were destroyed as impious. Oaths and abjurations were exacted and all persons subjected to unlimited inquisition as to their possession of books, their knowledge of prohibited treatises, and their encouragement of condemned opinions. Even the songs and hymns of the household became the subject of inquisitorial proceedings. Forbearance to persecute became a crime. Under the twelfth section communion under both kinds involved absolute abjuration under severe penalties; and as

the great body of the inhabitants had long been devoted utraquists the list of criminals was very lengthy. Every outward act and every inward thought of the people became subjected to ecclesiastical inquiry and punishment. Hence the United Brethren, one of the most blameless associations of men that have ever professed good will and generous self-sacrifice for their fellowmen, at once individually and collectively fell under the ban both of the spiritual and temporal power. In 1555 this community felt the blow. Two hundred of their ministers at once with their congregations were forcibly expelled from Bohemia and Moravia. They went forth humbly, uncomplainingly, and leaving an example of acceptance of what seemed to them a divine call that their successors and a few others have admirably followed since that time. The spirit of lofty devotion to a sacred principle has been at no time more amiably illustrated. Those persons who forcibly deprived Bohemia and Moravia of such excellent elements not only robbed their country of the best characters it contained at the time; but have denuded its population of hereditary gifts and graces that no nation can afford to lose. The effect of such proscriptions has appeared in the predominance of inferior qualities in several central European countries, and accounts for much of the degradation and viciousness of character that still defiles European provinces and is the curse of American cities, and industrial centers. It is difficult to feel sympathy for populations that have wilfully wasted themselves by the destruction of their own most inquiring and enterprising members.

The remainder of Ferdinand's reign was in no way distinguished. He did commission messengers to plead

before the Council of Trent for permission of the cup in the sacrament, as the great majority of the Bohemian people were devoted to that form. His ambassadors said: "—The great body of the Bohemian nation have enjoyed the use of the cup since the Council of Constance. Reasonings, arguments, violence, arms and war have all failed to deprive them of it. Not only the humbler people but the nobles and magistrates in the cities drink of the cup. The church has indeed during the period of its custom permitted it on conditions; but as these have not been effectual therefore has pope Pius II. interdicted it. Popes Paul III. and Julius III. gave their commissioners authority to forbid the cup to the Bohemians in order to restore them to the Romish church. But it all came to nought." Ferdinand added another statement that "in other states Hungary, Austria, Silesia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Bavaria and other parts of Germany the same desire was expressed with ardor." He also strenuously favored the marriage of priests saying, "I cannot avoid adding, what is a common observation, that priests who live in concubinage are guilty of greater sin than those who are married." "In Hungary the priests," he said "were compelled to administer under both kinds. Those who did this were degraded by their diocesans," and hence priests were driven out of the country. The pope consented to the cup; refused marriage. Ferdinand at once published the concession.

Much administrative good sense did Ferdinand's envoys express before the council; but the assembled prelates, chiefly Spaniards and Italians, absolutely forbade the cup to Bohemia. The simple formulæ of the Hussite ministers were found more sweet and whole-

some than all the prohibitions of ecclesiastics. The plain words were, "May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ conduce to the salvation of your soul;" and "May the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for us on the cross conduce to the forgiveness of all your sins." These gentle words were mightier than armies and more penetrating than spears.

Ferdinand, however, enjoyed one object of his ambition and his efforts. He rendered the catholic church for the time predominant outwardly in Bohemia. At the beginning of his reign his subjects were conspicuous for comfort in their dwellings, taste and luxuriousness in their dress, intelligence and often learning, in polite acquirements, emulous of good, and earnest in promoting the freedom and elevation of their native land. He left them impoverished, plundered, bruised, bleeding and despairing; a broken nation, whose very name even had become a subject of derision and scorn.

The bare recital of the passage of armies and even of sieges and the sack of towns during this disastrous period does not present a full picture of the horrors inflicted by the invaders. The pay of mercenary troops was small and irregularly issued. Frequently no pay whatever was received; and in such cases the wretched inhabitants became objects of indiscriminate plunder and insult. Commanding officers always exacted a share of whatever money passed through their hands. Generals far surpassed colonels in this extortion, and the vilest license everywhere accompanied the unlimited robberies committed by the banditti who formed the main body of all the mercenary armies of the day. Bohemia became doubly the object of rapine and spoliation. Her people had been denounced as here-

tics cursed of God and to be abhorred of men; and the fanaticism of predatory cut-throats instigated a far deeper degree of ferocity against the Bohemians than was customary. The hordes of crusaders of every degree who continually marched against the Turks found in Bohemia full opportunity and encouragement for unrestrained excesses. They were marched through for that purpose. Especially the churches, books, and other distinguishing marks of a thinking people became objects of ribald scorn and destruction. Church furniture was broken and burned, church service plate, chalices, pattens, and tankards always seized and melted wherever discovered. The books of the heretics formed the subject of unceasing search and unsparing punishment; and the possession of heretical treatises, and later of literatue of any kind, marked out the possessor, especially the women and girls, as beyond the protection of law. The orders of monks and friars who accompanied the crusaders on all occasions took especial pains to efface as far as possible every remnant of the hated Hussitism.*

* In the foregoing narrative no exaggeration or distortion of the strict record has been permitted. Both German and Bohemian writers transmit the events as here set down; but no printed statement could include the detailed horrors and crimes practised on individuals and families, all through Bohemia, during the truculent reign of Ferdinand I. His proceedings, like those of all men stimulated by the concealed elements of madness, always took the side of the deceitful and the cruel.

CHAPTER XXII.

EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, RUDOLPH II., MATTHIAS, FERDINAND II.

At the time of Ferdinand's death, July 25, 1564, the constitution of Germany had begun to assume consistency. Under Ferdinand the Austrian crown had obtained Hungary and Bohemia; but was divided into two branches,—the Spanish and Austrian. At the diet of Augsburg the reformed religion first became legalized. All parties were equal; but the protestants had gained absolute supremacy in the states both in Bohemia and Austria.

Maximilian II. quietly succeeded his brother. He took a Lutheran priest into his service and received the communion under both kinds. He often assisted at their services. He was, however, a civil ruler and head of a great dynasty. He saw the protestants divided. Their noble principle of the right of private judgment necessarily creates a wish for freedom. The catholics on the other hand were united. The doctrine of submission to one spiritual head combines them. Maximilian convened his first diet at Augsburg, March, 1566. The two parties met in an unamiable mood; but succors were conceded against the Turks.* The dissensions of the Lutherans and Calvinists threatened fratricidal war. Hence under Spanish domination arose dreadful massacres in the Low Countries. According to Father Paul Sarpi, official historian of Venice, and

* Vie de Commendon p. 289.

author of the best account of the Council of Trent, fifty thousand persons perished under the bloody hands of the Spaniards. Grotius computes the number at one hundred thousand, including those who incidentally perished of want, neglect, and disease. Next followed St. Bartholomew in 1572; and then came the duke of Alva, and the horrors of his so-called government, only paralleled in Bohemia in subsequent years.

Maximilian convoked his first diet of Bohemia at Prague in 1567; and at once annulled the compactata, that referred only to Catholics and Calixtines. At once the great body of the people professed the Lutheran creed. Other sects also avowed themselves. The following year full liberty of worship was accorded to Austria. Hereupon the legate Commendon was at once sent by Pius V. to remonstrate. Maximilian agreed not to further extend toleration in the Austrian states; but would not revoke his concessions. Protestant worship was, however, interdicted in the towns. Reformed doctrines spread widely under the surface.

During this reign Hungary alone became the scene of war; but after the death of Solyman, 4th of September, 1566, a peace was concluded. Maximilian being constitutionally delicate was anxious to provide for the accession of his eldest son Rudolph to the throne of Hungary and Bohemia. The prince was crowned at Presburg in 1572, and at Prague, 22nd of September, 1575. Possessing thus two kingdoms Rudolph became the choice of the imperial electors, and November 1st, 1575, received the crown at Ratisbon. The following year the wise and tolerant Maximilian died at Ratisbon, October 12, the day and hour when a recess of the diet was published. This prince

although the favorite of Charles V. did not adopt his dissimulation or duplicity. He was frank, candid and manly; and exhibited the dignity of truth and simplicity in all his conduct. Learned and affable with men of learning, he was remarkable for general knowledge; and conversed fluently in different languages. Fond of society and cheerful in conversation, he was systematic in business, patient and complacent. The false glare of jewelry was never associated with his attire. Of this monarch the Bohemians said, "We Bohemians are as happy under his government as if he were our father. Our privileges, our laws, our rights, liberties and usages are protected, maintained, defended and confirmed." Reasonableness and a measure of justice could have conferred peace on Bohemia.

To Maximilian at once succeeded his son Rudolph, a prince of a violently different character. From his mother, Mary, he derived an intense bigotry and hatred of all liberty of conscience. After Maximilian's death this princess retired to Spain; and expressed her joy at returning to a country where existed no heretic. Soon afterwards she entered a nunnery at Villamonte and died there in 1603. Rudolph inherited all the ambition of his house without any of the nobleness of his father, any of the vigor of his grandfather, or any of the dynastic shrewdness that had elevated his family. He succeeded to all the patrimony of the empire; and his brothers enjoyed only pensions. At his accession religious animosities had begun to subside. But Rudolph had been brought up by the Jesuits; and taught by them intolerance, intrigue and dissimulation. The palatinate and Saxony unhappily at that moment were sorely divided by feuds between Calvinists and Lutherans. The catholic body in the empire

on the other hand seeing the tendency toward dissension among their opponents adopted a systematic plan, originating in France, for the gradual extirpation of protestant tenets. The grand principle consisted in forcing the protestant states to insurrection by assaults on their privileges and religious liberties, recently acquired and not yet consolidated. Every stipulation of existing compacts was interpreted in favor of catholic demands wherever at all doubtful, concessions were revoked wherever possible by the aid of the ruling power, and constant interference and provocation were resorted to where legal pretenses failed.

In Bohemia Rudolph for a time ruled in peace. He resided chiefly at Prague; and here he exacted large and frequent contributions nominally against the Turks. But neither his disposition nor his advisers would permit him to remain quiet. He first abolished all protestant worship in Austria, without the smallest pretense except that he so willed, his next step was to abolish general liberty of conscience wisely established by his father. He refused all confirmation of Maximilian's edicts and hence the compactata were revived. This deceitful and vicious proceeding at once deprived all in Bohemia except Catholics and Calixtines of all rights under the law. Lutherans and Calvinists were formally forbidden and declared incapable of holding any office. Their schools were abolished; all protestant churches closed or provided with Catholic ministrants. He next proceeded to prevent all persons from sheltering themselves under the name of Calixtines. By his orders a synod was held at Prague in 1605 wherein the decrees of Trent were published, so that in the words of a Bohemian historian, "the way to the Catholic church instead of being opened was

shut up to the protestants; and even Calixtines driven to the Lutheran profession, notwithstanding the proscriptions with which it was loaded." At once hatred and jealousy spread among all ranks. The same system was extended through the empire. The open quarrel commenced at Donaworth in Bavaria, a protestant and imperial city. Here the abbot of the Benedictine monastery deliberately provoked a contest with the magistrates by starting a procession forbidden by the local statutes, through the streets.

The Aulic Council, now wholly Catholic, issued a citation to the magistrates requiring an explanation of the prohibition of the procession. The citation was forwarded through the abbot, but he concealed it for several months, until two hours before a funeral. The Bavarian deputies arrived bearing a letter from the emperor announcing their mission which was to prevent Catholics from being insulted and disturbed in the exercise of their religious worship. A tumult broke out; but the magistrates suppressed it, and sent a regret to the court. The ban of the empire was at once denounced against the city. An army soon took possession, abolished the protestant religion, and delivered the churches to the Catholics. The city at once lost its place, and was reduced from its rank as imperial to be a Catholic and provincial town. Similar experiences at Aix-la-Chapelle created alarm; and convinced the protestants of the necessity of union. They were encouraged in this step by the accession of John Frederic, a protestant, to the dukedom of Würtemburg; and by the accession to their side of the Count Palatine of Neuberg who claimed Juliers and Berg, now endangered by the Spanish troops. At the diet of Ratisbon, January 12th, 1608, Ferdinand, duke of Sty-

ria presided. The known character of this prince, and his occupancy of the chair created further alarm. The protestants refused supplies until grievances were redressed,* Donawerth restored, protestants re-admitted to the Aulic Council, the abolition of plurality of suffrages in religious decrees or the grant of subsidies. So greatly did the manifest tendencies of the court create a sense of impending danger, that on the close of the diet the protestants met at Aschhausen in Franconia, established a confederacy for ten years, and chose the elector Palatine for their chief, and Christian of Anhalt and the margrave of Baden, Durlach, their generals. In 1609 this confederacy was strengthened by the adhesion of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, and other imperial towns.

During this period the native indolence, or latent insanity of Rudolph overpowered his reason such as it was, and he abandoned himself to astrology, necromancy, painting, botany, low mistresses whom he changed constantly. He became hypochondriac, melancholy, irritable, demented. He relinquished government; and ambassadors could only obtain audience in his stables by disguising themselves as grooms. He lived in terror of apparitions, in gloom, suspicion, and almost madness. His superstitious fears drowned his reason. Such degradation almost compelled his brother Matthias to intrigue for his deposition. All the states of the empire were appealed to. The protestants who at that juncture held paramount power were conciliated by promises of full confirmation of their religious rights. Hungary, Austria and Mo-

* From this date until 1640 the proceedings in the English parliament seem to have been strongly influenced by the experiences of the protestants of Germany and Bohemia.

ravia, that had especially endured torment from Rudolph, were readily gained.

In 1608 the confederacy of Presburg took form. Rudolph, in his imbecility attempted a negotiation even with those he had insulted. Matthias marched from Vienna with 10,000 men; and encamped at Znaim. Here he was enthusiastically received, and contingents joined him raising his force to 25,000. He invited the Bohemians to meet him at Czaslau; but Rudolph summoned the estates to Prague. Here the assembly demanded general toleration, communion under both kinds freely, the restoration of churches and burial grounds, the exclusion of foreigners from civil offices, the exclusion of priests from civil affairs, prohibition of all purchase of land by Jesuits without the approval of the three estates. This demand was signed by 200 lords, 300 knights, and by all the deputies of the towns. At this critical moment ambassadors from Matthias waited on the estates. He promised full confirmation of all their privileges and rights as a nation. When Rudolph appeared in the assembly Count Schlick handed him the articles. With an obtuseness that only sprang from clouded reason Rudolph asked for time. The estates demanded yes or no. He confirmed some of the demands; deferred others. This attempt at evasive denial at once created revolt and in a very few days 36,000 men were under arms. The Austrians and Hungarians under Matthias committed depredations; but an accommodation was proposed.

Matthias approached. A pacification was effected whereby Hungary, Austria, and Moravia were ceded to Matthias, and he was declared successor to the crown of Bohemia as appointed king. The crown and sceptre

of Hungary were surrendered to him, and satisfied with these conditions he retired to Vienna. July 12, 1608, he held his first diet to receive homage. The protestants now demanded confirmation of all his engagements. Before an answer was returned worship was re-established at Sintz, Steger, Gemanden. The lord of Inzendorf opened his church. Matthias prevaricated and procrastinated; and his subjects retired and waited. Matthias hastened to Hungary and here he restored all privileges fully, and Illeshazy was elected palatine, the first protestant who held that office. Meantime the impatience in Austria led to open revolt; Moravia was induced to join and Matthias felt the necessity of preserving his promises, although he had vowed vengeance aginst his protestant subjects if they continued the revolt. By formal capitulation of March 19th, 1609, all the privileges and immunities enjoyed under Maximilian were restored to the Austrian protestants. A general homage of these states followed.

Bohemia felt encouraged to expect similar advantages. After Matthias had retired Rudolph convoked a diet. Here the protestants demanded freedom of religious worship. The emperor denied that the privileges confirmed by Maximilian were now in force. He attempted to separate the Calixtines from the others, but failed. The protestants now decided, under secret encouragement from Matthias to extort by force of arms those rights denied to their petitions and remonstrances

The majority convoked another diet May 4th. Here deputies were commissioned to Matthias and the princes of Germany. The alarm spread. In half an hour 1,200 horse and 10,000 foot were in arms. The protestants proceeded to arrange their

plan for the defense of the country, and the preservation of their civil and religious rights. They decreed the levy of an army. Count Thurn, and two others were chosen generals; thirty directors were named; a confederation concluded with the Silesian deputies. Immediately a force of 3,000 foot and 2,000 horse was raised. Overawed by this force and remembering his humiliation by Matthias, Rudolph submitted, and with rage in his voice and manner, July 11th, 1609, he signed the royal edict generally styled the Lettre de Majeste, whereby not only full toleration, but churches and schools were accorded without reserve to his protestant subjects of Bohemia. An ecclesiastical consistory was also provided for, defenders of the faith included, to watch over the affairs of religion and prevent any infringement; and all ordinances to the contrary were annulled.* Similar conditions were obtained for Silesia. Though this charter was executed by the emperor it was deceitfully denied enrollment, and was thus restricted in its force as a fundamental law of the empire. It was a mere edict of Rudolph. The tragic fate of the document will appear hereafter.

The estates now endeavored to restore quiet by an agreement with the Catholic party for a general amnesty. This formality was agreed to and the document signed by all parties except William Slavata and Yaroslav Martinetz. The churches were opened and quiet restored everywhere. Still the protestants were excluded from the Aulic Council and were thus deprived of their chief means of protection against imperial encroachments. From that side they had no protection whatever. May 20, 1609, an embassy from the

* Goldast Append 368. Pelzel 653. The restrictions often asserted to exist in this celebrated instrument do not appear in the original presented by Goldast, the Jesuit advocate of the Austrian house.

united protestants of Germany reached Prague; and strengthened by this concurrence the estates determined to require a definite answer to their former demands from the emperor. After stern remonstrances from the prince of Anhalt strengthened by an allusion to Julius Cæsar,* Rudolph's fears, and the remembrance of Matthias compelled him to make a formal reply. He engaged to expedite the proceedings so that the princes should have no just cause of complaint, to improve his administration, and restore Donawerth within four months. The estates felt strong enough to accept these evasive and vague promises.

The attitude of the Aulic Council continued hostile; and distrust spread through the empire. At this juncture Henry IV. of France openly interposed. He had already with profound secrecy connected himself with the princes of the confederacy. A general protestant union was effected at Hall, January 27th, 1610. Ambassadors were at once commissioned to England, Denmark, Venice, Switzerland and the United Provinces, and correspondence opened with Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia. Saxony alone objected. During these proceedings Rudolph in his madness determined to break with Bohemia by fair means or foul. He kept on foot a body of 16,000 men raised in the diocese of Passau and full of venom against Bohemia. Rudolph deliberately withheld their pay knowing that the result must be an irruption for plunder. Under their chief Rainee they broke into Austria, and thence at once into Bohemia in 1610 and marched toward Prague, seizing Kronau, Piseck, Tabor, Beraun where they were joined by Archduke Leopold. The concerted conspiracy became evident. Consternation spread through

* For this interview see Schmidt, viii, 271-273.

Bohemia at this treacherous invasion. The estates assembled; but the emperor, full of prevarication, declared that all had been done without his order, and his knowledge. Rainee encamped on the White Mountain declaring he came as a friend to the emperor and the estates. This body demanded an explanation of all these proceedings. Leopold proceeded to the camp, as if for instructions, and returned proposing that the troops should retire, and evacuate the towns if not molested. These terms were accepted and provisions sent to the camp. But at dawn these troops stole in to the town, seized a gate, massacred the guard, killed all they met, and occupied the little town. They then attempted to seize the part lying beyond the Moldau but were repulsed with severe loss.

Rudolph invited the estates to unite with Leopold, and demolish the intrenchments. Being refused he furnished Leopold five pieces of artillery to command the old town. The estates at once appealed to Matthias and the Moravians and levied troops who bore on their standards the motto "Against Rainee." Matthias sent a body of 8,000 Hungarians. The troops of Nassau retreated having extorted 300,000 florins from the emperor, all of which belonged to Bohemia. On their march they were defeated with a loss of 2,000 and took refuge in Budweis. Stung to indignation the Bohemians under Count Thurn burst into the palace and took Rudolph prisoner. Matthias soon arrived and received a splendid welcome. All parties now felt compelled to wrest the crown from Rudolph as a perfidious conspirator against the lives and fortunes of his subjects. He was required to summon a diet. Knowing the purpose of this body he determined to anticipate it. Accordingly he requested that his brother

should be crowned at once as age and infirmities oppressed him. To all these proceedings the electors of Saxony and Mentz presented formal objections.

Notwithstanding his abdication Rudolph clung to the hope of differences between Matthias and the estates. This body did not omit this great opportunity to recover all their privileges including the right to elect their sovereign. They needed only an acknowledgment; as the estates necessarily possessed the right so long as they existed. Matthias having no other title than a free election fully conceded and confirmed the claim. The estates also demanded concession of the right to assemble when and where they chose, to have sole control of the finances, to remove the great officers, make alliances and a confederacy with the Hungarians and Austrians and raise and command an armed force by their own authority.* Matthias did not refuse; and agreed to a general confirmation of all their rights. This concession still left open a most dangerous postern for the admission of cavils against each specific right when claimed. But those promises satisfied the estates. Rudolph's agents had contended against these negotiations but failed utterly; and Rudolph himself in his impotent rage threw up the window of his apartment and exclaimed, clenching his hand,—"Prague, unthankful Prague, who hast been so highly elevated by me, now thou spurnest thy benefactor! May the curse and vengeance of God fall on thee and on all Bohemia." May 23rd was fixed for the coronation and Rudolph was required to absolve his subjects from all allegiance to himself. Shaking with rage he deliberately blotted the writing and

* See the demands of the English parliament a few years later. The contest was the same in both countries.

stamped the pen to pieces. On the day of coronation the estates assembled and the chancellor read the act of abdication. The ceremony of election in full form resulted in the choice of Matthias. He at once confirmed all the rights and privileges of the nation civil and religious. Rudolph was permitted to reside in Prague with a pension of 400,000 florins, and the lordship of Brandeiss, Lessa, Pardewiz and Pitzaran. But he was compelled to publish the ban of the empire against the troops of Passau; and Rainee was beheaded by order of Leopold, who had favored and incited his violence. Homage was rendered to Matthias in Silesia and Lusatia amid great rejoicing. It was the halcyon day of Bohemia.

Amid great splendor the protestant princes met at Rothenburg. Here they perfected regulations for maintaining their confederacy, for the levy of troops and contributions, and maintaining arsenals, magazines and places of arms. Rudolph's imbecility attempted to treat with them, but his advances were repulsed with contempt. The princes recounted his iniquitous actions, his persecutions of protestants and his wicked administration On the other hand the ambassadors of Matthias were received with the utmost distinction. December 14th, 1611, an electoral meeting was held at Nuremburg. Rudolph recounted his distresses and humiliation. He received a most contemptuous answer. The princes told him "he was himself the cause of the contempt into which he had fallen." He was pressed to assemble a diet for the election of a king of the Romans. He evaded the request; and the electors of their own authority summoned a meeting for the 31st of May. This was Rudolph's last humiliation. Broken in heart and

body he soon expired in the sixtieth year of his age. Rudolph's actions indicate his character. He possessed a perverted mind, easily biased by an evil education. His disposition was chiefly marked by deceitfulness and treachery. His nature was wholly unkingly, and marked by frequent acts of baseness. His tendencies were low, and the fatuity that marked his conduct indicated natural imperfections if not mental disease. The period of his reign has been pointed to as a day of literary activity and excellence in Bohemia. Measurably the statement is true, but the influence of Rudolph cannot receive the credit. The literary impulse had been communicated to the nation long before that date. The perverted example of the emperor encouraged charlatans, impostors and perverters of all education; and his hostility to the books and literature of the reformers, as well in science and general knowledge as in religion, denounce Rudolph as the enemy of true learning.

After an interregnum of six months Matthias rose to the imperial dignity and he signed a capitulation even more stringent than that of his predecessors. His own conduct had exhibited an example of rebellion perhaps contagious; and a spirit of investigation and discussion of the most vital questions in politics and religious philosophy prevailed in his dominions. Nations now felt their rights, held them in their grasp and knew the necessity of controlling them. Yet the old absolutism still demanded pre-eminence, and subjects were yet scarcely deemed by rulers to be competent to manage their own affairs. Great conflicts were inevitable. The spirit of liberty was abroad, but neither civil nor political rights had been defined, or fixed, or fully ascertained. In England and in Bo-

hemia the institutional and popular principle came directly into collision with the arbitrary principle. The conflict in both cases was identical. Each nation watched the other, and seems to have adopted the very words and maxims of the other. Bohemia came first; and the close sympathy between the two at every step is clearly distinguished.*

Matthias endeavored to secure peace. But a spirit was abroad as hostile to kings as to popular liberty except wherever the king happened to be controlled by it. This spirit was based on the iron despotism of the Jesuits. The emperor's good intentions received serious opposition from the determination of the Jesuit party to create difficulties and cause provocations. Contentions arose at Aix-la-chapelle and at Mulheim on the Rhine. In each case the design was to encroach on protestant rights, and provoke contention. At Mulheim the fortifications were ordered demolished and buildings forbidden. The princes found differences among themselves; and as Matthias and his brothers were childless the question of succession under the recent system of imperialism became important. Maximilian of Bavaria, son of the bigoted fanatic William who retired to become a hermit, declined the honor, and proposed Ferdinand of Styria. Matthias objected; but the assent of both branches of his family overcame his objections. At a diet in Prague in 1616, Matthias himself proposed Ferdinand and the coronation took place June 16th. The character of this prince created an era in modern history; and filled the world with more bloodshed, ruin, agony, hatred

* See the debates in the English parliament 1621 to 1640, the very period of Bohemia's agony on the same grounds of contention.

and evil than any other in modern history. It sheds its lurid light over Austria to this day.

Ferdinand was born in 1578, educated in the straitest school of the Jesuits, and his apt mind, of its own natural tendencies, adopted not only their maxims but their spirit, in the extreme strength and fervency of both. Hatred amounting to horror of religious freedom, grafted on a character naturally truculent, wielded imperial power and bent imperial privilege and influence toward the utter suppression and extermination of intellectual, political, and religious rights and freedom in his dominions. His inflexible bigotry and intolerance at first filled the Netherlands, England, France, Germany, Italy, with ruin and conflagration after multiplied cruelties; but finally extorted from the world the stern assertion of those very principles that Ferdinand labored to extirpate.

He frequently expressed his preference to live an exile, beg his bread, submit to every insult, lose even his life rather than suffer the Roman church to suffer. On his accession to his own estates he at once abolished the privileges confirmed by his father to the protestants of Styria, sent commissioners to eject the preachers and enforced their orders with troops. He made a pilgrimage to Loretto and bound himself by most solemn vows never to rest until he had extirpated what he called heresy. At Rome itself he received consecration to that work from Clement VIII. Let Bohemia know again whence her ruin came. In 1598 Ferdinand returned; and immediately banished all preachers and schoolmasters by force. In their place he established convents of Capuchins at Gratz and Bruck, and Jesuits at Gratz, Laybach and Clagenfurth. All protestants,

who constituted more than two-thirds of his subjects, were ordered to quit his dominions. In their places Catholics from Wallachia and elsewhere were introduced. Commissioners marched from town to town, and village to village demolishing the new churches and school houses of the protestants. Notwithstanding these notorious violences, so reluctant had the reformers become to encourage strife that Ferdinand was chosen and crowned king of Hungary at Presburg, and of Bohemia in 1618. The protestants of those countries relied on the strength of their actual position; but they became distrustful, and Ferdinand soon afforded cause of alarm. He specially selected for the council of regency the two councilors, Slavata and Martinetz who had refused to sign the religious peace. He at once distinguished them with much confidence; and they exhibited their zeal by most cruel persecutions on their estates. They are accused of chasing their tenants to Catholic churches with dogs, and to have forced open the peasants' mouths to insert the Catholic host. Their example was followed through Bohemia whenever occasion afforded opportunity. Ferdinand's confidential ministers did not hesitate to declare that peace could only be secured by executions and confiscations. Public alarm became intensified by the disclosure of the secret treaty with Spain to transfer the crown of Bohemia to that branch not excepting females, who were preferred to females of the German branch, if the male line should fail. This assault on the fundamental and most integral principle of the Bohemian constitution, and basis of all national right at once united Catholics with protestants all through the land. The last right of Bohemia was menaced. Matthew Henry, Count Thurn, then occupied the fore-

most place in the nation by talents, position, and character. His proposition to Ferdinand caused his dismissal from the burgravate of Carlstein, a post of confidence. He at once sought to combine adherents, and formed an association with the estates of Austria and Hungary, and members of the German union.

The exasperating intolerance of the court rapidly fanned the flame of discontent. The Lettre de Majeste whereon the present peace of Bohemia was founded contains this passage:—"And if they may wish to erect and build still more and other churches than those they now hold and possess, or any schools for the instruction of youth, it shall be lawful for them to do so, as well in the cities themselves as in towns and villages, freely and without hindrance." This sentence gave rise to the thirty years war. It is the language given by Goldast.* There is no ambiguity in the words. But a difficulty was easily discovered outside the document itself. Under words here quoted permission to erect churches on ecclesiastical domains had not been specifically accorded. The ecclesiastical proprietors now denied the right to do this on their domains. Under the right, as they supposed conferred, the protestants had erected a church at Brunau belonging to the abbot of that place, and at Klostergrab in the domains of the archbishop of Prague. These persons objected to the structures as an infringement of their feudal rights, not as a violation of the law. The church at Brunau was closed, that at Klostergrab torn down.

At these proceedings, clearly connived at by the court, the estates renewed their confederacies with the other powers. The people of Bru-

* App. Doc CXI.

nau sent deputies to Matthias, but they were arrested and imprisoned. Count Thurn called a meeting of six delegates from each circle, March 6th, 1618. A petition was drawn up declaring the demolition of the church a breach of the royal edict, and demanding the liberation of the deputies. The emperor charged the delegates with disobedience and revolt, and forbade all future assemblies, at the same time ordering the discontinuance of all attempts to excite commotion until he should come to Bohemia. This answer was not addressed to the delegates but to the council of regency controlled now by Slavata and Martinetz. Six of the council including the three protestant members were then absent. The following morning the delegates were addressed earnestly by Count Thurn; and on the following morning with their retainers they appeared in arms. Forthwith they strode into the council chamber where were four regents, the burgrave of Prague, Dupold of Lobcovitz, grand prior of St. Mary's, the two hated nobles, Slavata and Martinetz, and their secretary, Fabricus. One of the delegates addressed them with reproaches; but Kolon of Feltz exclaimed, "We have no complaint against the burgrave and the lord of Lobcovitz; our business is with Slavata and Martinetz the persecutors of the protestants." The burgrave interposed, but another delegate exclaimed "Let us follow the ancient custom of Bohemia and hurl them from the window." Martinetz was at once thrown out. Then the delegates looked confused; but Thurn exclaimed, "Noble lords another object awaits your vengeance." In an instant Slavata and Fabricius were also thrown out. All fell a distance of eighty feet but were saved by a heap of litter. After two days to arrange their plans they

again assembled with all the forms of a diet, and renewed their confederacy. They elected thirty directors from the estates; expelled the archbishop of Prague and the abbot of Brunau; drove out the Jesuits; sent a pressing appeal to the estates of Silesia and Moravia, as well as Hungary. To the emperor they addressed a respectful apology; and justified their acts by the fate of Jezebel.

Matthias well knew the temper of Bohemians and the ascendency of the protestants in all parts of the empire. He desired to act with moderation; and in this course was encouraged by Cardinal Klesel, but opposed by Ferdinand. On this occasion the king delivered a secret memorandum to the emperor. He said that "Since the introduction of heresy into Bohemia we see nothing but tumults, disobedience and rebellion. While the Catholics and the sovereign have displayed lenity and moderation these sects have become stronger, more violent, and more insolent. They have left nothing to the sovereign but his palaces and the convents.* If the emperor and the house of Austria are successful the forfeited property of the rebels will defray the expense of their armaments; if unfortunate they can only lose with arms in their hands the rights and prerogatives which are and will be wrested from them with shame and dishonor." Matthias was more prudent. He obtained a subsidy and troops from Spain; assembled 10,000 men, and entrusted the command to Dampierre; 8,000 Spaniards under Bucquoi, a native of the Netherlands and a pupil of Spinola; prohibited all levies of troops in the empire for the support of Bohemia. To the estates he declared that he had never intended to infringe the royal edict;

* An exceedingly valuable testimony.

and had armed only because they had; and if they would desist from hostile preparations he would disband his forces, would confirm the royal edict and give full security for the maintenance of their civil and religious privileges. He also sent two ministers to Prague to effect an accommodation. The known character and the declared policy of Ferdinand prevented the acceptance of this offer; and his conduct speedily justified their apprehensions. Enraged at being disappointed of his expected vengeance against the protestants he turned his whole resentment against Klesel to whose advice and influence he attributed the lenity of the emperor. With the assistance of Maximilian whom Klesel had equally offended, July 20th, 1618, he caused the minister to be arrested in the midst of the court, stripped of his cardinal's robes, and conveyed under escort in a covered carriage to a castle in the Tyrol. When this outrage was committed he went with Maximilian to the imperial apartment to convey the intelligence to Matthias, who was known to be laid up with gout and unable to exert himself. Ferdinand endeavored to justify the deed, representing the cardinal as a weak and wicked minister whose policy would divide and ruin the house of Austria. Emotion at first suppressed the emperor's utterance, and on recovering from his first impulse, and finding himself thus insulted in his helpless condition, thrust the bed clothes into his mouth and almost choked himself to avoid speaking. He could not do himself justice in words at that moment; and he felt the agony of having given himself a master who seemed eager to follow his own example. He submitted to the indignity with sullen silence. Ferdinand now pursued his designs without control. He led 5,000 men into Moravia and

ordered Dampierre to invade Bohemia. At court were heard only boasts that the rebellious peasants would soon be overpowered by the disciplined troops of Spain. The directors concerted measures of defense; and, as almost every town in the kingdom joined in the insurrection, in July Thurn found himself at the head of 10,000 men. His first object was to secure Budweis, Pilsen and Krummau the only towns faithful to the emperor. The last named place was readily taken; but Thurn was summoned from before Budweis by the invasion of Dampierre, who advanced toward the capital. The imperial troops were defeated at Czaslau and Lomnitz. Bucquoi was not more successful. He found obstacles at every step; and the excesses committed by his troops multiplied enemies. At this point the Bohemians were reinforced by the Silesians and Lusatians and by succor from the protestant league. Antipathy to Ferdinand extended to all protestants of the empire. Matthias endeavored to obtain a dissolution of both the union and the league. The latter renewed their agreement for three years, chose for their chief the elector Palatine who was elated by his recent marriage with a daughter of James I. of England; and he hoped by a league with the elector of Brandenburg to secure for himself the crown of Bohemia. He also proposed to elevate Maximilian to the empire; but the latter prince firmly declined these overtures. Frederic also addressed the duke of Savoy who listened, and bestowed on the cause a subsidy and a corps of 4,000 men, commanded by Count Mansfeld who had distinguished himself in the Low Countries on the side of Austria. But he quitted this service in disgust and materially assisted Savoy in the Italian war. While the union endeav-

ored to mediate with the emperor Mansfeld entered Bohemia; besieged and took Pilsen, and marched to Prague. After a severe resistance the fortress surrendered. This success materially checked the imperialists, and if the Bohemians now possessed a leader of the old stamp their cause must necessarily prevail. Dampierre retreated to Austria; Bucquoi was driven back to Budweis where he intrenched, as this place was the only remnant of the Austrian possessions in Bohemia. Matthias convoked the estates at Vienna; but only obtained reproaches for undertaking war with Bohemia without their consent. The duke of Bavaria and the elector of Mentz recommended an accommodation. Matthias accepted the arbitration of the electors of Saxony, Mentz, Bavaria and Palatine. Egra was selected for the proposed congress; but on the 20th of March, 1619, Matthias died.*

No prospect could be more gloomy than that presented to Ferdinand II. on his accession. He possessed indeed the sovereignty of Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola. But in every direction he saw the flames of rebellion and his authority either secretly undermined or openly annihilated. The protestant union displayed great power and was aided by the United Provinces. The support of France was on their side; that of England was expected for the elector Palatine. All Bohemia except Budweis was in the power of the insurgents. The Silesians and Lusatians had joined Bohemia and the Moravians were expected to do the same. Hungary showed its disaffection; and Bethlehem Gabor† of Transylvania had promised

* See for this general narration, Pelzel, Heiss, Schmidt and Heinrich as chief authorities.

† His true name was Gabriel Bethleem, but in that region a custom prevailed of setting the surname first. He is universally mentioned by the name in the text.

active aid, and was then confederated with Bohemia. Austria was only prevented from open rebellion by the presence of Dampierre. Ferdinand endeavored to pacify or divide his opponents, and especially to throw them off their guard. He sent a minister to Prague, and ordered Bucquoi to abstain from hostilities for the present. But he refuted all his professions by re-establishing the hated council of regency and refusing to address or recognize the directors. His evident purpose being to gain time his hollow proposals were rejected with contempt. Mansfeld remained at Budweis to watch Bucquoi; and as he was considered fully equal to this task Thurn marched to Moravia with 16,000 men. His arrival instantly completed the revolt. The Austrian government in Moravia was abolished. Thurn then burst into upper Austria, and marched to the gates of Vienna,—all but one. He occupied the suburbs and supposed he blockaded the town. From this point Thurn demonstrated the fact that while he possessed qualities calculated to attract popular admiration, he did not include in his character the toughness and stamina necessary for a general protecting the desperate extremity of his country's resistance to ferocious invaders. The states of the lower district assembled at Vienna. The catholics were too insignificant to possess any power. Ferdinand sent his family to the Tyrol, while the walls of his palace were battered by Bohemian cannon. Loud cries of vengeance arose in the streets. "Shut him up in a convent; put his evil counselors to the sword," was shouted in his ears. The crisis of his fate had come. Sixteen members of the estates burst into his apartment with threats and reproaches. But at this awful moment the sound of a trumpet outside an-

nounced the arrival of 500 horse sent by Dampierre. They silently entered by a gate left unguarded. The malcontents shrank away. News soon afterward arrived that Bucquoi had taken Mansfeld unawares and defeated him totally. June 22nd, Thurn was recalled to protect Prague. When released from this danger Ferdinand hastened to Germany to secure the imperial crown. The protestants diligently maintained their divisions. Saxony kept aloof. The elector Palatine did not possess a character or a position sufficiently commanding to enforce or induce union. England, Denmark and Sweden were all unwilling to engage in foreign wars. James I. had no parliament; and had not one for five years, and was now so poor that he was reduced to economical shifts to maintain his court. Deep discontent at the king's attempt to govern without a parliament filled the English mind. The United Provinces found serious occupation at home. The situation of France annihilated all hope of aid from that kingdom. The dagger of Ravailac had deprived that country of its weight in Europe; and its policy was now wholly undetermined. Louis XIII. surrounded by mean favorites who were the objects of especial animosity scarcely governed at all. The assassination of the favorite D'Ancre and the execution of his wife Eleonora Galigai are stated to have released the king from thraldom; but no public policy was possible. During this condition of affairs Ferdinand was recommended to the electors as the most available candidate for the imperial throne; and on the 9th of September his election was completed. On this occasion the Bohemian ambassadors were excluded. Soon after Ferdinand quitted Vienna a general diet of the estates of Bohemia, Moravia, Lusatia

and Silesia assembled at Prague. They were joined by the protestants of Austria, and Hungary, and were assured of the support of Bethlehem Gabor. They drew up a formal list of grievances; proclaimed that Ferdinand had forfeited his dignity; and proceeded by their inherent right of election to nominate a new sovereign. They declared that Ferdinand had broken his coronation oath, invaded the country with foreign troops, and violated the right of election. The catholics possessed neither numbers nor influence in this assembly. To conciliate the Calvinists they were allowed to offer the crown to the elector of Saxony. He firmly declined the dangerous honor; and Frederic V., elector Palatine, was elected king of Bohemia with only six dissentent votes, September 7th, 1619. Moravia, Lusatia and Silesia were allowed to participate, a privilege often claimed but never before conceded. As the active support of England had been confidently expected the relations between Bohemia and that country may be here briefly presented. Scarcely had the Bohemian estates thrown down the gauntlet by the "defenestration of Prague," when negotiations with all protestant estates and princes, and others supposed to be more or less hostile to the empire, were set on foot. Among others James I. of England, as "Defender of the Faith," as a professed friend of constitutional government, with king and parliament, and as father-in-law of a German elector who was the head of the protestant union, and himself an advanced reformer, became the object of special attention. June 16th, 1618, "The estates of Bohemia sub utraque" addressed to this monarch a very urgent request to take their affairs into his kingly care. James, however, did not at all comprehend the trouble, knew nothing of Bo-

hemian politics, and remained silent. Viscount Doncaster, however, was selected as ambassador to the powers concerned, and after some delay departed on his mission. The correspondence resulting is full only of dreary platitudes. James at that moment had two objects in view, first the Palatinate and second the Spanish match for Charles, prince of Wales. Both these objects became the subject of earnest debates in parliament. The king was compelled to listen to very earnest, almost stern declarations of privilege; and his House of Commons kept a close control over supplies. From the outset the Spanish marriage was distrusted and discountenanced. The Palatinate on the contrary engaged the full sympathy of the English nation. The parliament of 1614 was dissolved June 7th of that year; and Rushworth informs us that not until 1620 were writs issued for another.

This parliament was summoned for January 13th, prorogued to 16th and then to the 30th. During the sessions of this assembly occurred the disasters of Bohemia; but we have no debates during the negotiations of 1618, 1619 and the early part of 1620. But during this time very active intervention in the affairs of Bohemia took place on paper. Every state in Europe became deeply stirred by the events transpiring around Prague. The elector Palatine himself respectfully but cautiously explained in a vacillating way the troubles around him. His wife's letters are far more pointed and more brief. The indefiniteness of Frederic's character is conspicuous in this correspondence. James started out with the professed object of allaying the discontents by negotiation, and that of a very perfunctory character. June 25, 1618, Sir Francis Collington wrote from Madrid that "the stirs in Bohemia were

speedily advertised hither" and declared that the people "groaned under the excessive charge and expense for the subsistence of those princes of Austria and especially this king of Bohemia," referring to Ferdinand. The reply of the king indicated the tenor of James' policy during several disastrous years. He signified his "willingness to interpose if he might be assured it was a thing hartely desired by the kinge of Spayne." September 10th and October 18th Frederic again addressed James, and complained of the danger to both church and state. October 24th, 1618, the "Estates of Bohemia sub utraque" again addressed James and explained their danger from other people and the Jesuits. Frederic again addressed the king March 11 and 13, 1619. James addressed the estates March 20th, 1619 and expressed his anxiety to maintain the cause of religion. Again April 2nd, 1619, the estates addressed the king and signed themselves "Professing the Evangelical Reformed Religion," placing the entire cause of the trouble on the assaults made against their religious freedom. Again May 15th they wrote and signed under the same style. Although James did not as yet fight, he certainly contributed money freely. During those two years the king spent $200,000 to aid Bohemia in various ways "to preserve the Palatinate."

During the debate the general sentiment was tersely expressed by Sir John Davys;"—All men run together to quench a fire, which is our case. Though we are not so here; yet the Palatinate is on fire; religion is on fire; and all other countries on fire." The king also dispatched Lord Digby to the powers with propositions and money. By Albertus Morton's hands it appears that

30,000 pounds were sent to the princes of the union to keep them in arms, especially Count Mansfeld. The poverty of the king from 1614 to 1620 not only compelled him to convoke his parliament but rendered him a borrower abroad. To aid his son-in-law James received a loan of £75,000 from the king of Denmark, which he repaid with £100,000, obtained through the readiness of the nation to help the Bohemians effectively. In aid of the gallant Mansfeld Sir Horace Vere equipped and led 5,000 men and served with great zeal during the years 1619, 1620. Sir Horace nobly assisted by Captain Borough preserved Heidelberg, Manheim, Frankendale and Worms. Of these places Frankendale had successfully endured a month's siege. The king also sent £40,000 to keep Mansfeld's army together, as that commander could only assemble a host that must have pay or plunder. All these efforts were commended. The spirit of parliament was very earnest. "This part of christendom," said Sir Robert Phillips, "never received a greater blow than in the loss of Bohemia." "The whole kingdom is then ready," said Sir James Perrott, "both with purse and arms to assist the king in the business of the Palatinate;" and the petition and remonstrance of the Commons declared one of the great mischiefs of the time to be "The distressed and miserable estate of the professsors of our religion in foreign parts." All this indignation prepared the way for Cromwell and his iron-sides. It was also well known that in 1618 archduke Leopold had disarmed all the protestants and burned their books; and that protestantism under every form had always been stigmatized by the Austrian ruling family as the vicious cause of sedition, insurrection, and treason perpetually. From the stand-

point of religious, social, intellectual and political freedom for all men the charge is utterly false; from the side of tyrannical absolutism, repression of free thought, denial of civil liberties, and political slavery the accusation is splendidly true. At the moment when King James sent the sum of £30,000 to the union princes he also dispatched Sir Edward Villiers to Silesia to obtain from Frederic a submission to the emperor, "upon such conditions as his majesty should think fit." All this paltering with the sternest and most relentless combination the world had yet seen!

James employed able men and scholars in these negotiations. But their efforts were all unavailing in face of his own timidity, indefiniteness, and blind deference to Spain that despised him. Frederic certainly consulted his father-in-law; but events moved too fast. Although James did not venture openly to avow his satisfaction at the prospect of his son-in-law's elevation, inasmuch as Spain claimed now the reversion of that kingdom, yet he secretly rejoiced at it, as his correspondence clearly testifies. On the other hand he was able to state to parliament subsequently that before he could answer the letter his son-in-law "took the crown upon him," as appears by the debates of 1621 while the Spanish match was still discussed. At this time and for some considerable period afterward, probably until Mansfeld's death, King James contributed £20,000 a month to that commander to enable him to keep the field. Expenses incurred at this period for these general purposes are set down in his answer to parliament as follows:

Defense of the Palatinate	£17,288	
To the King of Denmark	£30,000	a month.
" Count Mansfeld	£20,000	"
" The Low Countries	£8,000	"

In addition to these sums £16,038 were handed to the Spanish ambassador in the form of gifts for his good offices; a large sum, £117,093 was expended for ships of war to aid Spain before Algiers, and other expenditures on behalf of the king and queen of Bohemia. This unlucky family cost the English exchequer £20,000 a year for several years. James, however, was effectively restrained by his parliament, as the estates attempted to restrain Ferdinand; and Charles I. encouraged by Ferdinand's success in destroying parliamentary control in Bohemia, struggled to secure the same subjugation of the Commons in England, by means of precisely the same arguments, the same designs, and the same methods. In England Cromwell more than offset Waldstein. Charles I. denied and scorned the right of parliament to control affairs of state, in almost the identical language as that employed by Ferdinand in the memorandum before referred to. The parallelism between the lines of conduct of the two princes is perfect. The history of England during this and the period immediately following cannot be understood without a comparison with that of Bohemia. While James of England procrastinated Frederic received active encouragement from Maurice, prince of Orange, the duke of Buillon, Christian of Anhalt, the majority of the protestant league, and Bethlehem Gábor. Consigning his own dominions to the duke des Deux Ponts, Frederic hastened with his family to Eger, where in presence of the deputies sent to meet him he confirmed all the privileges of the nation. The coronation was performed by the Calixtine administrator, George Dicastus, specially appointed vicar of the archepiscopal see of Prague. By the people at large he was welcomed with un-

bounded enthusiasm, and if ever a prince received tokens of regard sufficient to rouse him to valor and constancy Frederic received those tokens. Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Venice, and many German princes acknowledged his title.

The Hungarian protestants rose and called in Bethlehem Gabor. This prince captured Cassir, Tiernau, Neckra, Neuhasel; and dispatched 18,000 men to the aid of Thurn. Bucquoi who after the defeat of Mansfeld took Pisek and advanced to Tabor was now recalled. Gabor gained Presburg and advanced into Austria; and forming a junction with Thurn the combined forces amounted to 60,000 men. They attacked and defeated Bucquoi and were prevented from entering the capital by the breaking down of the bridge.

Ferdinand returned to see his capital again besieged, Bucquoi and Dampierre defeated, a Hungarian corps at Haimburg; but these troops were defeated by Dampierre and Bucquoi; and Homonai with his cossacks newly levied dispersed a force left at Cassau under Ragotsky to cover upper Hungary. His communications being thus almost severed, Bethlehem Gabor was compelled to retreat by the severities of the season and scarcity of provisions. He took Aldenburg and was soon afterward proclaimed king of Hungary, and Ferdinand's adherents were expelled. All Bohemia except Budweis, and the greater part of Hungary were now absolutely in the hands of the insurgents.

During there events Frederic repaired to Nuremberg to seek the aid of the protestant union. Ferdinand also sent deputies, but his offers were heard with disdain. Finding the catholic league under arms the

union determined to demand from Maximilian of Bavaria redress of grievances. They exerted themselves to prevent the march of Spanish troops from the Netherlands and Alsace and stationed an army at Ulm to watch the duke of Bavaria. Ferdinand, with the aid of Rome united the Catholic party, purchased the support of Maximilian with the most liberal concessions, and a promise of the electorate. He also received from the pope a grant of a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain and Italy and the Netherlands, and a monthly subsidy of 20,000 zechines in cash. To the elector of Saxony he declared that the war was wholly civil and not religious. To France the declared with equal emphasis that the war was religious and not civil; and he reverted to the case of the Huguenots and the assistance they had received from the Palatine family. These negotiations were backed by the court of Spain. On the other hand James I. sent 4,000 men to Holland to release a similar number detached by that country in aid of Frederic. About two thousand English troops were sent by the king to Bohemia in addition to those under De Vere.

The Spanish court refused to become a principal in the war but gave a subsidy of 1,000,000 florins; and a force of 8,000 men. At length Ferdinand's minister, Kevenhuller, declared that his master would abandon Bohemia to the Palatine, Hungary to Bethlehem Gabor, the Friuli to the Venetians, and would unite with the protestants to obtain compensation by conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. These threats alarmed the weak mind of Philip III. and by the only act of authority of his life he ordered Spinola from Holland with 24,000 men including 2,000 Irish. Ferdinand next concluded a truce with

Bethlehem Gabor and was wholly released from anxiety on that side. Next spring the protestants at Ulm, being disappointed of receiving support from France, agreed to terms of peace very advantageous to the emperor, July 3rd, 1620. The Catholics agreed not to attack the Palatinate; but Bohemia was left open to assault by the Spaniards, by the emperor or his allies, except the Catholic league. Hereupon the protestants in lower Austria submitted; and Ferdinand was enabled to combine his full power against Bohemia.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BOHEMIA PROSTRATED AND CRUSHED.

With a mock generosity Ferdinand required Frederic to relinquish his title as king; and issued orders to the duke of Bavaria to expel him from Bohemia. Dampierre was detached to watch Bethlehem Gabor in Hungary; another corps was withdrawn from Poland and directed against Silesia, while the elector of Saxony, now openly leagued with the emperor, reduced Lusatia, and prevented all succor from that quarter. While these enemies spread devastation through the provinces the duke of Bavaria, was assisted by John Tzerclas, afterward count of Tilly, who had already distinguished himself in Hungary. Maximilian first led 25,000 men into upper Austria and crushed the insurgents. Uniting with Bucquoi near Weidhofen he commanded a force of 50,000 men. These troops he divided into two bodies. With the Germans he entered Bohemia on the side of Budweis, while Bucquoi with the Spaniards and Italians reduced Kummau, Prakatitz, and their forces again effected a junction at Pisek. Here the Walloons and Cossacks by a sudden escalade gained the ramparts, massacred the garrison, and all the inhabitants. No quarter was given to any sex or age. This example terrified Strakonitz, Winterburg, Schuttenhofen, Klattau and other places and they surrendered. Frederic was already reduced to sore straits. His Palatinate was

overrun by Spinola and 20,000 Spaniards. He only possessed 8,000 Hungarian horse, a small corps under Hohenlohe, and Mansfeld's levies who maintained themselves largely by plunder. The hopes of many of Frederic's adherents melted away; and his emptiness of character had already exhibited itself by great imprudence. By his first acts he had alienated the Bohemians by his introduction of the French language and customs into his court. The indiscretions of his chaplain, Scultetus, increased the dislike of the people. The chaplain yielding to the strong Calvinistic sentiments he held denounced the Utraquists and Lutherans from the pulpit. The remaining ornaments of the churches, the altars, images, bells, crucifixes pictures were torn down. An attempt to demolish a great stone crucifix on the bridge over the Moldau created a riot with difficulty quieted by the efforts of Count Thurn. These acts, as irritating as they were impolitic, cooled all enthusiasm in favor of the new king. By special favor Frederic promoted counts Anhalt and Hohenlohe to the command of his troops, displacing and in fact degrading Thurn and Mansfeld, who had given him his crown. Mansfeld receiving a gross personal insult from Hohenlohe retired in disgust and withdrew his contingent, the very flower of the royal army, to Pilsen. Frederic conducted balls and pageants in honor of his elevation. At length the impending peril, and the failure of the burghers to raise a supply of money compelled the king to repair to the camp of his main army under Anhalt at Pritznitz. This force did not exceed 20,000 men, was without pay, enthusiasm, confidence or discipline. The generals differed in opinion, and there was no general.

Here Frederic's weakness disclosed itself in an offer of an accommodation. The duke of Bavaria knew the advantages he held and refused all negotiation until the elector had relinquished the crown. Anhalt was forced back rapidly to Rockytzan, Rakonitz and Annhost. The troops became disorderly and committed unbounded excesses. They also denounced their foreign generals, whom they accused of betraying them. In this condition the disorganized army took post on the White Mountain near Prague, and commenced to throw up entrenchments. The duke of Bavaria did not allow them time to prepare for their defense, which if they had had a general would have been already complete. Maximilian reached his enemies on the morning of the 8th of November, 1620, and ere noon had reconnoitered the position and made disposition for the attack.

Between twelve and one o'clock of the 8th of November the imperialist troops advanced to the assault. They rushed forward with loud shouts and uproar, and assailed the Bohemian army, about twenty thousand strong, from two directions. The prince of Anhalt discharged his artillery simultaneously; but the pieces were aimed too high and the shot passed over the heads of the enemy. Not a man fell. Then the close combat began. On both sides it was fierce and stubborn for some time; and advantage inclined to one contestant and to the other. By a fierce charge the imperialists on the right wing took some guns. Here the young prince of Anhalt supported by young Count Thurn and John Budna the elder, charged with so much vigor that they broke through the assailants, passed over heaps of dead and seized the commander's battle flag. On the left wing, Bornemissa in com-

mand of eight thousand Hungarians was assailed by Poles and Cossacks. These were repulsed with slaughter and the Hungarians pursued them. The battle at this point inclined to Bohemia. Bucquoi, still in the saddle, notwithstanding his wound, ordered up a large body of cavalry in support of his retreating troops, as they broke before the prince of Anhalt's charge. At this point the fight was stubbornly renewed and neither side would yield. The prince fell wounded from his charger, and nearly became a prisoner. The greatly superior numbers of the imperialists slowly gained the advantage. Again the Hungarians charged and broke their opponents ranks; but Maximilian and Lichtenstein hastened forward with a large body of fresh troops, and the Hungarians in turn were forced back in some disorder. Anhalt ordered the Hohenlohe cavalry to their support; but these troops speedily gave way. The Hungarians under Bornemissa still fought; but being assailed on both flanks and unsupported at length gave way with broken ranks. They retired to the valley by Motol, reached the Moldau, and attempted to reach the opposite bank. The greater number sank in the stream exhausted as they were, and according to their habits overloaded with booty. The infantry thus exposed on all sides retreated in disorder; but the Moravians still stood undaunted, disdaining to leave the field. Firmly they held their ground under the younger Count Thurn and Henry Schlick. Against these heroes now was the full force of the imperialists directed. Most gallantly they fought and for the most part were slain as they stood. Count Schlick and some other officers were made prisoners by the Waldstein heavy armed cavalry. The entire Bohemian entrenchments were stormed. Six

thousand dead including young Count Schlick and other knights testified to the gallantry of the resistance. Young prince of Anhalt, Count Henry Schlick, Styrum Rhinegraf and the duke of Saxe Weimar were made prisoners. The elder prince of Anhalt retired with his force to Prague. Of the imperialist field officers Count Meggan, Karattäus, Rechbergen and Petersen and twelve other officers lay dead. Count Gottfried of Pappenheim was found wounded amid a heap of slain.

At the opening of the battle Andreas of Habernfeld had been dispatched to Frederic requesting his presence with his army. But he sat at dinner with the English ambassadors and some ladies. After repeated requests the king rode out to the Strahov gate. Here he stood on the ramparts and viewed the utter ruin of his army. A sad sight for him and his friends! He ordered the gate to be opened and the fugitives admitted into the city. He returned at once to the palace, apparently without a thought of making defense.

By this calamitous defeat on the White Mountain, the purposes of the insurgents were utterly frustrated, and the right of the nation to elect its own king was lost perhaps forever. The cause of this disaster must be referred to the jealousies prevalent among Bohemians. They would not elect a patriot of their own nation, although abundant proof existed of the wisdom of such a choice; and the sentimentalism then very prevalent among the reformers placed in foremost rank a prince wholly unfitted for the stern leadership of a nation struggling against the combined force of absolutist and religious fury.

No entreaties or expostulations could prevail on Frederic to defend his capital. The citizens eagerly

declared they were strong enough to resist until favorable terms could be obtained. He asked for a truce of twenty-four hours to enable him to retire in safety. Maximilian granted but eight. The city was filled with troops who had retreated from the White Mountain through want of a supreme commander. Mansfeld still held the field. Tabor, Pilsen and Falkenau successfully resisted. The duke of Anhalt urged Frederic to retire at once. Their chief interests lay elsewhere. Frederic abandoned all his baggage, crown and the archives of the kingdom in the market place of the old town of Prague and fled with his wife and children to Breslau. Anhalt, Hohenlohe, the elder Thurn, Bohuslav Berka, Ranpova, John of Bubna and several others accompanied his flight. Bohemia fell through want of a leader to concentrate her gallantry as of old. The citizens thus abandoned sent messengers to Maximilian and Bucquoi requesting them to take possession of the city, and maintain order. The Walloons had already seized the ramparts, and commenced indiscriminate plunder. By the Strahov gate Maximilian, Bucquoi, Tilly, Colonel Wallenstein and other officers entered about midday of November 9th, and seized the Hradschin. William of Lobkovitz and five other Bohemian lords waited on Maximilian and besought forgiveness for their insurrection, the security of their liberties and the exercise of their religion, and a prohibition of plundering. Maximilian replied mildly. To prevent plundering within the prohibited period was indeed in his power, and he would endeavor to arrest it; as to the other points he had no instructions of any kind. He suggested to them to submit to the emperor without reserve. Forthwith ambassadors were dispatched

from the old and new town, to ask in the name of the citizens for three days wherein conditions might be arranged. The reply refused even three hours and they were cautioned to submit unconditionally. They obeyed and even surrendered their arms to the duke. On the third day all the Bohemian lords and knights in Prague appeared before the duke, acknowledged their offense openly, renounced their treaties with Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia and Hungary, and deposited the documents with the duke. They swore to acknowledge only Ferdinand for their king and entreated Maximilian to intercede for them. The duke promised his best offices; but notwithstanding these promises and engagements six hundred houses in the city were at once violently pillaged. The city observed order and quiet. The larger part of the garrison was withdrawn and placed under Tilly's command. For the present Ferdinand and his advisers restrained their hands. Negotiations were still pending with England for the safety of the fugitive king and the Palatinate. Two thousand four hundred English troops still occupied a strong position near Prague, although they had not raised a hand during the recent battle. James I. of England would not commit himself so far.

They were present in honor of the king of England's son-in-law, but not as soldiers of the king of Bohemia. A very strong feeling arose in England, and the emperor grew cautious and deceitful. He must first release himself from English complications. But the English troops soon withdrew. Frederic personally was not worth molestation, and with his favorites, Hohenlohe and Anhalt, were consigned to contempt and obscurity. Probably no three other men ever cost a nation so dear. Bohemia approached utter extinc-

tion as a nation; and the process by which this extinction was accomplished, unparalleled in the annals of the world, deserves deliberate consideration from all thoughtful persons. When Ferdinand was shown the original document of the Lettre de Majeste he said contemptuously, "And this is the scrawl that has caused all this mischief!" He then cut off the seal with a penknife; and running the knife through the parchment he cut it into scraps and threw them into the fire.

Carl von Lichtenstein was appointed stattholder of the kingdom. The troops in garrison at Prague consisted of Spaniards and Netherlanders, chiefly Walloons. The citizens at once became the helpless objects of the ruffianly insults of these miscreants. Heretic, heretic became the constant epithet and it was hurled at all indiscriminately. At the instigation of the Jesuits the mercenaries instituted most rigorous search for books in every household and in every public insitution. Bohemian books and treatises of every description were ruthlessly torn from their owners, piled in heaps in the public square and burned in thousands at a time. Nothing was spared; and the tome of yesterday, illuminated, bound, and ornamented, together with the reprint of the ancient chronicle of Dalemil just issued, fell alike into the devouring flame in the open street. The literature of the city accumulated during sixty years was utterly annihilated.

From the hour when the gates of Prague were reopened, November 10, 1620, a long train of ecclesiastics, canons, abbes, mendicant friars, issuing from their retreats advanced to meet the conqueror with hymns of joy. With urgent importunity they demanded restoration of all they had once controlled.

Some without the formality of a demand seized whatever they selected, and none could resist. These persons suddenly enriched also by lavish gifts torn from the citizens by commanding generals seemed to rise out of the earth and multiply by a miracle. Utter terror and confusion reigned among the protestant population. Lichtenstein turned a deaf ear to their supplications. Yet it was necessary to temporize. Dangerous combinations might arise; and a large portion of the country remained unsubdued. Mansfeld was strong and Hungary menacing. A general assault on life and property was not yet ordered. Some persons charged with high treason were indeed arrested; but religion as such was not yet assailed.

December 7th, 1620, the Jesuits were again restored to all their possessions formally remitted to the father provincial, Valentine Coronius. January 29th following, the chief church in Prague was also made over to them. February 28th, the cathedral was solemnly purified and restored to the Catholic rite in presence of the stattholder. The bones of the preachers and nobles interred there were dug up and thrown out; and replaced by some hairs of the Virgin, a portion of the burning bush, Christ's napkin, and one of the cobble stones which had slain St. Stephen. All persons who had purchased any portion of the church property were not only compelled to restore, but pay for its use.

During these proceedings Cardinal Carafa arrived at Vienna as special legate from Rome to hasten the proceedings. Even Ferdinand seemed lukewarm to this prelate. The cardinal in his "Relatione" has furnished a very authoritative statement of the progress of events. Himself suggested and superintended

the measures he relates. Ferdinand was consumed by the one absorbing passion—to extinguish from the empire every trace of opposition to the Catholic church. For this purpose oaths, obligations and considerations of humanity or economic policy were totally disregarded. He accepted any ferocity and extreme brutality to accomplish his purpose. The immediate object of Carafa was the extirpation of all but Catholic ideas from the university and all schools and literature in Bohemia. The conscience of the emperor was dominated by Lamormain, the Jesuit whom he abjectly obeyed without hesitation and without even the exercise of reason.

Bucquoi notwithstanding his wound marched against Carlstein, where a garrison of six hundred Englishmen had been posted. At the sight of the enemy they at once surrendered the place, and departed. Quiet reigned in Prague, and Lichtenstein restored the Jesuits to more than all their former power. The expelled prelates also returned, and their wrath long concentrated could now be poured out without hindrance or remonstrance, and it was. In all the country districts the reign of plunder ran in unrestrained riot. Cossacks and Tartars, discharged without pay after the victory of the White Mountain were turned loose on the country. Hordes of them wandered and devastated at will. They had been purposely sent adrift destitute and desperate. They had no path or line of march. They sacked and pillaged and slaughtered and ruffianized with thorough Tartar and Cossack effectiveness. Such was indeed the system of the epoch; the province supported the war. The districts of Königgratz, Chrudim, Czaslau were so ruthlessly tortured by these wretches that utter desolation of the

open country resulted. Thousands of families took refuge in marshes and caves from this devastating horde. The greater portion of these miserable fugitives perished from want and exposure. Moravia suffered a similar infliction. Yet only a portion of Bohemia was thus wasted. The other portions successively took their turn. Mansfeld still held Tabor, Pilsen, Ulbogen and some castles. Both armies necessarily maintained themselves from the districts where they were stationed. Bucquoi with the greater portion of his army marched into Hungary; and on his way, with contemptible vindictiveness utterly destroyed the tomb of John Ziska at Czaslau.

During this interval the citizens of Prague had resumed as well as possible their ordinary vocations. All was still. Ferdinand's council had matured their plans, and allowed the mind of the city to lapse into a sense of calm. Orders were now issued for the close arrest of all persons who had participated in the late emeute. Tilly had warned all these persons to quit the city and escape to a place of safety. The notice was of one day. They trusted to Maximilian's promise and heeded not the warning. The following night all were arrested and imprisoned. Count Schlick had escaped to Saxony but was basely arrested and sent back to Prague through the efforts of Doctor Hoe, a prominent Lutheran preacher. The number of eminent persons now arrested amounted to forty-eight. They were of the most exalted station in the kingdom. By an order issued at the same time all professors in the Carolinum, parish ministers, school masters, whether Calvinists, Beghards or Bohemian brethren were peremptorily banished from the kingdom within three days.

Mansfeld still commanded in the west nominally as the general of the banished Frederic. Thither now the war extended. Mansfeld seized several towns and the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony were summoned to march against him. A price—six hundred thousand crowns, was set upon his head. The Saxons compelled large contributions from every city, and the entire kingdom was gradually overcome. Orders were next issued to Lichtenstein for the condemnation and punishment of the prisoners. Every separate act during the last three years was recalled against individuals. The commissioners ejected from the window became especially clamorous for revenge. June 21st, 1621, was the fatal day fixed for the execution of the sentence. Strong bodies of troops took possession of the city as the day of doom approached. Coldly, slowly, the impending extermination was resolved on and begun. The first forty-eight victims comprised all the qualities that men admire and revere,—venerable age, science, nobility of soul as well as birth, eloquence, a holy life. Not one of the martyrs failed or weakened; but even in their last moments, priests known to be unwelcome obtruded their rejected services. On the morning of June 20th, the death warrant was read to the condemned, and they were notified to prepare for death. The emperor's proffered pardon was pleaded; but the cold reply excepted certain victims. "Besides," the answer said, "heretics do not deserve that any man should k.ep his word with them." The spirit that controlled these executions is demonstrated in the case of the celebrated orator and philosopher, John of Jessen, who had been ambassador of Bohemia to Hungary. The sentence is thus literally expressed. "The doctor Jessenius,

rector of the Academy of Prague, while living shall have his tongue cut out, his body divided into quarters, his limbs hung at the cross roads; his head and his tongue shall be thrown into a sewer. Nevertheless the emperor of his inexhaustible grace deigns to commute this sentence as follows:—"The tongue shall be first cut off, then the head, and afterward the body shall be quartered; the limbs shall be fastened to gibbets raised at the cross roads, and the head with the tongue shall be hung up over the bridge."

Jesuits and capuchins intruded into the very cells of the victims, although they had not been invited, and were not listened to.

At day break the condemned having dressed in fresh raiment prepared as for a banquet.

During their prayer together the castle gun thundered the hour for execution. Each as he went forth blessed the others and was blessed in turn; and all comforted each other with the confidences of devout christians.

The first martyr led forth was Joachim André Slik, count of Bazan, lord of Holiz, Loket and Svijany. His age exceeded fifty. His countenance noble and manly. It was he who being interrogated under torture tore open his raiment and exclaimed;—"Tear this body into a thousand morsels, look at the vitals attentively, and you will find there nothing but the love of liberty and of the faith. It was not ambition that urged us. We have taken arms only to defend our religion that was dishonored, our constitution violated, our national independence trampled under foot. Frederic has been vanquished. Ferdinand has gained the victory; but the issue of the war has not improved his cause, nor rendered that of Bohemia less just.

God has delivered us into your hands. May his will be fulfilled. Blessed be his name." Having descended the stairway two Jesuits accosted him. He replied, 'Leave me in peace." Seeing the sunlight he exclaimed, "One day men shall see the sunrise of justice that shall dissipate the darkness of this world." After a short prayer on the scaffold, with a serene countenance that brought tears to the eyes even of his enemies he knelt at the block. His head was severed from his body and then his right hand.

The next victim was Wenzel of Budova. Being asked why having been in safety he again thrust himself into danger, he replied, "My conscience would not permit me to abandon my country and its holy cause." Already condemned he said to the judges, "You have thirsted for our blood so many years, that I do not wish to prevent you from quenching your thirst. I prefer to die than to see my country die. Malo mori quam patriam videre mori."

Intruded upon by the Jesuits in his cell he replied from the scripture, wherein he exibited much greater proficiency than his tormentors. Then showing them to the door he said, "Asses that you are, you wish to teach others that which you do not know yourselves. I know you are the servants of that Babylon that turns its open throat toward me and my good companions. Go back whence you came." Advancing to the scaffold he passed his hand through his hair and beard now snow white and said, "See, white hair, the honor they prepare for you. They are going to crown you with the crown of martyrdom." Advancing with dignity and calmness he bowed to the fatal stroke Next came Christopher Heraut of Bezdrazic and of Polecic. Calling to him pastor Rosacius, who has transmitted a de-

tailed statement of these scenes, he commended to him the care of his wife, whom he believed to be wavering in the faith. This lady under the influence of the Jesuits aided to multiply the tortures of Bohemians.

Next advanced the venerable Kaspar Kaplir of Sulevic, a veteran of eighty six. Being informed that he might save his life by asking for pardon he declined the deceitful request. "Only from God do I seek grace," he said. "I can no longer walk without the aid of some person or by the help of crutches. Who knows if I should be better prepared at a later moment. Let my old head fall with the others." With similar constancy, dignity, and serenity advanced and died in succession Dvorcechey Prokop of Olbramovic, André Otto Losu, Bohuslav of Michalovic, Tobias Steffek of Polodey, Doctor John Jessenius who declared, "It is in vain that Ferdinand gluts his rage for blood; a king elected by us shall again ascend the throne of Bohemia," Christopher Kobr and the other martyrs to the number of forty-eight. Nine dreadful hours were consumed in these butcheries. "Not content with the blood of the martyrs," writes Comensky in relating these scenes of carnage, 'our enemies have continued their sanguinary assemblies in order to discover in what manner they could completely annihilate our nation."

While these executions and those that followed through the country had been instigated by Carafa and Lamormain, on behalf of the ecclesiastics an attempt was made to clothe them with a political apearance. The same edict which pronounced the death of the nobles also abolished the Majestat's brief of 1609. Count Adam of Waldstein, landhofmeister of the kingdom, ostentatiously presented to the king the

original document, which although never enrolled had been carefully preserved. Ferdinand is said by one authority to have viewed the document in silence, but to have then said aloud:—"See then the scrawls that have caused my predecessors so much trouble." Then taking a pair of scissors he cut the document into frag ments and threw them into the fire, as before narrated.

The storm of persecution spread widely. All Calvinists, all who had prayed for the pretended king Frederic, and all who had taken any part in the deliberations of the condemned were forthwith banished. Real estate must be sold—where allowed—within three months. Under this decree thousands of families were exiled in poverty and distress. More than three-fourths of Bohemia were included in this sweeping proscription. Commissioners supported by Lichtenstein's dragoons traversed the country and left not a house unvisited. Lichtenstein is credited with an attempt to moderate the excessive harshness of this measure by representing the still latent danger of insurrection arising from despair. Carafa and Lamormain at Vienna procured peremptory orders for instant obedience. Towards autumn the political situation changed. Mansfeld retired from the upper Palatinate and Bethlehem Gabor withdrew from his attempt on Hungary. The frontiers were clear. The regiments thus disengaged were concentrated at Prague. In December the decree of banishment was enforced to the utmost. All persons who had been in any manner concerned in the rebellion were ordered to quit the kingdom. The administrator of the Consistory—George Dicastus was cited before the council and received the following propositions to present to his colleagues: I. To contribute a very large sum for the pay of the troops.

II. To disavow the coronation of Frederic III. To restore the former ecclesiastical establishments. IV. To be re-ordained by the archbishop of Prague. V. To repudiate their wives or at least to receive a dispensation. If any of them desired to abandon the position of an ecclesiastic, and be converted, he was promised civil employment. These terms were indignantly rejected. More than forty exiles, Calvinists and Lutherans, were expelled. Adam of Waldstein, appealed to by the elector of Saxony, replied that Prince Lichtenstein had promised all persons of the confession of Augsburg that they had nothing to fear. In fact two Lutheran churches still remained unclosed from motives of present policy. Ferdinand sought the electoral dignity and he would not totally alienate the elector of Saxony. But the sword hung by a slender thread. A general amnesty next appealed to the terrors of the people on condition of absolute recantation. For some mysterious reason two preachers were exhorted to administer the sacrament at Easter under both kinds. More than a thousand persons dared receive it. Instantly the "scandal" became a subject of severe remonstrance from Carafa. The chief families of Hungary were still protestant and that country must also be duped for the present. Carafa's motive was stimulated by the fact that all the religious people in Prague devoted themselves to the few preachers that remained, and the Roman priests were neglected. During this year, 1622, Ferdinand made a pilgrimage to Mariazell in Styria. Here he renewed his vow to exterminate heresy. The edict expelling the remaining preachers was issued October 24th, now that reasons for further casuistical dissimulation no longer existed. The retiring pastors were accompanied

by a crowd of their friends; and at "the field of tears," near Prague, addressed an earnest exhortation to them to be faithful.

The conference at Ratisbon convoked by Ferdinand at this time was by no means a regular Diet of the empire. It consisted solely of the electors and a few Lutherans devoted to Ferdinand's policy, with some princes of the league. The emperor merely temporized again before the remonstrances of John George of Saxony. He was known to entertain the most hostile designs against the protestants of Silesia, who chiefly controlled the country. He was only prevented from exterminating them also by want of time. But his conduct was registered in the memory of the province; and one hundred and fifty years later the enemies of Austria smote its legions by the hand of Frederic II. aided powerfully throughout by the active sympathies of the protestant population. The two Lusatias also had been marked for slaughter; but they had been pledged to the elector of Saxony for seven millions as the price of his aid against Frederic V. and eventually they remained Saxon. All the fury of the destroyers became concentrated against Bohemia.

Toward the close of the conference the adhesion of Saxony became of less importance in consequence of the agreement between the emperor, Spain, the three ecclesiastical electors and the pope. Thus by the first great act in this drama the legal existence of protestantism became extinguished in Bohemia; and there remained only the drastic measures to subdue the individual minds of the population. To this noble end the emperor of Germany now addressed his thoughts, his confessors, and his dragoons!

CHAPTER XXIV.

CARNIVAL OF DEVASTATION AND CRUELTY IN BOHEMIA.

Ferdinand prepared for his coronation and journeyed to Prague for that purpose.* He was preceded by Carafa; and the cardinal must journey far in the country before encountering a single co-religionist. The peasants regarded his cortege with wonder. Solitary priests without flocks presented themselves. A venerable Carmelite of ninety years declared that for "three score years and ten no representative of the holy see had visited that region."† The cardinal encountered "only churches sacked, towns burned, villages reduced to heaps of ruins."‡ He passed the White Mountain and the sight caused tears of joy. Already the victors quarreled bitterly over the spoils.§ All the orders of monks received rich endowment at once. The Carolinum fell to the Jesuits and the control of all printing in the country was committed to them.** Very great difficulty was experienced in providing professors or teachers and for years chair and schools remained vacant.§§ Even the Catholic priests who had

* Up to this time Ferdinand was only King by nomination not king in fact or in right.

† Carafa Commentaria, p 154.

‡ Carafa Commentaria, p. 155.

§ Historia Persecutionum, Comensky Ch. 52 §§ 3, 4.

** Ranke iii, p. 408. Ferdinand frequently expressed regret at not being able to enter their order. Lamormain, p. 240, 241.

§§ Ferdinand twice made the pilgrimage to the Shrine of our Lady of Brandeis, and in every place strove to re-establish the worship

remained in the country had joined the reformers. These men fell under Carafa's especial vituperation. "They were," he said, "without religious knowledge, even of the rites and ceremonies; they lived in open sin and caused great scandal."* They had been good enough to be entrusted with catholic parishes. The learning, the scholarship, the intellectual brilliancy, the literary taste, and the educational earnestness of the kingdom had been obliterated. There remained only a broken population of burghers and peasantry; and the fiery trial fell on them. The Bohemian tongue was forbidden in all religious observances; music took its place. The utraquist symbols were destroyed universally; and even the chalices set over the town clocks were broken to fragments.† Every utraquist church whose tower had received this symbol was destroyed. Exorcisms expelled the demons from church furniture, chairs were beaten with rods, and chancels purified with gunpowder. The great chalice erected by Podebrad in 1462 over the Teyn church was thrown down by the Jesuit George Plachy and his pupils;‡ the statue of the king replaced by that of the virgin; and Ferdinand crushing the heretics appeared formally in marble. At Gratz the cup was replaced by a ciborium, and underneath was represented an inverted chalice whence a liquid flowed with the inscription "Ebiberunt et fæces."§ The statues of Hus and Jerome

of the Holy Virgin "whom he named the generallissimo of his armies." Lamormain, Virtutes Ferdinandi, p. 80.

* Carafa Relatione, p 138. His words are "Vivendo in publici peccati, erano al rozzo popolo di piu scandolo, che li stessi ministri heretici."

† Carafa Relatione, p. 151.

‡ Pelzel, Bœmische Gelehrte, p. 16.

§ Historia Persecutionum, Ch. 105 § 3.

were burned and another patron saint substituted.* Even the dead were not spared. The ashes of John Ziska respected by Cossacks were scattered by Carafa, and the remains of Rokyzan flung abroad. The monks of Horaz-dowitz broke with iron bars the bones of those buried around their convent, and burned them. The cemetery of St. Egidius was turned into a bowling ground.† The intellectual tendencies which always in part precede and in part succeed the spread of protestantism were felt throughout the entire population of Bohemia, now alas reduced to a profound ignorance. In every house a Bible in Bohemian and some books of devotion were always present. It was necessary to eradicate all this. Missionaries accompanied by dragoons traversed the country. Not a house escaped. The inhabitants were summoned by church bell to assemble and bring with them all books. This order obeyed—the domiciliary inquisition took place; and woe to the wretched peasant who had concealed a family Bible or a book of psalms. The inquisitors always drew the children aside and with sweet words induced their innocence to disclose the hiding place. The guilty were punished by five weeks in prison or a hundred crowns fine, and the secular power was then and there present to enforce the sentence.‡ When all the books possible had been collected, a public pyre was erected of the favorite treasures; and while the flame devoured the pages the monks indulged in pleasantries on the similar fate awaiting obstinate heretics.§ In the convents and monasteries the

* Hist. Pers. above cited.

† G. Holyk p. 125, cited by Peschek ii, p 18.

‡ Histor. Persec. Ch. 118, § 3.

§ Holyk, cited by Peschek iii, p. 98. Holyk was an eye witness of the scenes he narrates, and was long in the hands of the Jesuits, but escaped to Saxony.

splendid manuscripts of the past were devoted to the meanest uses. This spirit and practice of destruction of literature in Bohemia did not cease for more than two centuries; and one Jesuit, A. Konias, boasted that he had burned with his own hand more than sixty thousand volumes. Konias born in 1691 died in 1760. He wrote an index of pernicious books, which was itself proscribed lest it might point out forbidden works to enquiring minds. As the intention was to destroy a nationality as well as a creed, all Bohemian books without distinction were remorselessly committed to the pyre.

Not satisfied with these measures all heretics were ordered to be expelled from public employment of every kind. For this purpose a military commander was appointed to assist every curé, and also a burgomaster, a judge and a receiver of Catholics. Clergy, justice, fisc, and force henceforth operated in concert in the ceaseless struggle to subdue heresy by main force. Wholesale proscription and exile had been proposed. But this expedient threatened to deprive the emperor and the church of the opportunity of restoring the wanderers. Count Paul Michna, pupil of the Jesuits, and son of a butcher, advised the council to deprive heretics of all their goods so that the kingdom should not be impoverished, and the fugitives should not live luxuriously in exile. Hence a system of exorbitant taxes and contributions was advised, and this tax fell solely on the petty nobility and reformed bourgeoisie. If the required exactions were not forthcoming soldier adventurers were lodged on the offenders. Conversion in such cases by no means saved the converted. Complaints always received the response that they ought to be too thankful to escape with

life.* To crown the infamous cruelty of these extortions Ferdinand deliberately adopted a device subsequently attempted by James II. of England and others. Coin debased to the uttermost, and of a nominal degree of debasement constantly fluctuating was issued in profusion. Thus all business values were destroyed at one stroke. This infamous system, continued from 1622 to 1624, effected more of the ruin of the country than ten years of war contributions."† Bohemia had always been rich in silver; and her splendid coinage in chief measure formed the foundation of her prosperity. To these infamous methods of spoliation was now added another—mockery and insult. The restraints hitherto self-imposed on this point were now all cast aside. The most offensive epithets, the most slanderous gibes were constantly flung at the non-catholic population. All this persecution sustained by mercenary soldiery hired from everywhere became

* Histor. Persec. Ch 46, § 5.

† The evil effects of this ruinous practice were perfectly understood in that day. Thus Stransky one of the exiles of that period, writes "For although the years, 1621, 1622 1623 were not unproductive, yet our affairs became tenfold more afflicting than previously. During three whole years flowed in upon us the scourge of debased money; and then at last from experience we believed what had been with equal truth and wisdom, declared by Boleslas Leni, a prince of our nation on his death bed;—'neither pestilence, nor war, nor hostile incursions into the provinces, devastation, however atrocious can injure prosperity so grievously, as frequent changes and debasement of money. This description of imposition reduces the ordinary population to extreme poverty.' The name and image of those who have struck bad money ought to bear a red stain not only in the present age but for all future time. The discovery of this fraud produced consternation everywhere." Bohemia had conducted extensive trade with neighboring nations and her money, silver and gold, had always been good. The present villainous debasement, intentionally threatened, and in fact accomplished, total ruin to all business. See Hist. Perse. Ch. 47, § 1. On the evils of bad money during this period by the "Kipper und Wipper," and by debasement see Historische Zeitschrift of Sybel, 1866.

a hopeless torture through the emperor's success in Germany. The victims reasoned that expatriation was useless, as the same secular and spiritual arm confronted them everywhere. These impressions were necessarily encouraged by the Catholic priests, and every convert became at once an agent with his former co-religionists, in order to support his consistency and calm his conscience, by inducing others to join him in his defection. His sense of shame became diluted as it was distributed over a greater number. This procedure was systematized. Mixed commissions composed of Dominicans and Jesuits were organized. To these were added jurisconsults and some Catholics or converts. These commissions traversed the circles of the kingdom. Arrived at a village or town the commissioners invited the principal inhabitants before them and explained the advantages of becoming Catholics. If any replied that he was not versed in Catholic church doctrines he was invited to be instructed. Consent was fatal. Daily urgency was forced on him. He was not out of sight a moment, and reiterated visitations were imposed on him. Some refused these terms after they had disposed of their property. But flight was difficult if not impossible. Every avenue was closely guarded. Delay after the time appointed inflicted heavier chastisement on such as "despisers of the imperial grace." The persecutions of Diocletian were mild compared to the tortures inflicted on Bohemia.

A few preachers more daring than the rest concealed themselves in remote places These were busily sought out, and delivered to the secular arm. Occasionally these bold men suddenly appeared in villages where

no Catholic curé was found. But double woe to the hapless pastor arrested on such occasion. He was at once handed over to the ruffianly caprices of a brutal soldiery who were restrained by no scruples whatever, or condemned to frightful legalized tortures. The pastor of Bohdalov, Paul Psenicka, a venerable man of seventy, was burned at a slow fire composed of the books of his own library. At Aurzinoves the imperial troops filled their victims' mouth with gunpowder and then exploded it.† At Königgratz in 1622 a student of theology Andre Chebdovsky, in the service of Count Thurn, was impaled on attempting to quit the country. The pastor of Czaslau, Matthias Ulicky, was tortured for having baptized in secret, and distributed the sacrament. As he refused to abjure his hand was cut off, then his head, and his body was quartered, September 10, 1627. Multitudes of similar infamies were perpetrated during these years. Happy indeed were those who were simply murdered. Torture and slow death afterward in dungeons became common. A few abjured. In 1624 still more emphatic and severe decrees of banishment were issued against pastors: but a few remained secreted, and kept alive the faith of their flocks.

John Decanus remained hidden in Prague four years. Only after the most atrocious penalties were denounced against those who harbored pastors in 1625, and large rewards offered to informers did the last of these men retire. In 1627 the protestant clergy had disappeared from Bohemia.*

* Hist. Persec. Ch. 50. § 11 and 14

† The Hist. Persec. contains detailed descriptions of the horrible cruelties inflicted on the pastors. Ch. 50, § 1-21. Ch. 57, § 2. During this year 1627 the pastor of Czaslau, Matthias Ulitzky was put

During this period, however, the licentious soldiery by excess of cruelty had retarded rather than facilitated conversions. Lichtenstein was compelled by the universal clamor to revoke in cities the powers entrusted to such commissioners. To judges alone the work was now committed. The soldiers sacked Catholic churches also, and such conduct was not military. Even the consecrated host became the subject of scornful profanation and ecclesiastics were not spared. Hence the heretics saw no advantage in conversion. Non-attendance at public service became now an offense. Heretics were driven to the mass or the confessional by severe fines, infants were forcibly baptized, and absolute control over them claimed by the church. Absence from processions, and neglect of fastings equally exposed offenders to penalties. All persons admitted to a trade or profession since 1618 and not converted were prohibited from exercising it. Marriages formally were now forbidden unless both parties were Catholic. These methods compelled compliance in the case of many. But as submission continued very partial another method was resolved on.

In July, 1624, a general decree was issued to the commanders of all circles in the kingdom. It contained fifteen articles.

Art. I. Absolute prohibition to practice a trade, a business, or any industry whatsoever on the part of all those who will not unite with his majesty in faith.

II. All persons who shall permit any person whomsoever to preach, to baptize, or to perform a marriage

to torture for having baptized and administered communion. As he refused to apostalize first his hand was cut off, then his head, and his body quartered; September 10, 1627. Hist. Persec Ch. 57. §§ 2-6.

ceremony in their houses shall pay a fine of 100 florins, and in case of non payment shall be imprisoned for six months.

III. The curé shall not accompany to the place of burial the bodies of those who have not died Catholics, and shall not celebrate funeral rites for such; nevertheless he shall impose all mortuary and interment fees.

IV. All persons who shall occupy themselves with any work whatever on Catholic fête days, shall be imprisoned and fined ten florins.

V. All persons who shall remain in a tavern at the time of mass shall be imprisoned and fined 10 florins; the innkeeper shall pay double.

VI. All those who shall manifest by words, gestures or otherwise their disrespect with reference to the Catholic worship and clergy shall be expelled from the kingdom, and their goods shall be confiscated. The same penalty for those who shall hold heretical meetings.

VII. All those who shall eat meat on Friday or Saturday without special permission from the archbishop shall pay a fine of 10 florins.

VIII. Every father of a family who shall not be present at mass Sundays and holidays shall be bound to supply four pounds of wax candles if he is rich and two pounds if he is poor.

IX. A census of children shall be taken everywhere. Parents who have sent their children to non-catholic schools shall be bound to withdraw them before Allsaints under penalty of 50 florins fine for the rich, and 30 florins for the poor.*

* Great numbers of children were forcibly collected in the Jesuit schools contrary to the indignant expostulations of their parents. Pelzel, Bœmische Gelehrte p. 31, 35.

X. Whoever shall attempt to impart, secretly at home, religious instruction to young persons shall be expelled by the police, and all his goods confiscated.

XI. No last will shall have effect if not made by a Catholic. Heretics are deprived of the right to testify.

XII. No young man, whether orphan or not shall be admitted to any trade or industry whatsoever if he does not profess Catholicism.

XIII. Whosoever shall permit himself to blaspheme against God, the very holy virgin and the saints, and also against the glorious house of Habsburg shall be punished with death without pity, and his goods confiscated.

XIV. Every citizen in whose house shall be found a heretical inscription or any emblem whatsoever wounding to the Catholic religion shall pay a fine of 30 florins. Wherever such inscriptions or designs shall be found on public edifices they shall be carefully erased.

XV. The poor and the sick maintained in the hospitals who shall not be converted by Allsaints shall be expelled from the hospitals and in future only Catholics shall be received; thus the immutable purpose of his majesty shall be accomplished.

CARL FURST VON LICHTENSTEIN."*

This ordinance was posted up in all cities, markets and public places, by the government officers and local authorities. Immediately following this proclamation a beginning was made under its provisions. Visitors passed from house to house and left with every householder, housewife, maid, employée a

* Hist. Persec. ch. 91. Also Pelzel, Hist. of Boh. who gives the articles in full.

paper containing four questions. I. Were you born a Catholic? II. Have you become a Catholic? III. Have you promised to become a Catholic? IV. "Will you by no means become a Catholic?* The universal answer was in the negative and then proscriptions, banishments, confiscations with every species of insult and injury. By scores and hundreds all were driven out with wives and children. Every individual who could procure means to depart with accepted exile. Only the hopelessly poor remained. The citizens of Kuttenberg were promised religious liberty, as they were Lutherans, without exception. Six months afterward when occasion became opportune, twenty soldiers were quartered in every house until the owners were ruined, or Catholic, or both.

Not satisfied with this process the authorities surrendered the city into the hands of the Spaniard, Don Martin de Huerda. He let loose a squadron of cuirassiers against all indiscriminately and the greater number of the inhabitants fled in dismay and never returned. The town of Yumbuntlau had belonged to the Bohemian brethren for two hundred years. They had built and possessed it. The dragoons headed by two capuchins took the place as if by storm, and the inhabitants were expelled.

To Leitmeritz the Spaniard Don Balthazar was commissioned. He came with a battalion of dragoons; and two capuchins—Valerian Magnus and Franz von Rozrayov—directed the operations. The troops were quartered on the citizens by twenty and thirty in a house. This process seemed too slow and an additional regiment was called in. The exactions and cruelties drove the citizens out by hundreds at a time, and the city

* Hist. Persec. Ch. 92, § , 6.

became almost depopulated. As late as 1817 it had not recovered from the effects of that raid.

Königgratz was surrendered to the Croats. These fiends compelled citizens to accept conversion with stabbings and sword cuts. At last a "Breinerisch" regiment completed the work. The male citizens were imprisoned and the women left to the brutality of the assailants. Wantonness raged without cessation. At length the men yielded to the pitiful lamentations and screams of their wives and daughters and accepted a Catholic profession.* A very common practice among the soldiers was to seize young babies and detain them from their mothers' arms until the screams of the little ones compelled the women to abjure. Under these tortures the city became depopulated of all its educated elements. Merchants, traders, and professional persons fled as best they might, and only the abject and dependent remained. At Bydzov Huerda collected the citizens in the town hall and asked them if they would become Catholics. John Kolar replied that it was hard for people to abjure at once the religion they had been born and brought up in. Huerda instantly struck the speaker with his staff and expelled him from the city. A few packed their goods and attempted to escape. But a troop of horse dragged them back to their doom. From this place Huerda marched to Saatz. He sent his troopers before him and entered himself with some Jesuits who always accompanied him. Placing himself at the gate he forbade any person to quit the place. Hundreds escaped over the walls to Meissen. All the Bohemian brethren in the place were burned together in one great holocaust. At Domazlize the under chamberlain at-

* Hist. Persec. Ch. 96, § 4.

tempted conversions without success. Huerda wagered him five hundred ducats if he would succeed. Forthwith he quartered twenty troopers on every family and won his bet. The city was also condemned to pay the bet back again to the chamberlain. At Rokyczan, Schlan, Pisek, and other towns precisely similar persecutions were carried out. At Prachalitz the citizens closed the gate and resisted for three days and then surrendered. The soldiers entered in fury and slaughtered all before them. In three hours sixteen hundred and sixty men lay dead on the street.* At Lissa when the approach of the reformators became known the inhabitants fled at once. In the country districts no resistance was possible. Thousands left the country by every outlet. Other thousands fled to the mountains, to caves, and marshes and perished miserably. In a few fastnesses stragglers succeeded in hiding, and in future years the effects of their presence and secret visits to towns and villages were felt. The land has never been wholly surrendered. Books and printed matter were swept to indiscriminate destruction. Scarcely a vestige remained.

Terrible as the period from 1624 to 1626 was rendered by the cruelties here briefly and imperfectly sketched yet it was not the worst. Comparative repose resulted from the war with Denmark and the threatening invasion of Silesia by Mansfeld. On this side some little relaxation was necessary. But from the moment when Bethle Gabor retired, and duke Earnest of Weimar in Hungary and Bosnia had released the emperor from all apprehension the religious persecution of Bohemia was revived, if possible with more relentless rigor than ever. The very extreme

* Hist. Persec; Ch. 102. Not ten men escaped from this place.

of atrocious cruelty was reached when Ferdinand in person took up his residence at Prague in October, 1627, in order to be closer to the electoral congress at Mühlhansen, and to celebrate the coronation of the empress, and of his son Ferdinand Ernest as king of Bohemia. On this occasion the emperor found leisure, amid the political cabals and dramatic representations conducted by the Jesuit fathers,* the bear hunts, and festivities, to listen to detailed reports of the progresss of the reform of Bohemia, to dictate details of procedure, to stimulate the zeal of commissioners, and to recompense abjuration. Up to this point the citizens and peasantry had felt the whole force of reformatory proceedings; the nobility remained. The work of their conversion Ferdinand undertook in person. For this purpose other measures than open violence were necessary. The years 1627 and 1628 witnessed the progress of definite and concentrated persecution in Bohemia. Ferdinand and his advisers had discovered that the most effective method of severity did not consist of sanguinary violence. Carafa himself, with a calmness of brutality unrivaled, declares that "Men had recognized the fact that in order to enlighten the Bohemians and restore them to the good way there was but one method—persecution." His own words are "Cognitum fuit solam vexationem Bohemis posse intellectum prabere eosque in bonam viam dirigere."† Persecution then was deliberately adopted as a principle; but its method became cunning, cruel, and diversified in character according to the class assailed. The methods were not the less odious, be-

* The piece presented bore the significant title "Constantinus victor, hilaris tragedia."

† Carafa. Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata. p. 102.

cause not so sanguinary. An excited imagination is a frightful weapon. It was not humanity that prevented the autos da fe of Spain, of France or of the Netherlands. A keener weapon was employed. "It is necessary to hunt them from place to place," said the bishop of Breslau, "and at last not knowing whither to go in their despair, they will be compelled to submit." It was that principle that had hurled the Armada against England. It was the enforcement of that principle that now nerved the hearts of the Cromwellians. They felt that the last refuge of their brethren was being assailed from within, in alliance with the persecutors of Bohemia from without.

CHAPTER XXV.

DESTRUCTION OF THE NOBILITY.

From his infancy Ferdinand had been moulded by Jesuit hands. He was subjected to an influence very similar to modern hypnotism. Physically his eyes were open and his brain seemingly normal in its activity. Really his motive force was wholly guided by a mind without. "He had been early habituated at Gratz by his confessor, father Villerius, not to decide anything for himself; "per essere libero d' ogni scrupolo di conscienza" are the words of Carafa. Hence no consideration of state policy or economic effects entered his mind. He accordingly now surrendered himself to measures utterly ruinous to the ancient kingdom he had sworn to protect. Since 1622 some attempts had been made to reduce individual nobles to submission. By an order issued that year they had been summoned to Prague to acknowledge their offenses and ask for pardon. Seven hundred and twenty-eight nobles obeyed the summons and signed an imposed petition for pardon of rebellion. This declaration had been represented as a mere formality. Under this confession many lost their entire property; others one half, some a third of their estates. In order to prevent emigration strict prohibition of the sale of estates was published. The penalty was the loss of the purchase money and a sum equivalent to it in addition as a fine. This edict was directed against

all proprietors alike, guilty or innocent. Blind men, paralytics, and even dead men fell under this proscription. Cardinal Dietrichstein and Count Michna who conducted these inquiries jocularly replied to those who proved their innocence that they must be included in any event, as they were guilty of the double offense of heresy and wealth. This commission sat for several years; and proceeded slowly, to avoid the danger of resistance if all felt alarmed at once. The wealth thus amassed by no means found its way to the imperial treasury. Lichtenstein, Michna, Martinitz openly embezzled immense sums. At first the condemned lost only one half to save appearances. The victims idly dreamed of retaining the remainder. All the estates of the condemned were next assumed by the treasury and orders on the treasurer were issued in place of rents. Not a crown was ever paid under these orders. Very few were even permitted to remain on their estates. It was a plan of campaign. The protestant nobles were thus excluded from all political status. They retained not even seats among the estates. The next step consisted in the issuance of an imperial decree for the verification of all receipts for loans, all mortgages, and other representatives of money thus secured, under penalty of loss of the entire principal. After close examination the commisssion replied to all who had obeyed the summons, by returning all evidences of debt of which the recovery seemed doubtful; the others were declared to be the property of the emperor. In some instances persons who had seated themselves in conveyances to retire from the country were arrested without ceremony and their baggage confiscated on the spot. All sums of money deposited in treasuries or banks were seized.

Receipts from the treasury were proffered, and these excused by the necessities of the war. All means of escape were cut off even from the most wealthy. By this system the ancient landed proprietorship disappeared from the earth. In its place was substituted a motley crowd of Italians, Germans, Spaniards and other mercenaries who liberally shared the large spoils with the church. From this source was derived the colossal fortune of Albert of Waldstein, afterward generalissimo, chief butcher and chief victim in succession. The amount of property thus confiscated amounted to more than seven millions and a quarter of florins. Even this sum at forced sale did not represent a quarter of the real value. In one year, 642 lordships were confiscated. Thus the Lichtensteins, Dietrichsteins, Harrachs, Villanis, Buquois, Gallas, Dufours, Collatos, Colloredos, Khevenhillers, Kinskys, Huerdas, Marradas, and others have become enriched from the territorial possessions violently snatched from the Bohemian owners. If an equalization of land and estates be just in the extreme west of Europe, justice would require a similar equalization in Bohemia in the east. In the west a voice to reclaim has always been loud; in the east the voice even of remonstrance has been stifled for centuries. The portion that Ferdinand did not confer on his courtiers or his generals became the property of the church. "If any one traverse Bohemia now," says a contemporary, "and on entering a village, or passing a mansion he inquire to whom that palace, or those fields, or vineyards belong, where all is so rich and smiling he will receive the reply 'That belonged to such and such a proprietor, now it belongs to the Jesuits."*

* Peschek ii, p. 176,

These confiscations of the property of protestants were designed not only to seize the estates but to deprive the owners of all right of interposition on behalf of tenants and retainers. Henceforth not one word could they utter for liberty of conscience. A rescript of Ferdinand consigned all confiscated lands to the spiritual care of Catholic priests. The exceeding few proprietors of the reform who were permitted to reside on these estates were expressly forbidden to permit other than Catholic pastors. Even private worship in any but Catholic form, albeit without clergy, was menaced with death, as Carafa himself directly states.*

All protestant instruction fell beneath the same menace. Religious liberty thus annihilated, civil liberty was next assailed. July 30th, 1624, all marriage except between Catholics was interdicted. In the following year a new rescript deprived heretics of all political rights and privileges throughout the kingdom. These atrocities became intensified in proportion to Ferdinand's success in the field.

* Carafa Relatione p. 153.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WALDSTEIN, CARAFA, MONKS, JESUITS AND THEIR CRUELTIES.

At this juncture rose into prominence the most extraordinary character in modern history. No soldier, ruler or adventurer from Belisarius to the "Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green"* and Napoleon Bonaparte exhibited in his own career such tremendous vicissitudes, no man in any age presented such intense shades of light and darkness in his personality, as did the phenomenal person who appeared as a chief actor in the struggles that convulsed Europe at this period.

Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius Waldstein born of Bohemian parents September 14th, 1583, descended from an old Chekh family. Of most vigorous stock, but a seven months child, the boy and the man exhibited the strength and the weakness incident to a strong nature imperfectly developed, and wanting in some of the characteristics that distinguish humanity in its completeness. The family, though of ancient descent was poor, and belonged to the lower grade of nobility. The house had become divided into the branches of Wartenberg and of Waldstein, the latter being the less considerable. This branch possessed the small estate of Hermanic in the circle of Königgratz. The boy was left a complete orphan at twelve years of age his mother Katharine Slavata having died July 2, 1593,

* See The Percy Reliques.

and his father Wilhelm of Waldstein February 24th, 1595. These persons were both earnest protestants; and in their home Albrecht imbibed much of the faith and political and social sentiments of the reformed under the instruction of a protestant minister. At first the orphan boy was under the care of his maternal uncle Albrecht Slavata; but another uncle, Johan Karka of Ricain, took the lad to his home; and being an ardent friend of the Jesuits placed his nephew in the Jesuit school at Olmütz. The boy exhibited a wild and fractious spirit, unreasonable and inclined to be quarrelsome, and a turbulent impatience that obtained for him the soubriquet of "Der Tolle." The boy's make-up was strong as far as it went but was incomplete and crude.

For some time he was employed as a page in the household of Margrave of Burgau, son of Archduke Ferdinand, and this circumstance certainly influenced his future life. During this service he happened to fall from a great height and was taken up as dead. The Jesuits persuaded the injured lad that he owed his security to the virgin. Next we find him at the university of Padua at that time under Venetian influence, and not strongly Jesuitical or papal in its tone. Here the irregular mind of the youth exhibited a perfectly natural predilection for the mystic lore of the cabala; and he became an adept in astrology, his only other subject of study being mathematics, not then by any means the dignified and extensive science that it is now. Astrology, that excited the imagination and cheated the reason, perfectly suited the ardent impatience of Waldstein. His restless disposition was early gratified by travel and he is believed to have visited England. On his return to Prague the

youth mingled with the most reckless debauches of the city. Separated from early protestant associations, young Waldstein accommodated himself to his surroundings. Astrology occupied whatever attention he devoted to any kind of study; and in religion he seemed not to differ from those around him.

Attracted to a combative life young Waldstein necessarily became a soldier; and first saw service under general George Basta then fighting against the Turks and against protestant Hungary. After the siege of Gram he became a captain of infantry; and was then about twenty years of age. During the peace that followed Waldstein returned to Bohemia in 1606. At this period the dashing and self-confident soldier won the hand of an elderly lady, Lucrezia of Viskova of Landeck, possessed of great wealth both in money and estates. This marriage must be referred to 1610. The lady died in 1614 after four years of unhappy married life, leaving her husband still childless but possessed of an immense fortune. His wealth enabled Waldstein to equip a troop of 300 cavaliers for service against the Venetians; and he was by Ferdinand promoted to be colonel, and sent to Moravia. Here being commissioned to collect revenues Waldstein abstracted 12,000 crowns from the public chest and handed over a small balance to the emperor. His next service temporarily united his fortunes with those of Matthias; but on the appointment of Ferdinand of Styria to the kingdom of Bohemia, although wholly irregular and illegal, yet Waldstein seems to have transferred his allegiance to the titular king. Soon afterward Waldstein raised a regiment of Walloons and two regiments of infantry, and won distinction in the early operations against the elector Palatine—king of Bohemia. With

this important force he fought at the White Mountain. His troopers were among the first to occupy Prague, and the most brutal in pillage and violence. At noon, November 9th, 1620, Waldstein, still a colonel, entered the city with Maximilian. The following year Waldstein saw service in Moravia against Bethle Gabor, and rose to the rank of major general. His enormous wealth commanded promotion, and his next marriage with a daughter of the court chamberlain, Count Harrach, though ambitious and self seeking, was suitable and happy. The lady was much her husband's junior in years, fair and amiable. Priorato calls her "a lady truly of remarkable modesty, and perfect innocence."* On the occasion of his marriage colonel Waldstein was created count, and loaded with honor at the court of Ferdinand. At this period the crown held at its disposal no less than 642 confiscated estates of Bohemian noble protestants; and out of these the services of Waldstein must be rewarded. He was allowed to purchase property for 150,000 gulden at first; and so on afterward for 7,290,228 gulden. This latter purchase included sixty estates; and the price paid did not amount to one-fifth of the value. In 1623 Waldstein had become prince of the holy Roman empire; and in 1624 was created duke of Friedland. At this point in his marvelous career Waldstein stood on a towering eminence but with a tremendous precipice direct in his path but as yet unseen by man.

At this period he raised more troops; and exhibited further proofs of his ability to create regiments if not armies.† He also presented strong tokens of an eager

* "Una dame veramente di remarcabile modestio, e di una grandissima purita."

† A question has been raised by writers insufficiently acquainted with the system of confiscation then adopted, respecting the possibil-

ambition yet devoid of definiteness, a fondness for splendor, and an arbitrary and imperious will.

At that date true science had not disenthralled itself from the delusive bondage of superstition. Every natural event, every motion of the planets, and especially every conjunction of astronomical phenomena was supposed to be associated with the events of particular human lives. Although multitudes of human beings were born under the same conjunctions, and their destinies were as different as those of mortals always are, yet as only the most conspicuous were regarded, every person of any note studied his destiny by the aid of some professional fortune-teller. Even respectable astronomers still dealt in the jargon of astrology, perhaps as artists in all ages have made coarse pictures to suit the market and provide bread. Waldstein entrusted his astrological confidences to an Italian named Battista Seni, and with him devoted whole nights to a study of stars in order to wrest therefrom, if possible, some of the secrets of his future fortune.

Arrived at distinction, if not greatness, the opulent and gloomy major-general sought the aid of the astronomer Kepler. Even this illustrious discoverer did not disdain such service. He cast the horoscope of the eager and ambitious soldier. Waldstein was discovered to have been born under the supreme conjunction of the two mighty forces of Jupiter and Saturn, both in the

ity of so vast a sum as that stated in the text being at the disposal of one person in ready money. That estates to the value above named were seized and the owners expelled at one time cannot be questioned. But not one dollar was ever paid for them. Nominally the king's treasurer issued scrip to the dispossessed proprietors; but it was all utterly repudiated. The holders of the scrip were mocked and insulted on presenting even the least portion of it for payment. In this way Waldstein was able to obtain as many estates as he chose without cost, except whatever he paid to the treasury. But in fact no payment except the first was demanded.

"first house." Saturn presides over gloom, melancholy, mystery. His influence denotes dark ambition, imports a disposition impatient, haughty; portends calamity, struggles, contention; is associated with secret deeds of violence, with jealousy, despair, indignation over ingratitude, with a turbulent life, mighty foes, and dreadful vicissitudes. The regal planet on the other hand develops a thirst for glory and distinction, and points to splendid achievements, glory and greatness. The combination of Saturnian and Jovialistic influences indicated at once greatness of danger, and brilliancy of fortune accompanied by secret conspiracies, and the partial success of the malignant over the grand, of envy over glory. Elizabeth of England it was remarked, had been born under the same combination As Waldstein always bestowed munificently no doubt Kepler received a liberal donation for his vaticination. It aided to plunge the impetuous and now melancholy soldier into the study of the stars, not to discover their laws or motions but to descry his own destiny.

Being thus advanced to power and conscious of his resources Waldstein volunteered to levy, equip, organize and maintain a force of 50,000 men, without expense to the emperor, provided he should be entrusted with the absolute command. The emperor readily accepted this most welcome proposal, appointed certain districts in Bohemia for the new levies; and created Waldstein duke of Friedland. He soon raised a force of 22,000 in the districts selected, and on his march toward Saxony increased the number to 30,000. The promise of plunder being the condition of service, adventurers of the most daring and desperate character, criminals and vagabonds without home

or country, professional robbers and murderers crowded to Waldstein's standards. The most peaceable, wealthy and commercial districts of Germany were offered to these desperadoes, and no criminal or licentious violence stayed their hands. The army rapidly swelled far beyond the number stipulated, and before long reached 100,000 of the worst ruffians in Europe. North Germany to the Baltic soon became a scene of frightful devastation. All the destruction wrought by the worst known military oppression fell far short of Waldstein's enormities. Provinces were made desolate, towns sacked, ruin spread everywhere. Through Saxony, Brunswick and Brandenburg these murderous bandits advanced and wasted. Mansfeld and the king of Denmark were defeated and Hungary compelled to sue for peace. The operations extended over states and provinces and multiplied carnage and devastation.

In 400 years no such atrocities had been known in Europe, and never before in the regions now despoiled. Prosperous countries were instantly converted into scenes of ruin; of towns and villages remained only ashes. Corpses of men and women strewed the highways—many found with coarse grass in their mouths, gnawed for food. The dead were disinterred and devoured; children slew their parents, mothers killed their infants to appease the tortures of hunger. Only at Stralsund did Waldstein receive a check. But his conquests conferred on him dukedoms and lordships, and vast landed estates.

During these atrocities in Germany, Bohemia continued to be the scene of unresisted oppression on one side and remorseless tyranny and rage of intolerance on the other.

February 28th, 1626, Ferdinand declared himself

universal guardian of heretic orphans whose numbers he could multiply at pleasure, under the title "pupillorum supremus tutor." Women were found much more intractable than men during these cruelties. In a sermon preached at Prague the Jesuit André declared that it was far better to have the devil at one's side than a heretic woman. One can be expelled by exorcism and holy water, but with the other the sign of the cross, chrysom and baptism were wholly unavailing. Catholic husbands were required to repudiate protestant wives, after a certain date. Not one woman was converted and not one man repudiated his wife. Yet the mass of the people, even of those compelled to remain in the country, opposed a passive submission to save appearances. Even Lichtenstein, not being an ecclesiastic, seemed lukewarm. In October, 1626, Ernest de Harrach presented severe complaints against him and the insufficiency of his methods. The prince-governor died soon afterward; and de Harrach now a cardinal, became unresisted master of the reformatory measures. At his instance in February, 1627, Ferdinand instituted a high commission of reform, consisting of the archbishop, Martinetz, chief justice Frederic of Fallenberg, Gaspar de Questenberg, the Capuchin Valerianius Magnus and Christopher Mitrowitz. Their duty consisted of directing and stimulating the activity of the commissioners in the methods already in practice. This commission received full power of life and death. Very detailed instructions were issued to them by the emperor himself. Persuasive means must be adopted. These methods were cloaked under delusive terms. They were expressed in the mild phrases which then conveyed unlimited signification, and an application as

broad as it became effective. "Per decentia media cogere" is the barbarous mediæval phrase employed. The interpretation of the words "compel" and "decent" was left to those concerned. These instructions were at once enforced by means of the "booted missionaries" from Spain. Nevertheless, all through this year, 1627, it was known that, notwithstanding appearances, protestantism was far from dead in Prague. All inhabitants were now required to give proof of conversion or quit the city. This measure was insisted on as the basis of citizenship. But it applied equally to all and was found not conclusive. Each magistrate was required to furnish the commission with a list of all the inhabitants of his bailiwick. This list was arranged in four columns,—born Catholics, newly converted, those who had promised to abjure, hardened heretics. The viertels-meister, or officers of the district, traversed the city, and interrogated every person, old and young, proprietors and lodgers, masters and servants, as to which of these categories they desired to be enrolled in. The condition of their religious belief was minutely investigated. This direct personal assault overcame many of the timid. They well knew the consequences of being enrolled in the fourth class.

The list of those who promised speedy conversion was rapidly filled. "The closing of their shops," says Cardinal Carafa, who narrates these events, and gloats over them, "and the fear of exile compelled many to yield who had not been controlled by false shame, as soon as some of the more notable had been found to set the example." A great number of the bourgeoisie fearlessly avowed their faith; and the effect was found to be far below the expectation. "Notwithstanding the fact," says Carafa, "that no one could complain

of the instruction given him, for each was at liberty to choose the days and hours of his catechism, and even the person of his instructor, yet these advantages were slightly appreciated." The determination was now formed to expel the chief objectors. July 12, 1627, four of the chief notables of the old city were ordered to quit Prague at the end of one month, if not previously converted, after having paid the fines due to the emperor, and settled all their debts. The excess of their property was to be remitted to them. The other inhabitants were exhorted to profit by this example.

Some respite being requested, two weeks additional were conceded on condition of being instructed by the Jesuits during that time, or of being imprisoned. All fled with precipitation. Their families were soon afterward expelled in indigence. The same procedure was applied to all recalcitrants. These were chased away in groups, some larger, some smaller. At one time seventy were exiled together. Before these measures of conversion open resistance ceased. All the inhabitants of Prague had assumed the appearance of being Catholics. Many committed suicide through remorse. John de Witte, the merchant of Holland, flung himself into a well. Others died of a broken heart, like John Campan professor at the university, who being anathematized by his wife on the day of his abjuration suddenly dropped dead. John Chytraus struck dumb in attempting to abjure expired soon after in his own house. Similar scenes and results were multiplied through the towns and villages. The methods the same—the results identical July 31st, 1627, Ferdinand issued from Vienna a triple edict whereby the protestant nobility were required abso-

lutely to choose between instant abjuration and exile. New commissioners of reform were named to traverse the country. If any unhappy wight was discovered who had not abjured he was instantly banished without notice. Sales could only be made to Catholics. All business transactions and relations must close in six months. The large privilege was accorded of quitting the kingdom without paying toll. In all this proscription Ferdinand's vaunted sincerity only demonstrates the fact that misdirected sincerity is frequently the most cruel wickedness. During the operation of these edicts the value of property had immensely depreciated. Even purchasers only paid in scrip issued by the treasurer, and that was never redeemed or intended to be so. No middle course was left between abjuration and utter ruin. Many persons bowed before this tempest. Carafa avows that this portion of his plan of campaign proved the most effective. All entreaties to defer the period of choice were received by Ferdinand with total contempt. Some yielded; others purchased from priests false certificates of abjuration, and then fled from the country. The neighboring provinces were inundated with fugitives. The greater number settled in Silesia where their descendants materially aided Frederic of Prussia. By an imperial decree in 1628 many of these immigrants were expelled from Silesia. Others wandered to Hungary, Transylvania, Switzerland, Brandenburg, the Netherlands and a few to the Americas. This great exodus alarmed the court. A decree of December 9th, 1627, deferred the period of final choice; but contained the ominous monition to all that the term of religious instruction must cease in the following May. Wives must depart from the

kingdom with their husbands, but all children of every age and of all ranks must remain, and be brought up by Catholic tutors in the Jesuit seminaries, or in convents. All who had emigrated and taken the children of friends with them were menaced with confiscation of all remaining property. Protestant widows were universally deprived of their children.

A great number of the most eminent nobles had accepted the path of exile. Ferdinand found no difficulty in supplying their places. In one year—1626—he created sixty new counts and one hundred barons. The clergy were set up as first in rank, and endowed with magnificent possessions. Nevertheless, the success was far from being complete. In many domains the poor tenants had been allowed to witness the sufferings and degradation of the proprietors; as it had been found impossible to convince or convert the poor folk while the rich and educated remained. In certain towns close to the Saxon frontier that had always enjoyed special advantages, and cultivated industries peculiarly favored and valuable, as at Schlaggerwald, where all the miners were protestants, an ominous toleration had prevailed, after the expulsion of the pastors. But here also toward 1628 military executions smote the people.* An ancient and prosperous town almost instantly sank to poverty and woe. The entire institutions, archives and industries of the people were annihilated. Scarcely a vestige of its ancient life remained. The energy of resistance active and passive reached its utmost limits in Bohemia. No degree or description of torture was left untried against the doomed people. Except some indignant protests in

* A Kohl. Wiedereinfuhrung der Kath, Lehre in Schlaggerwald, p. 47.

England not a voice was raised in favor of the devoted martyrs. In every direction squadrons of dragoons enforced the orders of the Capuchins and Jesuits, and only death, exile or abjuration was permitted.* Utter destitution arising from violent robbery did not save the victims. Tabor itself became the special object of the attentions of Don Balthasar de Marrada, and the Jesuits; and their combined triumph was marked as a signal proof of divine interposition.† No doubt the heavens smiled as usual over the atrocities of earth. Of this special conquest the Jesuits boasted at Rome; and they even claimed all Bohemia as their acquisition. The Capuchin Valerianus Magnus then present replied, saying with a smile to Urban VIII. "Holy father, give me as good soldiers as have been entrusted to the Jesuits, and I promise to have the whole world become Catholic."‡

Yet were smouldering embers of the alleged heresy still alive and warm in a multitude of households. The methods adopted were even yet blamed as too tardy. In order to enforce attendance at the mass the names of residents were posted up in all districts for the information of commissioners and informers. A reward of fifty crowns each secured the services of many of these latter. All persons absent from the service were severely fined. By a refinement of persecution the fine was devoted not only to the maintenance of the cult deemed idolatrous by all, but to the promotion of the infamous methods practiced in support of it. Marriage interdicted, baptism enforced, burial denied, every act denounced except that one

* Compare,—"The Koran, the Tribute, or the Sword."

† Relatione p, 153.

‡ Pelzel ii. p. 788

especially hated. Carafa declared that such means were found the most effective to produce conversion. Whoever saw his dear ones succumb to these tortures before his eyes must inter them clandestinely in a hidden grave, or their remains could not rest in peace, and even then the peril was extreme of disinterment and open exposure. During the painful years 1627 and 1628 the story of Bohemia is limited to the hourly enactment of similar crimes, all committed in the name of faith. Toward the close of 1628 still another act in the terrible drama was enacted under the instigation of Albrecht of Waldstein. "It is only bungling," he said, "to speak of religion to the peasants while a remnant of the nobility remains unexpelled. We must not provoke all at once. Let the noblesse be first utterly rooted out."* Promises and flatteries were first adopted. The mendicant monks traversed the afflicted country declaring that the peasantry need not deny their faith, but only acknowledge the supremacy of the holy see. They assumed all responsibility before God of any possible mistake in religion.† On arriving in a village these skilful missionaries commenced by exhibiting with great pomp the imperial decrees, as well as the certificates of the archbishop and nobles. Then they proceeded to the church followed by a gaping crowd. Then a sermon filled with the terrors of eternal fire, mingled with stern threats of vengeance at home.‡ Promises of remission of pub-

* Foerster, Wallenstein p. 356.

† Balbinus lib. IV, p. 143.

‡ Balbinus remarks that one of these missionaries. P, Krawarsky "was a man of such authority that he seemed not to speak but to command". Lib IV. pt 2 p. 143. P. Konias who boasted of the destruction of Bohemian literature, preached in such a manner of the last judgment and of hell that his auditors became crazy. Pelzel Bœhm. Gelehrte p. 185.

lic services on roads, and other burdens were lavish; provisions were distributed to the hungry and starving in districts utterly impoverished by the proceeding dragonnades. The terrible effects of cruelty now temporarily alleviated became the basis of claims to "sweet charity" to the poor. These poor had been robbed of their abundance and were now expected to be fervently grateful for a pittance of that which had never belonged to other than themselves. A monk at Koschumberg promised a quart of meal to every one who confessed to him. The starving peasants accepted the offer. His stock became so reduced, he could only offer a pint. Those receiving the smaller amount accused him of cheating them. "Are our souls," they exclaimed, "worth only half as much as those others?" Conversions ceased. Lamormain and Philippi suggested measures on a graduated scale: "Moderate chastisements and wisely graduated; God will take care of the rest." Supernatural claims and miraculous powers became a new method of conversion. Numerous cures by an image of the virgin were announced by Cardinal Dietrichstein at Nikolburg. Diseases induced by unnatural famine compelled many to seek relief. Many images seemed to shed tears, and Holyk, a novice of the Jesuits, who at length escaped from Bohemia, and had studied the methods adopted, explains the mechanism by which transparent pebbles were made to issue from the eyes of the images and fall down the face until concealed again by folds of drapery. Shaded light rendered the illusion effective for a time. A large image of Christ on the cross, with head and arms movable at the will of the bearer was conveyed from village to village. This image bowed affably to Catholics, but seemed to turn from

all others with pain. But these methods proved slow and comparatively ineffective. "Until a few heads are cut off," said the missionaries, "nothing will be done."*

The dragoons arrived. The practice of separating young nursing infants from their mothers until the women fainting with grief at their infants' cries consented to abjure, became universal. In one village on the borders of Silesia two miscreant soldiers cut an infant in two, flung the quivering portions before the parents, exclaiming: "There is your communion sub utraque."† These fiends designated themselves "Die Seligmacher"—the saviors. At Leitomischl provisions were forbidden to be sold to heretics. At Prostiejova some hundreds were imprisoned in a most fetid stable; all the doors and windows closed; and the wretched creatures murdered by suffocation. Only a few survived to abjure. At Holeschau the Jesuit, John Drachovsky had constructed an oaken cage wherein the victim was suspended in such way that he could neither sit nor lie down nor stand.‡ The stoutest frame bestowed on man was broken by such torture. It was not the will that submitted. Absolute prohibition to sleep formed a frequent method. Many unhappy wretches were driven mad and idiotic by this infliction. Confinement in subterranean dungeons where an icy stream flowed constituted the method at Pardubitz.§ The archbishop of Prague deserves the credit of a novel method. He suggested the prohibition of all food to cattle until their owners, driven to distraction by the cries of the poor beasts succumbed

* The words of John Cælestinus arch priest of Königgrätz.

† Peschek, II, p. 141.

‡ His . Persec. Ch. 103, § 10.

§ Hist. Persec. Ch. 103, § 11.

to their tormentors. "See," said the peasants, "our cattle, our hogs,, our calves have more sense than the Jesuits. These men have preached to us in vain for years; our dumb animals have made us Catholics in a few hours."*

These methods effected an outward conformity. Human nature yielded to more than inhuman oppression. The atrocities perpetrated were indeed veiled under a mild designation. The emperor did not design to inflict death on any man; it was claimed, when poor sufferers demanded death instead of cruelty, he did not thirst for their blood; and besides it did not become such wicked offenders to deem themselves worthy of the crown of martyrdom.† At Koschumberg four poor laborers were shut up for five months in secret, receiving a pittance of food only twice a week.‡ But the Jesuits finding these extremities ineffectual, and fearing the effects of this resistance concluded to banish the victims. At Gyczin sixty of the sons of citizens were forcibly consigned to the Jesuits for instruction at the expense of the town by order of Waldstein.§ The Lord Talo compelled his tenants by sabre to fall on their knees before the host. Mitrowsky tortured his tenants until they abjured. Kolourat forced open the mouths of his tenants with the muzzles of muskets and holding them open with a stick com-

* K. Shrœter, Exulantenhistorie, p. 118.

† Hist. Persec. Ch. 103, § 14, and Am. Kom. Hist. Fratrum, p. 44.

‡ Pist. Persec. Gh. 103, § 21.

§ Fœrster p. 72. At the same time Waldstein entertained a most scornful opinion of the monks of Seipa of whom he wrote "I am much astonished that the monks of Seipa should already have used up the 2,000 crowns; I do not doubt that they have spent them but it was with the girls of evil life and other vagabonds, according to their custom." Letter of Aug, 19, 1627.

pelled the wretches to swallow the host. Others at Kniezovsky and many other places were driven like cattle at the sword's point to conversion.* May 1, 1629, a new decree permitted protestant wives to remain in the country during the life of their husbands; but on the death of the latter the widows were to be banished and their property confiscated. Protestant women were forbidden to attend marriages and festivals; and they were permitted only the lowest place on all occasions. Widows and daughters of wealthy protestants were united in marriage with or without their consent to Catholics or newly converted as a recompense to the latter.

At the commencement of these atrocities the commissioners of reformation were not over scrupulous in accepting abjurations for a consideration. They required in adults a belief in the holiness of the church, and a recognition of the pope as the supreme head in the interest of public order. They were content if abjuration was made in the following formula, —"I—— poor and miserable sinner, acknowledge and confess to you, venerable father, in the place of God, the very holy virgin and all the saints, that I have regularly adhered a long time to the accursed, impious and heretical worship that they call evangelical, that I have lived in deep sin, that I have assisted at their abominable communion, and have eaten there of nothing but a morsel of vile bread and have drunk only of vile wine. But now I protest with all my strength against so silly a doctrine, so damnable and unfounded, and I promise to believe in it no more but to curse and persecute it, and no longer agree to take part in

* Hist. Persec. Ch 103, § 15 etc. etc.

it. So help me God, the immaculate virgin Mary and all the saints."*

The reign of terror had now continued uninterrupted for eight years; and our wonder must be not that the remnant of the inhabitants finally succumbed, at least outwardly, but that they endured the fearful ordeal so long. In fact the atrocities deepened in horror in proportion to the tenacity of passive resistance of the Bohemian peasants.

Longer time, more extreme cruelty, and more barbarous outrages were needed to destroy all apparent traces of reform in the unresisting peasants than in the nobles and citizens. In some cases indeed the miserable cottiers, driven to utter despair by remorseless persecution and suffering, set fire to their cottages and fled to the wilds. Better for them to be among the beasts than among the "booted missionaries" commanded by Capuchins. The

* The text is given by Mohnike, p. 143.

A most exhaustive and exact profession of Catholic faith was imposed on the converted. Every possible detail of belief that could contradict evangelical doctrine was introduced into this most specifically exacting formula. It was accompanied by a dreadful anathema, oath and confirmation of the oath expressed in the severest terms. The anathema runs as follows;

1. The Catholic Roman religion *sub una* being then from all points of view, and in all its acceptations the only true, and the evangelical religion being deceitful, erroneous, heretical, diabolical, and noxious, we curse all those who have taught us that impious aud repulsive doctrine.

2, I curse all my parents who have conceived me of heretical blood.

3. I curse all those who caused me to doubt of the holy Roman religion.

4. I curse all those who have presented to me the accursed chalice.

5. I curse myself for having approached with my lips that heretical chalice which I had no right to taste.

6. I curse the books which I have read and which enclose and contain the impious doctrines of the heretics.

7. I curse all the labor and toil performed while I was still plunged in the errors of heresy, that they may be of no use to me before God, either now or in the day of the last judgment.

inhabitants of Lessa committed their town to the flames on the approach of the commissioners and fled in a confused crowd where they could. When famine compelled these creatures to venture into other villages they were invariably confronted by informers. Heavy fines awaited compassionate assistance or concealment. A decree of 3rd of March, 1628, fixed the penalty at one hundred dollars a night for each person received or hidden. The villagers were carefully informed that flight was impossible as the emperor had guarded the roads.

In rare instances extremity of suffering drove the despairing to open revolt; but want of time, means, or union doomed such efforts only to disaster. Stung by the bitterness of their agony the peasants of upper Austria dared to combine. Two armies were crushed by their frenzied struggles, and the emperor grew seriously alarmed. But only additional bloodshed and excess of severity resulted at the hands of Count Pappenheim. Goaded by constant outrage the tenants of the countess of Wartenberg rose against her at Morgenthal, and left her dead, following the example of those of Lord de Wenda near Kuttenberg in 1625. In 1627 some thousands of peasants seized the town of Khurzim, and several hundreds were slain, the leaders quartered, many others mutilated by the nose or ears being cut off, or branded on the back or forehead with hot iron. In March, 1628, four thousand of the dependents of Count Serzky in the circle of Königgratz rose, slaughtered the commissioner, Father Camille, a benedictine, attempted to fortify themselves at Neuhaus and demanded a restoration of the utraquist teachers.

Waldstein's iron-bound troopers found little diffi-

culty in crushing this emeute of maddened wretches "who fell before him as birds before the fowler." A multitude of prisoners as doomed to torture and death in the market place of Prague on the 11th of May. The duke of Friedland's own tenants furiously revolted in 1629, slaughtered the missionary, and died under the sword. In the Vzetimenne mountains in Moravia parties of desperate peasants sustained themselves against the imperial armies until 1632. But these were only spasmodic struggles. In isolated cases also the death of some commissioner by sudden stroke provoked by intolerably pitiless tyranny revealed the smouldering fire beneath the apparently dead surface. The task undertaken by the commissioners, always perilous, was impracticable without armed troops. In 1629 the Jesuit, Matthias Burnatius, invoked the aid of dragoons because his hearers paid little heed to his teaching. But the angry people slew him with axes and pitchforks at Rovensko. Isolated fanatics also wreaked vengeance on individual priests caught unawares in the mountains or open plains, believing such punishment demanded by blood unjustly shed. With the other afflictions of the pestilence—natural accompaniment of want and exposure, many of the imperial agents died, both lay and clerical. In such cases devotion to the sick hardly compensated for the infliction of those privations wherein the malady itself found its strength. At Joachimstahl the Dominican George Landherr had incautiously ventured to begin the reformation. He was hooted and stoned by the angry crowd. Benches were overthrown, stones flung, and the hapless monk chased away with cries of denunciation as the messenger of Satan. The irritated priest sought revenge by urgently requesting troops.

"The best remedy," he said, "would be to dispatch hither a few hundred soldiers. They would know how to master these rebels."

Only in the wildest spots could now be found a remnant of the reformed. Here under the shelter of rocks and trees a few worshipers dared assemble. A small bell tinkled to announce the service. The prayers were said, the hymns were sung as in their fathers' days. The communion supper partaken of after the method of the Master and his apostles, as they claimed; and with stealthy steps these worshipers retired by one and two, and retreated into their obscurity. Only the forest trees and coverts heard the sound of the gentle hymn; but to Bohemian ears the trees and rocks seem to re-echo the same soft melodies still.

As under similar sufferings before and since, notably in the days of Joan of Arc in France, and of the Camisards of the Cevennes, the human nervous system yielded to the extremity of painful tension; and wild hallucinations seized the excited imaginations of the sufferers. Reason reeled in fact, and the brain stimulated to frenzy became the subject and seat of imagined visions, and supernatural apparitions. Wondrous signs in heaven shone before the eyes, and tokens of divine wrath or pity flamed before the deluded imagination. Hence wild extravagances of speech and of seeming prophecy. Woes were denounced on persecutors and antichrists. Of these visionaries the most conspicuous, George Balthasar, became noted for excess of zeal that seemed inspired to those who were themselves also half crazy from nervous suffering. His ravings caused his arrest and decapitation at Prague; and the body of the poor victim of starvation and mental excitement quartered before men's eyes

was supposed to provide a warning against similar results of madness caused by want and misery in the spectators. August 14, 1629. In all such cases both in France and Bohemia the visions ceased when food and quietness became assured. Under Ferdinand and Urban such murders were heralded as the judgments of God.

After the year 1627, according to Balbinus, three hundred missionaries of the Jesuit order alone traversed Bohemia.* One of these, André Matsch, boasted of having converted ten thousand heretics, by the means above detailed. Another still more conspicuous handed to his superiors a list of 33,140 heretics converted by his persuasive eloquence!† What unlimited anguish, what uspeakable horrors, what extremities of woe were concentrated in that report! Commanders of squadrons boasted profanely of their triumphs. Count Hannibal of Dohna, one of the most merciless, of these vaunted immediately after his violent subjugation of Glogau that he was a greater saint even than Peter. "He converted only three thousand persons by his sermon on Pentecost," exclaimed the dragoon smiling, "but this day I have converted more without even taking the trouble to preach." By such methods, and by such agents, a great nation, and for centuries a foremost nation, was obliterated.

During the dreadful process thousands of villages totally disappeared. Cities were reduced to hamlets, towns to a few hovels. Before the "conversion" Bohemia contained thirty thousand communes, all populous and happy. After 1648 not one third remained and even of those discoverable, many existed in little

* Hurter, III, p. 176. Balbinus IV. p. 146.

† Balbinus Miscellanea IV, p. 142.

more than in name, and with an appearance only of desolation.* In 1635 an official report on the state of the country declares, "The condition of the country is miserable and afflicting; one meets neither man nor animal, not even a dog or cat in the greater number of the villages. In the cities and towns and open country a vast number of houses are dilapidated, or destroyed, and the fields are left to run wild." In addition to this material destruction every trace of literature that could recall the ancient culture and national traditions was carefully obliterated. During more than a century the search for books continued, and every stray volume was mercilessly destroyed. Every effort was made to uproot the Chekh language which was declared to be the prime source of heresy, in order to efface all national memory from future generations. So utter became the destitution that the miserable remnant of cultivators was obliged to yoke themselves men and women to wretched ploughs in order to scratch the weedy soil for a scanty crop. The pursuit of books ceased not even in the year 1848. Many persons now living in America and Bohemia distinctly remember the Catholic clergy searching for, seizing and openly destroying books throughout Bohemia in 1848-9 after the collapse of the national demonstration of that year. That books and the means of ordinary education are permitted now is not due to the encouragement of learning by their rulers. A rigid censorship is still maintained.

According to careful computations about 36,000 families fled. Of these the greater number were persons of some affluence; the cultured, the better, the

* Hurter III, p. 186. Balbinus in his epitome is constrained to avow "his wonder that, after so many proscriptions, massacres, expatriations, expulsions, any inhabitants survived." p. 630.

more excellent elements. But thousands more disappeared across the frontier; and at the close of the awful struggle out of a population of four millions less than eight hundred thousand starvelings remained! All the world has observed that in the annihilation of a nation, the obliteration of a splendid civilization, the degradation of a people, and the effacement of a great literature, the triumph was complete. But in proportion to the fullness of the success was the impoverishment of the world. Austria would today be thankful to have the old strength of Bohemia at her side.

One of the most significant facts connected with these events is the stern repression of all information, as far as strictest surveillance could effect it, concernnig the closing tragedy of Bohemia. The European and American publics have been diligently deprived of all allusions to this momentous episode in history. The authors of the tragedy may be compelled by shame to conceal their work. Books on the subject have always been sedulously suppressed. But they still live. One library after another has given up a volume. Archives have revealed facts. Students have laboriously collected documents. One of the most important treatises concerning the dying agony of Bohemia, the "Historia Persecutionum," by John Amos Komensky the last bishop of the United Brethren, and the most distinguished educator in Europe in the seventeenth century, and an exile, was early sought out for destruction. Every procurable copy was destroyed. But very scarce although the book is, it still exists. There lies a copy before the writer at this moment, and its contents have largely supplied the details here presented. It is the undisputed testimony

of an eyewitness. In addition to this book the entire valuable library collected by Komensky at Lesno, after a laborious life of study and of literary effort, was utterly destroyed by the Polish allies of Ferdinand.

The valiant and persistent Mansfeld being in fact abandoned by his allies, seeing his troops daily diminishing from disease, disbanded his army, sold his remaining artillery and stores to the basha of Buda, and with only a staff of twelve officers retired through Bosnia intending to reach Venetian territory. But a fever terminated his noble career at Zara. Thus was Ferdinand delivered from an irreconcilable, gallant, and resourceful opponent, who had often brought dismay to the house of Austria.* The same year died also Christian of Brunswick in his 29th year at Wolfenbuttel.†

During these proceedings the king of Denmark had been wholly expelled from Germany by Tilly and Waldstein; and although the Catholic states in a meeting at Wurtzburg demanded the disbanding of Waldstein's excessive army, and the suppression of the licentious conduct of the remainder, yet Ferdinand successfully appealed to their animosity against the protestants. The electors also, assembled at Mulhausen in 1627 recommended peace with Denmark; and with respect to the elector Palatine, who had been induced by James I. to submit unconditionally to the emperor in order to save his dominions, they declared that as author of the commotion he should renounce the crown of Bohemia and the electoral dignity, and that the emperor should indemnify himself by the confiscation

* Struvius p. 1251 n. 72. Schmidt IX. p. 283.

† Supposed to be poison, really of tape worm, a disease not then understood.

John Amos Komensky.

of the whole or part of the Palatinate. Should he refuse they resolved to unite with the emperor against him and his adherents. So intensely blind did they still remain to Ferdinand's deep duplicity. At the instigation of Ferdinand himself the Catholics now demanded restitution of all ecclesiastical benefices appropriated by protestants since the peace of Passau in opposition to the ecclesiastical reservation.

Ferdinand next transferred the electorate permanently to the house of Bavaria. He also conferred on the new elector the Upper Palatinate, with that part of the Lower Palatinate that lay on the right bank of the river. This grant was accompanied by a compact of indemnification should Bavaria be despoiled of this territory at a general peace. The rich see of Halberstadt with those of Strasburg and Passau were bestowed on Leopold William; and the see of Magdeburg was declared escheated to Augustus, son of the elector of Saxony, by the canons; but this nomination was annulled by the pope, and this see also given to Leopold William son of Ferdinand. The nomination to the wealthy abbey of Hirtzcheld, wrested from the landgrave of Hesse, and the see of Bremen were also bestowed on the same rapacious pluralist. Ferdinand next determined to obtain the control of the Baltic and to create a fleet. The Hanseatic towns repelled his proposals; and the emperor seized all the ports from Kiel to Colberg. The dukes of Mecklenburg were put under ban, their titles and estates transferred to Waldstein, with the dignity of duke of Mecklenburg, and the offices of generalissimo by land, and grand admiral of the sea. Waldstein assembled fifteen ships at Wesmar, and attacked Pomerania without excuse or the pretense of any. Stralsund defied

and baffled his utmost efforts, although he vowed to reduce the place" even if bound to heaven with chains of adamant." A reinforcement from Gustavus Adolphus saved the fortress and Waldstein sullenly retired. Ferdinand oppressed at once by embarrassment in Italy, in Poland, and in the camp of Waldstein arising from the imperious demands of this almost omnipotent general, and in the demands of the Catholic league, consented to a congress for peace at Lubec, May, 1629, under the elector of Brandenburg. By the truce here concluded Denmark received favorable terms; and the dukes of Mecklenburg and the elector Palatine were left to their fate. The ambassadors of the king of Sweden were disdainfully refused admission, and the title of king refused to their sovereign.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR CONTINUED.

On the conclusion of the peace of Lubec not an enemy remained in arms. But instigated by Spain, the Jesuits, and the Catholic league, and deluded by the extravagant vauntings of Waldstein, Ferdinand determined to extirpate protestant doctrines in church and state utterly. Europe seemed to be at his feet. Charles I. of England at that moment struggled to follow Ferdinand's example. France torn with intestine civil war, the Netherlands awed from without and divided within, the Turks agitated by their own contentions, Bethlehem Gabor sinking to his death and glad to be at peace, Denmark submissive and humiliated, Poland in alliance, formed a combination of opportunities for asserting, perhaps of acquiring unlimited dominion in the center of Europe. Being thus released from all apprehensions from without Ferdinand directed his full fury against his hereditary states. By general mandate all Lutheran books were suppressed and utterly destroyed throughout Austria; all baptisms, marriages and other formal religious acts performed by protestant preachers were annulled; and thus all property, rights of inheritance, and civil status wrung at one instant from the whole protestant population; protestants were expelled from all civil offices; and all persons of every rank and condition

compelled to receive Catholic instruction and attend Catholic worship on every occasion.

In the midst of these horrors, and during the extremity of agony inflicted on Bohemia, Ferdinand placidly proceeded to Prague to nominate and crown his son as his successor. By affected clemency he assumed to confirm the estates in their power of taxation, and some other privileges bearing heavily on the nation, but abolished the right of election of a king, prohibited the Bohemian language in all public transactions, and formally abrogated the edict of toleration, and declared that he would permit no religion except the Catholic in his dominions. March 6, 1629, Ferdinand published his long threatened Edict of Restitution, which at once restored all ecclesiastical property secularized since the peace of Passau, and ordered the immediate restoration of all benefices. He also authorized Catholic prelates to use every means for the extirpation of protestant doctrines in their territories, and limited the benefits of this religious peace to Catholics, and members of the confession of Augsburg, all other sects, especially Calvinists being excluded by name. Finally he denounced the ban of the empire against all opponents of this order, and commanded all persons in his empire to aid diligently in enforcing it. The same system was remorselessly pursued in lower Saxony; at Halbertstadt and Magdeburg, in Suabia, Franconia and Westphalia. In Ulm, Augsburg, Ratisbon, and other important towns all property of every description was restored to the Catholics, and the protestant religion utterly excluded. The Catholic prelates hastened to imitate this example in their domains. These proceedings were proposed as a prelude to the total extermination of all protestants.

At this fatal point the extravagant pretensions and designs of the emperor alarmed all persons alike. The enormous greed of the emperor, his family, dependents and favorites, announced an extreme peril from the irresistible means of oppression thus conferred. The atrocious depredations of the imperial army committed against all alike created consternation. The catholics found they had raised up a monstrous tyranny; and the protestants discovered how they had been duped. The duke of Bavaria openly exhibited his disgust at the extreme elevation reached by a haughty and mysterious rival; and like Maurice of Saxony became alarmed at the emperor's intention to reduce the value of the electoral dignity recently conferred. He therefore secretly united with Richelieu, and other enemies of Austria. At his suggestion the league assembled at Heidelberg, March, 1629; and declared that until they had been indemnified, or received a pledge for the payment of their expenses, they would neither disband a soldier, nor relinquish a foot of territory, ecclesiastical or secular, "DEMAND IT WHO WILL."* At the same moment the absence of his best troops in Poland, the Grisons, Italy and elsewhere rendered Ferdinand unable to resist. All parties, princes and states, Catholics and reformed demanded the dismissal of Waldstein as the most dangerous offender. His licentious army of marauders had ruined Germany. He had levied sixty millions of dollars on the states, and created universal havoc. His host of brigands are thus described by Schiller:

Wrangel.

"Great God in heaven! Have these people here
No house and home, no fireside and no altar?"

* Heinrich VI, p. 500. Falkenstein II, p. 648.

Waldstein

"I will explain that to you how it stands,
The Austrian has a country, aye and loves it,
And has good cause to love it; but this army
That calls itself imperial,—this that houses
Here in Bohemia,—this has none, no country.
This is an outcast of all foreign lands,
Unclaimed by town or tribe, to whom belongs
Nothing except the universal sun."

In truth the league fought for some principle however severe; but Waldstein's horde of banditti, who represented imperial power, were mere banded savages let loose. Among such wretches Waldstein moved—glided—silent, mysterious, known to be in fellowship with the spirits, and probably with the evil one; and through some supernal or infernal agency, superior even to fate.

A haughty conqueror at the head of a host of 150,000 of such wretches might well create alarm. Ferdinand, despising Sweden, submitted to the stern demands; and with strong proof and abundant expression of regret and gratitude demanded his haughty commander's resignation. In July, 1630, Waldstein quietly received the message. Battista Seni had read the stellar prognostications with him; foretold future grandeur, and persuaded the intractable soul that only a temporary retirement was announced by the planetary signs. "By these tokens I know your message," observed Waldstein, "the ascendent of the duke of Bavaria is superior to that of the emperor. I will obey." The emperor found the electoral diet held by him at Ratisbon intractable; and he was mortified by his failure to procure the election of his son. He discovered also that he had been duped by France; and that his boundless schemes had created and combined new and powerful

antagonists both in the empire and beyond its frontiers. "A capuchin friar," he frequently exclaimed, "has disarmed me with his rosary, and covered six electoral caps with his cowl."

Ferdinand's vaunting ambition and furious intolerance had overreached themselves The character, talents, and resources of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and his former attempts to interpose in the religious contest in Germany and Bohemia had not escaped the discerning eye of Cardinal Richelieu. No minister of France could perceive without deep concern, and even alarm, the unlimited elevation of Austrian power, especially in the hands of so unscrupulous, crafty and ferocious a ruler as Ferdinand, who desisted from no extremity of violence against even his own best subjects. Gustavus was courted by the French court, but would not bind himself until he could secure the respectful co-operation and not the protection or patronage of France. The opportune moment seemed to have arrived. Although his overtures to the protestant states were coldly received, yet he concluded that the dissensions between the emperor and the league, and the alarm of England, the United Provinces, the Hanseatic league, and Denmark, and the friendly co-operation, if not active intervention of France formed the conjunction for which he had waited.

The extremity of distress suffered by Bohemia and the protestant states, and the pronounced intention of the emperor to extirpate protestantism, the recent attack on Stralsund and menace to the Baltic, all combined to confirm the king in his resolution to interpose in Germany. His fleet was assembled at Elfsnaben, and with a force of 15,000 men Gustavus Adolphus departed amid the tears and plaudits of a vast multitude

at once alarmed and enthusiastic by this novel and flattering spectacle. Gustavus advanced rapidly and being soon reinforced by troops from Sweden and some English auxiliaries, he drove the imperialists from almost all parts in Pomerania, and menaced Frankfort, the key of Germany on that side. Being denied passage through Austria by the elector of Brandenburg, Gustavus overran that province, and was thus enabled to negotiate with France on terms of equality. He was to receive an immediate advance of 300,000 livres an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 livres and stipulated to maintain at his own expense and under his own direction a force of 30,000 foot and 6,000 horse. January 13th, 1631. A meeting of the protestant estates at Leipzig continued its sittings from February to April. Here the elector of Saxony inaugurated a policy of independence. At his proposal they required the emperor to abolish the edict of restitution; and resolved to raise a force of 40,000 men to prevent further levies and quarterings of troops and devastation of the country. This alliance while not naming Gustavus deprived the emperor of great resources, and threatened to embarrass his movements and even openly attack him should opportunity arise. The spirit of the protestants everywhere revived; they renewed their meetings and loudly demanded the revocation of the edict of restitution as spoliation and plunder of property which they had purchased and paid for.

Allies soon appeared; and Ferdinand finding himself duped in return was compelled to summon troops from Italy. Tilly was compelled to retire before Gustavus, and concentrated his force for the siege of Magdeburg a city that had been the first to declare for the king of Sweden. At this critical juncture the elector of

Saxony by refusing to the king the possession of Des sau enabled Tilly to prosecute the siege without serious interference. A threat of invasion overcame his repugnance; but this concession came too late. After a most gallant defense, the city was captured by Tilly, May 10th, 1631, and at once surrendered to the furious licentiousness and ferocity of the imperialists. Even officers of the league protested to Tilly against the horrible carnage. All former horrors were surpassed in the sack of Magdeburg. Every description of fiendish violence was perpetrated against men, women and children. The spirit of the Catholic league and its spiritual advisers was fully demonstrated in the butcheries of Magdeburg. In less than ten hours the most rich, florishing and populous town in Germany was reduced to ashes; the cathedral, a single convent, and a few miserable huts were all that were left of its buildings, and hardly a thousand souls remained alive of thirty thousand in the morning. After two days to allow the cinders to cool, Tilly entered in triumph. Six thousand carcasses were thrown into the Elbe to make room for his passage through the streets. After hearing a Te Deum in the midst of military pomp, and surrounded by the mangled corpses of his murdered victims, in his savage boastfulness Tilly compared his assault to the sack of Troy and the demolition of Jerusalem.* Gustavus advanced on the side

* Puffendorf. Harte. Schmidt. Vie de Gustave Adolphe.

For many centuries the city of Magdeburg had enjoyed special privileges of law and municipal freedom. The "Jus Magdeburgii" had been the common refuge of the oppressed; and a kind of appellate influence attracted the veneration of the constitutionalists in the surrounding nations. The law of Magdeburg was appealed to frequently against the despotism of Charles V. This madman had accordingly acquired a hatred of the free spirit of the municipality that exalted itself on its ancient prescriptive rights. He strongly forbade all allusion to the law of Magdeburg; and the imperial dynasty that followed

of Magdeburg whose piteous fate infused a new element into the war. Near Wolmerstadt Tilly received his first lesson from his adversary. An assault on the Swedish camp hurled the presumptuous Tilly back in utter confusion; and his troops deserted in crowds or joined the standard of the invaders. Tilly turned now against the elector of Saxony, but was compelled to fall back. The elector, through his general, Arnheim, who had served with great distinction under Waldstein but had abandoned that service in disgust, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Gustavus September 1, 1631; and the two commanders united their forces before Leipzig. Here on the 7th of September Tilly suffered a total and crushing defeat with the loss of all his artillery and baggage. Scarcely 2,000 men remained under his standard. Gustavus advanced to the heart of Germany and the elector of Saxony recovered the kingdom of Bohemia. Arnheim took in succession Aussig, Leitmeritz, Schlan, Melnik, Teschen, and the whole district bordering on Lusatia and Saxony.

Again the heart of Bohemia revived. The Saxons advanced to Prague; the governor and chief nobles retired in haste and the capital capitulated on the mediation of Count Thurn. Returning in triumph over the bridge by which he had departed a fugitive Thurn ordered taken down the still exposed heads of his former companions; had them wrapped in black satin, and honorably interred. The presence of the Saxon deliverers, even at this late day, who seemed now convinced that the abandonment of friends and allies for a narrow and selfish policy is not the wisest con-

him, extirpated the constitionalism of Magdeburg as a menace to their absolutist tyranny.

duct, revived the dormant spirit of the protestant population. The preachers were restored, the principal churches, schools recovered, the Jesuits expelled, and all former privileges revived and exercised. This brief revival of the nationalist spirit is an integral portion and true element of the story of Bohemia. It was a re-assertion of the rights, privileges and free constitution of the country. It was Bohemia as of old struggling with a gasp back to life again. Weak though the effort was necessarily it contained the real spirit and objects of Bohemian aspirations. It formed a real, and genuine growth from the roots of the old tree now battered and hacked almost out of recognition; and if allowed to grow would have strengthened into a flourishing resuscitation of the original stock. The elector seized the artillery and magazines; and retaliated on the imperial partizans the excesses perpetrated by them. Catholic houses were unsparingly plundered, and the occupants driven from the country; and as the supporters of the emperor had seized the property of the population, scarcely a vestige of their plunder now remained with themselves.

Ferdinand assembled a new army in Bohemia; and Gustavus advanced toward Bavaria, and saved Nuremberg threatened with the fate of Magdeburg. At the passage of the Leck a severe conflict occurred; and here Tilly received a mortal wound, his leg being shattered by the shot of a falconet. Conveyed in desperate agony to Ingolstadt he died there, at the age of of seventy-three. His actions fully explain his character. Shortly afterward Gustavus entered Munich in triumph, accompanied by the unfortunate elector Palatine.

At this moment the position of the emperor seemed

well nigh desperate. A victorious invader, at the head of an army strong in tried courage and discipline, had mastered the greater part of Germany, and controlled the country from the Baltic to the French frontier, and now prepared to assail Austria. Bohemia was in the hands of the elector of Saxony, who found little obstacle to an advance on Vienna. The imperial dominions, wasted by the ruinous contest, lay open to any force ready to march in. Neither Ferdinand nor his son was capable of a military command and could only hurl mysterious anathemas of war. In his despair the emperor turned in all humiliation to his disgraced commander—Waldstein. After his dismissal this personage had retired to Prague; and here resided in more than princely splendor. More haughty and mysterious than ever he yet surrounded himself with all the pomp of a great retinue, and the display of unparalleled grandeur. Enveloped with wonder, and the object of superstitious awe, Waldstein passed whole nights in a starry tower constructed in imitation of the famed Giralda at Seville but for a very different purpose. Attempts to forecast his fate by divination under the tuition of his astrologer, Battista Seni, alone soothed his fatalistic spirit, and mollified his tendency to paroxysms of rage. Above all he could bear no noise; no clock might sound, no dog might bark, or spur jangle in his hearing. A cordon of sentries around his palace prevented the least disturbing sound. Six barons and as many knights attended his person. Sixty pages awaited his will. A hundred guests daily were welcomed at his table; and even his horses fed from marble mangers. Twelve coaches of state and fifty carriages conveyed his suite when he journeyed; the same number of wagons conveyed his plate and

baggage. One hundred houses in Prague were demolished to furnish a site for his palace, and the six gates opened only by permission of watchful sentinels.*

On the advance of the Saxons to Prague Waldstein would not descend to notice the interruption. Rather he hastened the surrender of the city. He corresponded with Arnheim and Gustavus and maintained paid informers even among the ministers of the imperial court. To this gloomy and indignant recluse Ferdinand's pride felt compelled to humble itself. The most degrading conditions were imposed. As Gustavus rapidly advanced from the Rhine to the Danube the last hope of Austria and the Catholic cause seemed to rest on the inexplicable star-gazer, as the man of destiny. His conditions were imperative in the present alarming conjuncture. Waldstein became generalissimo of the imperial and Spanish forces; the emperor and his son were forbidden to enter his camp; he nominated all officers and distributed all rewards; no imperial safe conduct was valid without his confirmation. He levied contributions with no restriction, disposed of confiscated property independently of any tribunal; no truce was valid without his approval; and his demands for men and money must be promptly obeyed. He was confirmed, in repayment of all expenses, in the dukedom of Mecklenburg; a retreat to his estates; and on the re-conquest of Bohemia the emperor must reside at Prague.

On these conditions Waldstein took the field. His name and his rapacity filled his ranks as before. Advancing to Prague, he effected its surrender, while the Saxons successfully retreated; and dislodged the in-

* See the itinerary of Dr. Carve chaplain of Devereux, one of the conspirators who murdered Waldstein: also Schiller's Thirty-Years' War.

vaders from all posts in Bohemia. Inactive at Leitmeritz he saw his troops devastate Bavaria, as a return compliment. On the approach of Gustavus to Austria, Waldstein leaving a corps at Leitmeritz formed a junction with the elector of Bavaria at Egra. With a force now swelled to 60,000 men he advanced toward Nuremburg. Finding Gustavus strongly intrenched Waldstein with a force of triple the number remained eight weeks in sight of the Swedish camp. Gustavus drew in his corps from Bavaria, Suabia, Lower Saxony, Franconia and the forces of his allies. These troops led by the duke of Saxe Weimar, John Banner, the landgrave of Hesse, and chancelor Oxenstiern, rendered Gustavus too strong to be assailed. An attack on Waldstein did not succeed; and the armies still watched each other for a fortnight. The king struck his tents and secured Nuremberg. Waldstein also retired with less than half of his original force. Both combatants reinforced by allies and garrisons approached each other at Lutzen between Leipzig and Weissenfels, November, 1632. Here a desperate contest ensued. During the fierce melée the king fell mortally wounded as he galloped toward his left wing threatened by Pappenheim. Under the duke of Saxe Weimar the Swedish right broke the left wing of the imperialists irretrievably. The left also swept down the imperial infantry. At this point Pappenheim approached with fresh troops; but a mortal wound laid him low; and the confusion became irreparable. All the efforts of Waldstein could not prevent an utter rout, and under cover of a fog he led away the remnant of his troops, leaving the field and all his artillery to the enemy. This signal victory was dearly purchased by the loss of the illustrious king of Sweden.

On returning to Bohemia, Waldstein executed seventeen of his officers for cowardice, thus endeavoring to conceal his own deep chagrin. He rewarded Octavius Piccolomini with 10,000 dollars of Bohemian money; and conferred on General Holk, a Danish officer, his choice of four estates in Bohemia, each of which contained from sixteen to eighteen villages. The following May he assembled his army between Pilsen and Egra* and marched to Königgratz. By skillful movements he recovered Silesia; and once more prepared to renew his terrible march to the Baltic. At this point commences the most tragic episode in the course of this disatrous conflict. The arrogant demands of Waldstein on his restoration had created dissembled hatred. His renewed greatness, now that his dreaded adversary was dead, encouraged and incited the revengeful ire of his rivals and his detractors. In the court of Ferdinand only fear could produce reasonableness; and now that the worst fear had passed the dark spirit of truculence in intolerance conspired against the man whose services created a sense of hatred arising from a consciousness of obligation. Waldstein had been discovered to possess by no means unreserved submissiveness to the ecclesiastical domination then paramount. He maintained many protestant officers in his service, all in prominent positions. He made no distinctions. His sentiments when uttered discovered not a little asperity to the virulent intolerance of the court; and a strong regard for his native land Bohemia betrayed itself on many occasions. Perhaps he aspired to the Bohemian crown; he may have meditated a campaign against the Turks; the dark and tortuous intrigues of the court again

* Schiller has left us an immortal description of this encampment.

conspired, this time not for his disgrace but for his destruction. Not an amiable character in truth was this Waldstein; but he did not merit assassination at the hands of the ingrate and remorseless bigot he had served so well. Knowing his proscription at court, and the secret determination to destroy him, the duke of Friedland did correspond with the leaders of the allies. This proceeding seems to have been suggested by his danger and resentment. He did make proposals to seize Prague, surrender Pilsen and Egra, and join the Swedes and Saxons. He had discovered that the restoration of imperial authority had not been the deep motive of the court, but the utter annihilation of Bohemia. Deserted by his officers and a large part of his army who had been seduced away; proscribed and desperate he retired to Egra where he hoped to maintain himself until he could conclude arrangements with the Swedes. The place was strongly fortified, and the governor, Gordon, a native of Scotland, was a man who owed all to his commander. Here on the 25th of February, 1634, Waldstein fell by the hands of four principal assassins, Devereux, Burke, Geraldine, and Gordon; the blows being struck by Burke and Devereux while Gordon and his associates seized the candles and held them aloft. Waldstein's generals, Tersky, Illo, Kinsky and Nieman the secretary, were murdered on the same occasion, in the house of the burgomaster of Egra, Wolf Adam Pachälbel. The murderers were all richly rewarded. Several of the real or supposed officers in complicity with Waldstein were next arrested at Prague, and executed, some publicly, others in private. At Pilsen seven colonels and seventeen other persons were beheaded. Gordon received the confiscated estates of Tersky; and the vast

possessions of Waldstein were divided among Piccolomini, Gallas, Aldringer, and Leslie, another of the chief conspirators.

In this very extraordinary person the elements of humanity were imperfectly developed. Coming as he did of a strong ancestry he possessed in a measure the Bohemian qualities of toughness of fibre, combativeness, and self-will. Being imperfectly developed he was deficient in moral courage; and his nervous system early exhibited its defectiveness by inability to endure noise, or in fact harsh sound of any kind unbroken by other noise. In him, as in the lower orders of men, the savage predominated. In his imperfect condition he represented an inferior race. Not reasonableness or even reason dominated Waldstein. He was but seven months human; and the weird, the unnatural, the mysterious attracted him. Not science, but mock science, not statesmanship but crushing force, not strict command but unfeeling truculence marked his methods. "Hang the brute" was his constant command on complaint made of a soldier. No moderation either in reward or punishment exhibited self-control. He was the beginning of a wonder spoiled by incompleteness. The story of Bohemia for centuries was a protest against such ferocious unreasonableness in politics and religion as that exhibited by Waldstein. He gathered up in himself all the elements of tyranny the nation had combated during the greater part of its struggles. In outward features Waldstein differed from other men. His face was oval, sallow, lean, hollow and worn; forehead high, fairly broad, almost majestic; great space between the eyes that were gray, cold, piercing; hair drawn back; lips thin, firm, severe, not garrulous, much less social or sensual; head

defiant, haughty; nose thin, nostrils easily expanding as emotions swayed him; aspect gloomy, stern, terrible; a nature hard, callous; with none of the affections or sympathies of developed humanity; guided partly by phantasms, partly by reason; tending toward madness. As a soldier he crushed Bohemia; yet as a Bohemian he desired the dignity of his country; as a half necromancer, half fanatic, he would have seen all religions tolerated with equal indifference provided his own elevation under the emperor should be maintained.

The tragic death of Waldstein at once changed the aspect and the conditions of the war. The chief actors on both sides were dead. Events soon proved that the religious and political principles contended for by the Swedes, Germans and Bohemians possessed ineradicable vitality and did not depend on any one man or advocate.

During the dreadful period that ensued the fortunes of this wasteful war vacillated and alternated in all the provinces of Germany. Bohemia on several occasions became the theater of conflict and the strategic point sought to be secured by both contestants. Spain and France sent reinforcements to the opposing forces and multiplied the general misery. After the important victory of Nordlingen, September 6th, 1634, the imperialists were enabled to make head against France in the north, and broke the union of the confederate states. Here Richelieu successfully interposed; furnished subsidies and troops, and the agreement was at length accepted by the confederates through the influence of Oxenstiern. Saxony was detached again from the allies and joined the emperor. A pacification was concluded between the two powers, May 30th,

1635, at Prague. The worship of the confession of Augsburg was tolerated and all mediate property—not held directly from the emperor, secularized since the peace of Passau was retained. But Bohemia and all other Austrian possessions were formally excluded. The elector of Saxony was to retain Lusatia; and the proscription against the elector Palatine was continued. The Calvinists were excluded from its peace; and the very name of protestants carefully avoided. In fact only Lutherans were included. The confederacy of Heilbron was dissolved and the Swedes threatened with ruin.

The forcible intervention of Richelieu against Spain on the side of the Netherlands and the manful struggles of the Swedes, however, still kept the preponderance. The resistance of Louvain again disappointed the allies; but a great force under King Louis again saved France on the side of Alsace and Loraine. By the aid of France the Swedes under Banner again defeated the imperialists in Pomerania, and threatened Saxony. Encouraged by reconciliation with Saxony and Brandenburg Ferdinand convened an electoral diet at Ratisbon, September 15th, 1636, and by artful insinuations of the designs of France procured the election of his son as king of the Romans. Soon afterward Ferdinand II. died, February 15, 1637. Still the war raged from Pomerania to the Grisons. The duke of Saxe Weimar again took the field. Banner recovered Pomerania and marched into Bohemia with 40,000 men, routed a corps of imperialists at Brandeiss and advanced to the walls of Prague. This attack compelled the Austrians to move toward Bohemia, and restored French ascendency. During these events the fleets of Spain had been repeatedly

defeated by the Hollanders and French. At a diet held in Ratisbon in 1640, Germany demanded peace.

Ferdinand III. could not unite the empire in hostilities, and failed to secure the supplies demanded. The privilege of the diet was also extended to all the states of the empire. The influence of the imperial house had greatly declined. The duke of Brunswick, and the new elector of Brandenburg disavowed their dependence on Vienna; and above all a new juridical maxim propounded by the German jurists, that the elective head of Germany was not to be considered as succeeding to the powers or prerogatives of Constantine or Justinian shook the imperial power. The empire was declared to be an aristocratic body whose authority resided in the states, and not solely in the chief. The publication of the great work* maintaining these principles marks an era in German imperial law; but tended rather to augment foreign influence over individual states.

While the war surged round Bohemia Richelieu breathed his last December 4th, 1642, and Louis XIII. May 14th, 1643. Two days earlier the Spanish power in the Netherlands received a crushing blow from the duke of Enghien at Rocroi. Spain was deprived of her strong† minister Olivarez. Tortstenson who succeeded Banner carried the contest into Moravia and Silesia. Again the emperor collected all his forces in Bohemia 1643-44, and hastened them north under Gallas. Tortstenson drove him back in deep distress, and pushed on to the frontier of Bohemia now defenseless, totally defeating Gallas, November 23rd, 1644.

His approach spread universal alarm. Leopold

* "De Ratione Status in Imperio Nostro Romano Germanico." Puetter's Development, VI. Ch. 7.

† Not strong in a wise sense however,

hastened to Prague, and the imperialists under Hatsfeldt took a position between Budweiss and Tabor. At Yankovitz, March 16th, 1645, the imperial forces were again totally routed, their commander captured, and many of their principal officers killed or made prisoners. The emperor fled to Ratisbon, the empress to Gratz. Ragotsky the new waywode of Transylvania, burst into Hungary, sent 8,000 men to Tortstenson before Brünn. Konigsmark, another Swedish commander, defeated Gallas, forced Saxony to conclude peace, and hastened to Tortstenson in Moravia. The emperor made peace with Ragotsky, collected his troops and marched against Tortstenson. The Swedes retired to Augsburg and the following year again advanced to Bohemia and reduced Egra. But the strength of the emperor aided now by Bavaria compelled the Swedes to retire. During this interval the emperor convoked the Bohemian estates and obtained the confirmation of his son Ferdinand as successor to the crown. In 1647 he made a similar application to the diet of Hungary; removed restrictions on protestant worship, restored ninety churches, and restrained the insults and persecutions of the Catholics. The prince was crowned at Presburg, July 16, 1647. Again and again during these contests re-inforcements were drawn from Bohemia. In May, 1647, the imperialist army was again routed near Sustmarshausen; their general, Melander killed; and the victors were checked by an inundation of the Inn. Again the emperor was defeated in the electorate of Cologne; a Swedish corps occupied Silesia, and reinforced the garrison at Olmütz.

At this time a brilliant achievement of Konigsmark surprised Prague. Leaving his artillery and baggage

at Rakonitz, Konigsmark reached the vicinity of Prague July 26th, 1648. Concealing his troops in a wood he approached the gate of Strohof. As he drew near the wall with his musketeers he heard the answers of the patrol and the bells of a neighboring convent. He allowed the patrol to finish their round and gave the signal of attack. The troops scaled the wall, slew the guard at the nearest gate, lowered the drawbridge to admit his cavalry, and he was master of the Little Town. He instantly occupied the bridge leading to the Old Town; but as the alarm had been raised he seized the citadel and arsenal. Still the burghers resisted. Batteries were opened against the New Town; but the burghers still held out. Assistance and reinforcements arrived to the besieged; but on the arrival of Charles Gustavus nephew of the late king, who brought a reinforcement of 10,000 men the siege was renewed. But after desperate efforts to take the place, on the approach of Glotsch, the siege of the New Town was raised; but Konigsmark with troops and artillery held possession of the Old. On the following day, October 25th, 1648, the inhabitants of Prague received the joyful intelligence of the signature of an armistice that led to the peace of Europe.

By this momentous treaty which established the religious status of Germany in its relations to the empire, Ferdinand refused to include those whom he regarded as his rebellious subjects in an unlimited amnesty. He would not relinquish any part of the right confirmed to the other princes of re-establishing his own religion in his own territories, beyond the concessions already made at the peace of Prague. The dukes and princes of Silesia, and the town of Breslau obtained the same religious freedom as before the war; and three prot-

estant churches were permitted outside the towns of Schveidnitz, Jauer and Glogau. The other protestant nobles of Silesia and Austria above the Ems were not forced to emigrate, or prevented from attending worship beyond the bounds of Austrian territory. Those who had emigrated from Bohemia were allowed to return, on condition of submitting to the laws and conforming to the established regulations respecting religion; and only those persons were restored to their confiscated property who had taken up arms since 1630, and were termed not disobedient subjects, but adherents of France or Sweden.

Thus the only real success obtained by the dreadful contest of thirty years consisted in the power to strike down the ancient nationality of Bohemia; extinguish its constitution and institutions; deny to its people their own religion; and convert to the glory of Austria a kingly title perverted to the assertion of a monarchy based on claims wholly adverse to those it nominally represented. The title of king of Bohemia, the proudest borne by the chief of the Austrian house, does not and never did mean king of a certain territory geographically named Bohemia. It meant and it means still king of that nation that maintained first and last in continental Europe a political system founded on the free right to elect the sovereign, and with the sovereign to control the entire political, social, legal and constitutional power and administration of the country. Stripped of these native rights the title of king of Bohemia is but an empty phrase; and even that phrase the Austrian sovereign does not venture to assume after the legal formalities of a coronation.

From that day Bohemia lay as dead. Although on subsequent occasions of moment armies trod her soil

yet their march lay over the grave of the nation. In the mournful words of the native historian, a Catholic and an Austrian, "The records of history scarcely furnish an example of such a change as Bohemia underwent during the reign of Ferdinand II. In 1620, the monks and a few of the nobility only excepted, the whole country was entirely protestant; at the death of Ferdinand, it was in appearance at least, Catholic. Until the battle of the White Mountain the states enjoyed more exclusive privileges than the parliament of England; they enacted laws, imposed taxes, contracted alliances, declared war and peace, and chose or confirmed their kings; but all these they now lost.

"The Bohemian language, which was used in all the courts of justice and was in high estimation among the nobles, fell into contempt, the inhabitants of the towns began to be ashamed of their native tongue which was confined to the villages and called the language of peasants. The arts and sciences, so highly cultivated and esteemed under Maximilian and Rudolph, sank beyond recovery. During the period which immediately followed the banishment of the protestants, Bohemia scarcely produced one man who became eminent in any branch of learning. The Carolinum university fell under the direction of the Jesuits or was suppressed; by order of the pope all promotions were stopped and no academical honors conferred. * * The greater part of the schools were conducted by Jesuits and other monkish orders and nothing taught therein but bad Latin. It cannot be denied that several of the Jesuits were men of great learning and science; but their system was to keep the people in ignorance; agreeably to this principle they gave their scholars only the rind and kept to

themselves the pulp of literature. With this view they traveled from town to town as missionaries and went from house to house, examining all books, which the proprietor was compelled * * to produce. The books seized were all confiscated and burnt, so that a Bohemian and a rare book are synonymous terms. They thus endeavored to extinguish the ancient literature of the country, labored to persuade the students that before the introduction of their order into Bohemia, nothing but ignorance prevailed, and carefully concealed the learned labors, and even the names of our ancestors. Such was their despotism, that the collections and writings of the patriotic Balbinus, on the literature of the ancient Bohemians, could not be published until after the extinction of their order. In a word from this period the history of Bohemia ceases, and the history of every nation in Bohemia begins."

From that date Bohemia slept the sleep of political death for two hundred years. But notwithstanding the extinction of the nationality the proud title of king of Bohemia long constituted the highest portion of the emperor's inheritance. The policy of Austria even as developed in 1630, was directed to the extinction of the Slav nationalities and speech and the foundation of a German empire. But Austria never was and never could become, either ethnically or geographically, the true center of Germany. Technically the German empire and the Austrian empire continued conterminous until Sadowa demonstrated the hollowness of Austria's claim to be considered a German power. The Austrian sovereign has ever been solicitous to retain the title of king of Bohemia, and thus perpetually to remind Bohemians not only of ancient glories but of the revival of similar glory in time to

come. Some kind of a Bohemian kingdom continued to exist because it could not and it cannot be obliterated. The attempt to Germanize the Bohemians has been a crucial failure. Even the struggling peasants who gradually emerged into a people after the massacres of 1621-1630, and from 1630 to 1648 the terrible vicissitudes of constant war, exhibited again the same national persistence as before. Their enforced isolation from education limited them of necessity to their own speech. It grew with the growth of numbers and they had and could have no other. It became a thousand fold more prized by them than ever before. It was the speech of their oppressions, their martyrdoms, their self-sacrifice. All the heroism and devotion of their nation were preserved and embodied in their language. It had gone down with them to death, had consoled them in their wretchedness, had communed with their ancestors, renewed the memories of national rights never surrendered, and recalled the sunny days of their scholars and heroes. The stupidity of its assailants preserved its vitality; and it has survived to become again the national emblem, the living expression of the national soul that no extremity of persecution could deprive them of.

But while civil and religious freedom died in eastern Europe, or struggled painfully for existence, in the west during the same period it acquired superb strength and pre-eminence.

The afflictions of Bohemia were loudly heralded wherever the throng of exiles could announce them. The extreme poverty of multitudes who had been possessed of competence if not affluence, of itself announced the greed of their oppressors. The enormous wealth of adventurers rewarded out of confiscated es-

tates told the tale of wholesale robbery. The debates in the English parliament resounded with indignation at the oppressions of the suffering brethren in Bohemia.

The sympathy openly exhibited by the English court for the system of oppression practiced in Bohemia, and the direct imitation of its methods and arguments in opposition to the English commons warned the English nation of the fate before them. As Waldstein represented one side and its system, when able to exhibit itself fully, of the thirty years war, Oliver Cromwell represented the other side. The condition of Bohemia since 1630 embodies what Waldstein fought for; the condition of England indicates what Cromwell fought for. The methods of Waldstein may be compared with those employed by Cromwell that the contrast may be noted. The self-denying ordinance of the English parliament and the ferocious licentiousness of Waldstein's plunderers indicate the principle underlying the procedure in each case. The direct results demonstrate the original purpose on both sides. English history of this period must be read in the lurid light of Bohemia. During this most memorable epoch the foundations of American liberty were laid. Those foundations were constructed of materials hewn out of the ruins of Bohemian, English, Holland, and German liberties then overthrown. Those materials transported to the new land are to this hour the strong basis of American freedom. Bohemia contributed more than her share. Shall Bohemia alone be forgotten? Had Cromwell not prevailed no more of the English than of the Bohemian constitution could be pointed to as the source of American public right. The "Rights" sanctioned under William III. are embodied in the constitutional law

of every state of the Union. It was Cromwell that preserved the one, as it was Waldstein that annihilated the other. The persecutors of Bohemia are to this hour as desperately despotic as ever; but they profess gratitude that the cause for which Bohemia fought has conferred on mankind the light, learning, science, free speech, free thought, and orderly freedom of the nineteenth century. Must the one nation that sacrificed her whole fortune and her life and her sacred honor in this great cause have no monument to her memory?

Let it be remembered that the destruction of Bohemia preceded by a few years that actual civil war in England against Charles I. The methods, maxims, and jurisprudence introduced into Bohemia in order to efface her from the earth as a nation were familiarly known all through Europe. Those methods and that jurisprudence were sanctioned by the highest civil and ecclesiastical authority. They were adopted by bishop, cardinal, and pope, even to the uttermost enforcement in details. They were published as of divine sanction and proclaimed as inherently holy. Did those methods and that jurisprudence suddenly lose their divine character and sanction when employed against the same persons who originated and introduced them? Were they sacred in one case, and unholy in the other? Cromwell and William enforced against the allies of the persecutors of Bohemia the identical weapons they had forged. The so-called penal laws so furiously assailed in Ireland were and are only the same laws, in a much milder form, enforced in Bohemia as of divine authority. Bohemia could not utter a word in the utter prostration of her woe. Ireland has not been entirely silent. In Bohemia to-day the

expression of her slavery is still largely suppressed, because her oppressors shrink in fear from a full exposure of her wrongs to the indignation of the world.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BOHEMIA FROM 1648 TO 1782.

Public events in Europe during the period since 1648 justify and require a brief statement of the fortunes of Bohemia since the political burial of the country in 1648. The name Bohemia had become little more than a "geographical expression." The land was indeed frequently trodden and desecrated by the feet of mercenary hosts, or slaves impressed to soldier service; but these marshaled marauders, or alien combatants trod only upon a grave. In the contests represented by them no question of the life, the liberty, or the constitution of Bohemia was involved. Armies encamped and mutilated each other around Prague and elsewhere in the region represented by the name of Bohemia; but these violences arose in no degree from any consideration for Bohemia itself. They concerned France, or Prussia, or Austria. Nay more; —in some very memorable instances these contests were intended to tear the dead body of Bohemia limb from limb; the victor seizing that portion of the carcass that suited him. Dead Bohemia was resurrected in order to be dismembered; although the process was represented only as an exhumation. The clothing, ornaments, and muniments of title, supposed to have been interred forever with the body, were dug up and exposed to the light, in order that the body snatchers might justify their appropriation of trunk or limbs.

Worse still;—the possession of a section of the corpse became the foundation for claims to dominions that the dead had once possessed. Some apparent regard for the former conditions was exhibited for appearance sake, and to confer some semblance of property right. But it was only a carnival of plunderers who masqueraded in the garments torn from the grave of the deceased.

The complicated territorial arrangements necessary to complete the peace of Westphalia consumed three years. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, now denominated hereditary states, and treated as chastised rebels, obtained no courtesy but that of the lash. Protestant Germany secured large liberties and in fact lost but little if anything of its original claims. Protestant Bohemia and protestant Hungary being only protestant and not German were consigned sullenly to their death. After the final settlement Ferdinand III. repaired to Prague whither the new body of electors, Mayence, Treves, Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bavaria represented by the widow of the late duke, hastened to meet him. The name of king of Bohemia was here mentioned again in order that young Ferdinand might assume it. The prince was also elected king of the Romans and successor in the empire. But during the following year the smallpox conferred these dignities on his younger brother Leopold. Three hundred thousand gulden were distributed among the burghers of Prague in recognition of their resistance to Kœnigsmark. A portion of Bohemia, not, however, occupied by Bohemians, had already sold itself and now received its money. The empress Eleonora was crowned at Prague the following year; and an assembly nominally of the es-

tates conferred the regal dignity on Leopold with all the customary formalities. Although an oath of homage was exacted on one side, yet not one word of confirmation or acknowledgment of national privileges was uttered on the other. This election and those that followed proved that only a form, without life or substance became the basis of Austrian claims to the kingdom of Bohemia. The soul, the purpose, the assent of the nation has never accompanied that form; and not one Austrian sovereign since Ferdinand II. has been king of Bohemia.

Contemporary with these political formalities were the changes in the educational status of the country, through the transfer of the university to the control of the Jesuits. January 26th, 1650, an ordinance appeared requiring every professor before entering on the duties of his office either in the Carolinum or the Jesuit college, to make solemn oath that the Virgin Mary had been conceived immaculate. This peculiar phraseology was directed against every form of protestant belief. Every year must the same oath be renewed. The regulation continued in force until 1782. Public opinion at that period rendered the imposition of such an oath in a university extremely dangerous. As usual the reform came from without. In 1653 the two institutions were blended under the common title of the "Carolo-Ferdinandine University." The archbishop of Prague became ex-officio chancellor. Every year a new rector must be elected under the title of Rector Magnificus. The emperor alone could confirm the professors. The professors of Arts and Law received a salary from the university. Lectures on medicine and jurisprudence were delivered in the Carolinum; philosophy and theology in the Clementine, and con

ducted solely by the Jesuits. The deep ignorance into which the country sank for two centuries and the total absence of all literary eminence, or even effort, demonstrated the deliberate mockery, the false pretenses of these so-called university arrangements. They were a mere subterfuge to destroy the intelligence of Bohemia.

From this period the annals recount only mere commonplaces for several years. While the old life was extinct in Bohemia, in Hungary it still possessed large vitality. War with the Turks and the French rapidly exhausted the population. Of the regiments marched against the common foe scarcely a remnant ever returned. After a four years' struggle a peace for twenty years was concluded; and then came Ferdinand's long coveted opportunity. The practice in Hungary of revolting assaults on individuals and churches stimulated resistance. Under Ragotsky a fierce insurrection arose in defense of the last national and religious rights of the Lutherans in Hungary. Deprived now of allies through the subversion of the Bohemian states, and confronted with the entire force of the empire and its allies from Lombardy to the Netherlands the Hungarians felt the bitterness of their defection from the common cause, in their hostility to Bohemia on many occasions. Until 1673 this contest covered Hungary with ruin, annihilated her best and bravest people, crushed the most energetic and useful mind of the country, and drove her most excellent elements either into exile or the grave. Ferdinand at one swoop seized 250 Lutheran pastors, drove them in chains over the border, and sold them at fifty crowns each to the galleys of Naples. Here the gallant admiral De Ruyter interposed; rescued the prisoners,

took them on board his fleet, and transported them in honor to Holland. Not of men only but of treasure was Bohemia drained. The contingent of troops was fixed at 3,916 men a year; and the contribution in money at 2,300,000 gulden. Other supplies in large amounts drained the life blood of the country. In this year, 1696, another body of exiles fled from the kingdom, their pretended conversion being discovered. The long dominance of the Turks in Hungary is due quite as much to the ferocity of papal emissaries who destroyed its best defenders as to any superior ability of the Turks themselves.

During the year 1699, Peter the Great of Russia visited Prague with a retinue of one hundred and fifty persons. The nobles who entertained him found to their surprise that Peter could comprehend their Slavonian speech. His presence at once ennobled their own; and this interview gave the first impetus to the revival of Bohemian. It was no longer a peasant language. Already the German had made inroads on it even in the rural districts. From that moment that inroad was checked, then resisted, and finally suppressed. Only in the presence of Austrian officers in Prague does any Bohemian ever descend to the use of any language but his own.

Joseph I. succeeded his father Leopold in 1703. He had seen much active service in the camp before Landau, and exhibited brilliant qualities and a manly generous disposition. His education had not been entrusted to the Jesuits. His governor, the prince of Salm, had observed that this society sacrificed every consideration for their order, and that to them were due the persecutions, disgraces and disturbances that had afflicted the empire since Maximilian II. He died

in 1711 without having formally assumed the crown of Bohemia. During his reign the efforts of the Hungarians under Ragotsky threatened the peace of Bohemia. Agents had secretly induced many persons in Moravia and Silesia to promise support. The total defeat of Ragotsky at Trentschen, August 17th, 1708, reduced the country to submission. Taught by 1648, however, the emperor arranged a convention at Zatmar in January, 1711. General amnesty was conferred; confiscated property restored; prisoners were liberated; the exercise of the protestant religion as stipulated in the constitution of the kingdom secured; with the confirmation of all rights and immunities approved by Joseph at his coronation, and liberty to exhibit other grievances for redress at the next diet. Ragotsky retired to France, then to Spain, and finally to Constantinople, and died at the castle of Rodosto on the sea of Marmora. He wrote several religious works. With his sons, Francis and George, the family became extinct.

Shortly after the accession of Charles VI. the violation of the peace of Carlovitz by the Turks renewed formidable hostilities in Hungary.

At Peterwaradin, August 5th, 1716, the Bohemian contingent greatly distinguished itself; and in fact the supply of men and munitions for these wars seemed then to be the only object of Bohemian existence in any form. In the following year before Belgrade again Bohemia vindicated its just claim to recognition under the eye of Prince Eugene. By this victory Temeswar, the western part of Wallachia and Servia, the territory and city of Belgrade and part of Bosnia were secured to the dominions of Austria. At this date Charles VI. attained the summit of his power.

He was elected emperor of Germany, and sovereign actually of Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Tyrol, Silesia, Naples, Sicily, the Milanese and the Netherlands. This splendid empire contained a population estimated at 24,000,000, composed, however, of different and in some cases of irreconcilable nationalities. During this year, 1718, August 2nd, Charles promulgated his celebrated Pragmatic Sanction,* regulating the succession among his family and its branches.

Leopold had already formed a family compact that was confirmed by Joseph and Charles himself. By that compact the succession was entailed on the daughters of Joseph in preference to the daughters of Charles should both die without male descendants. Charles now reversed this arrangement, and fixed the succession first in his own daughters, of whom the eldest was Maria Theresa. Knowing however, that the strongest paper obligations of one Austrian ruler had always been repudiated by the next, if such a course pleased him, Charles now obtained from the estates of his dominions an acknowledgment of the Pragmatic Sanction. He also made the guarantee of this compact by European nations the great object of his reign. To this dynastic manœuvre Bohemia owed its subjection to the rule of Maria Theresa. Spain gave its adhesion in 1725, England in 1731, Holland in 1731, the German states in 1732, and France in 1735 and 1738.

In 1723 came Charles and the empress, and their daughters to Prague to assume the crown of Bohemia. As a similar scene had not been presented for sixty-sev-

* The word Pragma in Greek came to signify the deliberate act of the imperial house: a solemn and dynastic proceeding. Hence Pragmatic Sanction signified the concurrence of the imperial family in a procedure affecting themselves.

en years, great was the rejoicing. Five hundred nobles and knights and a multitude of citizens met the cortege. The estates assembled, took the oath of allegiance and went through the ceremony of election, which alone conferred the dignity of the electorate on the Austrian house. The coronation oath, however, was totally omitted on this occasion; and the nation was reminded that it had now a master bound to it by no obligation to respect any of its rights, and in fact that it had no rights that any king need notice. Three days afterward the empress' coronation was performed with equal absence of all recognition of Bohemia except the form. By these proceedings all the law of election and inheritance in Bohemia was wilfully violated and spurned. As in many oriental countries, the heir of the king of Bohemia must be his heir born after the royalty of the king and not before. Hence by the law Charles' children were excluded. Charles omitted the oath and did not commit perjury. The essence of the coronation, on which its entire validity depended, having been left out the form conferred nothing.

During this period of internal quietness the natural fertility and mineral resources of Bohemia restored prosperity. Trade flourished chiefly in Saxon ships. Corn, fruit, wine, horses, linen, and other agricultural products were exported with much profit. All classes shared the benefits.

Maria Theresa had not completed her twenty-fourth year, when by force of the Pragmatic Sanction she succeeded to the throne of the empire.

All classes felt grave apprehensions for the maintenance of domestic peace. Hungary was feared; the elector of Bavaria aspired to the crown by virtue of

the will of Ferdinand I. and much local excitement existed among the population. The empire was feeble and in poverty; and the ministers felt oppressed by the public perils in the presence of a young and inexperienced sovereign. The French court vacillated about acknowledging the queen of Bohemia's title; but other powers professed friendship. The Austrian monarchy had sown the wind in its dealings with the Bohemian kingdom, and was now about to reap the whirlwind. Frederic II. the new king of Prussia was a man of iron hardened into an extreme tenacity of temper by the blows of his father. He put forward claims to Silesia quite as tenable as those asserted by Austria to portions of its dominions. He was encouraged by his power, and the weakness of his dominant neighbor. The occasion was favorable. Silesia was held by Austria solely on the ground that it had been united with Bohemia. The province never formed part of the Bohemian dominions in the same sense as Moravia did. Silesia was associated indeed as part of the dominions actually ruled by the king of Bohemia but was not dynastically part of them. The election by the estates was always necessary; it was held as much of Poland and Hungary was long held. In no sense had the head of the Austrian house inherited any territory in Silesia. Frederic claimed that he did inherit; and now claimed the whole as partly his own and partly necessary to his security according to the strict law then prevailing. Accordingly, having secretly prepared, the king entered Silesia December 23rd, 1740, at the head of a strong force; and before the end of January, 1741, had made himself master of the entire province except Glogau, Brieg and Neiss. The Austrian force assembled in Moravia, and marched

against Frederic. April 10th, the armies met at Molvitz; and as the Austrians broke the right wing of the Prussians, Frederic hastily quitted the field leaving the fight to his generals. The main army of the Austrians failed to shake the steady Prussian line, and after three assaults was driven back in confusion. At this point marshal Schweren having rallied his right wing advanced against the broken enemy; and a total rout of the Austrians resulted. Frederic had retired to appear six German miles from the field, and nearly became prisoner to some hussars who occupied the place. A few shots forced the king back toward Neiss where he heard of his victory. Frederic's alliance was at once courted by Europe; and he was regarded as the champion of the oppressed in Europe. After fruitless negotiations wherein both parties were rather irritated than pacified by the interference of England, the war was renewed in 1714 with France and Bavaria operating in favor of Prussia. The forces of these powers united marched to invest Prague that contained large magazines and a feeble garrison. While Marshal Belleisle thus occupied Bohemia another French force operated against Hanover to check the English. The allies being thus triumphant the affairs of the empire seemed desperate. But the strength of Austria consists in the mutual hatreds of its component parts. Any two or three will always combine against any of the others. Under any external contingency the antipathies of some against any outside power will persuade them to aid the common oppressor. Aided by subsidies from England Maria Theresa resolved to appeal to the magnanimity of nations to whom she could not utter a syllable on the ground of justice. Assembling the Hungarian

diet the queen appeared dramatically bearing the crown and scimitar of St. Stephen. Addressing the assembly, and holding up her infant, Joseph, in her arms the personal appeal, and the political distress of the queen extinguished from the minds of the fiery Magyars all sentiment of hostility, and waving their swords they shouted in Latin, then and still very commonly spoken, "Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa."* A motley host was at once assembled from the Save, the Teiss, the Drave, and the Danube; and these wild and barbarous bands were viewed with astonishment by the uniformed regiments of Europe. They were the same that had plundered and massacred in Bohemia many times. But divisions and jealousies among the allies induced Frederic to listen to an accommodation. A convention was drawn up ceding to him Lower Silesia with the towns of Breslau and Neiss. Although this pretended arrangement only amused Austria without binding the king, as it never was signed, it enabled Maria Theresa to combine her strength against France, Saxony and Bavaria. Frederic's chief anxiety arose from the expectation that if he obtained success the elector of Bavaria would be induced to claim the crown of Bohemia to which he openly aspired. Thus the body was exhumed in order that its possessor might lay claim to some of the goods formerly owned by the deceased. Frederic's apprehensions were quickened by the fact that the elector of Bavaria had turned aside from Vienna, and hastened to the attack of Prague. At that moment all Silesia was in the hands of the king of Prussia;

* The use of the phrase "Moriamur pro rege nostro" is too well authenticated for dispute. The Magyars by use of the word King saved their oath as well as their law.

Upper Austria and the greater part of Bohemia occupied by the French, Bavarians and Saxons. October, 1741. Under the armistice with Prussia, Maria Theresa assembled her forces at Znaim, and with 60,000 men the duke of Loraine marched to release Prague. Arrived within three leagues of the city the duke heard that the citadel had surrendered under General Ogilvy. The same day the elector of Bavaria entered; was crowned king of Bohemia, December 19th, and at once departed for Frankfort to meet the diet of the empire. Under the influence of France the elector of Bavaria was raised to the empire, February 12th, 1742, and took the title of Charles VII. Maria Theresa had conferred on her husband the title of co-regent in order to obtain for him the vote of Bohemia. But this transfer could not be accepted by the electors. The elector obtained only an empty title. Austria directed all energies against Bavaria; and this advance alarmed the king of Prussia who had purchased Glatz from the elector as king of Bohemia. Apprehensive that Maria Theresa would next attack Silesia, Frederic passed through Prague, and reformed his army near Glatz. Marching by Iglau, Znaim and Goedingen his hussars spread terror to the gates of Vienna. At the same time the French seized Egra and advanced to Piseck. At this juncture Frederic's proposals were finally rejected as the Saxons and French deserted him, and he was compelled to retire to Chrudim in Bohemia. Charles of Loraine advanced through Moravia, and confronted the Prussians near Chotusitz, May 17th, 1742. Here the king gained an indecisive victory. At the same moment a force of 10,000 men was advancing to reinforce the French in Bohemia. By a definite treaty all Upper and Lower Silesia were

ceded to Prussia in full sovereignty with the county of Glatz except Troppau and Jagerndorf and the mountains beyond the Oppau. Thus the dead body of the deceased was dismembered forever. July 28th, 1742. Relieved on this side the Austrians concentrated 70,000 men against Belleisle and Broglio at Prague. Belleisle offered to surrender on condition of retaining his arms, artillery and baggage. Maria Theresa imperiously rejected these conditions; and was supported by England and the Netherlands. The siege of Prague was pushed, and the garrison reduced to extremities. The approach of reinforcements under Maillebois to relieve the French compelled Prince Charles to weaken his army of investment; and Broglio was enabled to escape and join the other French army on the Iser leaving Belleisle still closely blockaded. The winter proved to be extremely severe; and the country for several leagues around Prague was entirely stripped of supplies of all kinds. A small detachment only could be left to observe the French; and on the night of December 16th, Belleisle forming 11,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 30 pieces of artillery into a single column, and having provided supplies for 12 days swiftly marched out leaving the sick and wounded with a guard in the citadel. Up to that date no European army experienced such dreadful sufferings as the retiring French during this march. With only frozen bread for subsistence, compelled to sleep on ice and snow and without covering, harrassed by attacks, the soldiers perished in great numbers. "The roads were overspread with corpses, heaps of one and two hundred men each with their officers were found stiffened with frost, or dead with fatigue." Fever and amputation subsequently destroyed hundreds

more. But not a cannon or other trophy was lost. The garrison of 6,000 under Chevert being called on for unconditional surrender threatened to fire the city. To save the capital they were allowed the honors of war, and joined the other army at Egra. Thus all Bohemia except Egra was regained. Maria Theresa was crowned at Prague May 12, 1743. January 2nd, Marshal Belleisle quitted Egra; and returned to France with 8,000 men out of 40,000, humiliated and a fugitive.

The designs of Austria now extended to the dismemberment of France, the appropriation of Bavaria, and the recovery of Silesia. Hence Frederic of Prussia again intervened. Accordingly he signed a convention May 13th, 1744, with the emperor, France, elector Palatine, Sweden and Hesse. August 10th, he marched into Bohemia; and September 16th, seized Prague, and forced the garrison of 1,000 men to surrender. Next seizing Tabor. Budweis, Frankenberg he occupied all Bohemia east of the Moldau. Again the Hungarians rushed to the aid of Maria Theresa, and hastened to defend Bohemia. Want of provisions forced Frederic to retire with loss. At Strigau in Silesia, June 2nd, 1745, the Austrians were defeated and driven back into Bohemia. Maria Theresa supported by English subsidies still held out. England attempted to mediate; and her proposals being rejected George II. by a convention guaranteed Silesia to Frederic. Again at Staudentz the Austrians suffered a severe defeat; but the exhaustion of the country compelled the king to retire from the frontiers of Bohemia. By a form of election at Frankfort, September 13th, Francis became emperor, the vote of Bohemia being supposed to be vested in Maria Theresa. But Frederic was not idle.

A division of Saxons was defeated at Hennendorf and Prince Charles expelled from Silesia with a loss of 5,000 men. Another corps of Saxons being totally routed at Kesselsdorf by the prince of Anhalt, December 15th, the king entered Dresden in triumph, and overran the whole electorate. Maria Theresa at once accepted the mediation of Great Britain, and on the 5th of December, 1746, by the peace of Dresden, Prussia became confirmed in the possession of Silesia and Glatz. In return Frederic evacuated Saxony, acknowledged the suffrage of Bohemia, and the validity of the late election.

By the year 1756, the condition of Europe had so completely changed that Maria Theresa felt compelled to conciliate and seek the aid of France. She saw Frederic able to penetrate Bohemia with 100,000 men; the German states principally governed by the protestants supported by the court of Berlin; the protestant states powerfully armed and the Catholics possessing neither troops nor money. The occasion seemed favorable to devote serious attention to the recovery of Silesia; and secret preparations for that purpose had been made. Frederic clearly saw these proceedings, and demanded of the empress-queen an explicit declaration of her position. The answer was evasive. The armaments in Bohemia were not explained. Her reply had scarcely been delivered when announcement was made that Frederic had seized Dresden and blockaded the Saxons in Pirna. Marshal Brown advanced from Prague to Saxony. He was defeated at Lovositz. The Saxons capitulated and the elector was compelled to flee to Warsaw. Marshal Schverin on the side of Silesia, destroyed all the subsistence under the very cannon of the Austrian camp; and Frederic took win-

ter quarters in Bohemia. At the opening of 1756 a grand confederacy against the king of Prussia was consolidated. In reply the king burst into Bohemia with three strong columns. The Austrians were driven under the walls of Prague. Prince Charles took a position with Ziskaberg on his left. His army of 70,000 men was defended by ravines and dykes. At first repulsed the Prussian columns furiously assailed the Austrian left and centre. Marshal Brown fell, and his absence created confusion. Fighting their way over every obstacle the Prussian advance broke the Austrian line, and Prince Charles took refuge in Prague. A rise in the Moldau saved his army from annihilation. At that moment 100,000 were shut up inside the capital without subsistence beyond the present moment. Frederic suffered a total defeat at Kolin, June 14th, 1757, and again Maria Theresa was saved. Again also the demands of Austria included the dismemberment of the territories of Prussia. Berlin itself was laid under contribution by General Haddick; and the king had no sooner driven him out than he returned into Saxony and took post at Rosbach. Here the allies suffered a total defeat with the loss of 63 cannon, eleven generals, and a large number of prisoners. But the Austrians recovered the greater part of Silesia, with very heavy loss to the Prussians. The king hastened through Lusatia, and met the enemy at Lissa. Here the Austrians suffered a dreadful overthrow with the loss of 134 cannon, while 18,000 soldeirs and 13 generals surrendered. Maria Thersa lost 50,000 men, the whole of Silesia except Schveidnitz and all the advantages of the campaign.

Year after year this wasteful war continued.

At the close of 1761 the affairs of Austria seemed

triumphant, those of Prussia desperate. Even Frederic was despondent. Before him lay the Austrians ; behind him were arrayed the Russians. January 5th, 1762, Elizabeth died; and Peter III. succeeded. Instantly the face of affairs changed. Deserted by Russia and Sweden Austria lost Silesia irrecoverably. Bohemia was harrassed continually; Egra reduced to ashes; and Prince Henry advanced to Prague. By the final treaty of Hubertsburg Maria Theresa renounced Silesia and Glatz, and Bohemia once more had peace. February 5th, 1763.

During the period of twenty years immediately succeeding the close of the seven years war, public opinion in Europe had undergone not only a modification but a revolution respecting religious toleration. Disasters and misery so shocking to all human feeling had resulted from such cruelties as had culminated in Bohemia that universal horror of such excesses seized the public mind. Maria Theresa could introduce no radical change into her administration; but her successor, Joseph II., partook largely of the spirit of his time. The spirit of 1782 would not endure a repetition of Magdeburg or of the men who would be guilty of a similar atrocity. November 29, 1780, Joseph succeeded; and at once entered on a series of reforms most politic and in many respects wise and beneficent. Great reductions were made in the power and establishments of the Catholic church; and an attempt to restore simplicity in religious observances inaugurated in all outward ceremonies. Above all other innovations must be reckoned the Edict of Toleration issued October 13th, 1781, and enlarged at intervals afterward. By this edict the free exercise of religion was secured to all members of protestant or non-catholic churches.

All christians were declared equal as citizens; and capable of holding all offices in the state; every community of 3,000 souls, resident in any town or district was permitted to build a church provided they could establish a permanent fund for the support of a pastor, and relief of the poor; and a new translation of the Bible into the German tongue was ordered. The Jews also acquired the legal right to practice all arts and trades, and to attend all schools and universities, From that year, 1782, pastors were found in Prague as if by magic. In 1789, three hundred and ten protestant families openly professed in that city. In the following year the number of reformed who could take advantage of the edict amounted to about 44,000. Many districts could not present the number of residents necessary to build a church and endow it; but in 60 years the number of protestants openly organized into congregations amounted to nearly 100,000. In political status the country continued dead. The old life nowhere appeared; and yet it was but covered by a crust.

During this period, and up to 1848 although the name of the estates had been permitted to exist, yet they were limited in function to the mere registration of the imperial acts. They might impose, levy, assess the direct taxes, and thus became the machinery whereby the most arbitrary decrees were put in execution. They were in no practical sense representatives of the people; but rather privileged corporations whose personal advantage was opposed to the people at large. If their own interests coincided with those of the public, so far they represented other interests than their own. This position was, of evil design, thrust upon the Bohemian estates, to make them hostile to the nation. Hence they possessed no influence.

The emperor, Joseph II. considered the estates as an impediment to his autocratic reform plans; and he discontinued their sittings. Taken in conjunction with his suppressive proceedings toward the church, his policy received the cordial support of the philosophical politicians of the day. These persons controlled the sentiments of the higher and middle classes. The emperor Leopold, II. re-established the estates in form. Emperor Francis restricted their influence to the smallest possible degree in administration; and in legislation denied it to them wholly.

The chief maxim of the Austrian government consisted in the unabated maintenance of the sovereign's authority, and a denial of all claim on the part of the people to any participation in that authority. Until March, 1848, no ministry existed in the Austrian empire; only court functionaries. The several departments were mere branches of the great aulic administration, subdivided into court offices, mere secretaryships of the monarch, which acted in his name and were addressed as "Your Majesty." Under the emperor Francis oral communications between the emperor and the heads of departments became more and more rare; and as public business increased it was split up among a vast number of functionaries.

The centralizing maxim that produced this daily augmenting evil was accompanied by two others, intended to support it. One was the paternal character of the government; the other the defense and promotion of the Catholic church. Under the former of these two very great laxity in practice grew up beside the most arbitrary principles. Laws the most severe were not enforced; but they were not repealed; and officials could and did take advantage of them to com-

mit infinite acts of oppression. Suddenly a draconian sentence startled the public and men felt desperately distrustful of an authority that held the lash over them at all times, and not seldom encouraged law breaking by its seeming paternal feelings, and then on a sudden swooped down on the incautious victims of its laxity. Bohemians felt they could not even breathe freely. The maxim of supporting the Catholic church was ostentatiously accompanied by an avowed favor to Jesuits and Liguorians. These societies possessed the right to call in the police power to enforce obedience to ecclesiastical regulations, such as the infliction of punishment for joining in music and dancing, even in non-catholic houses on Fridays and Saturdays; the orders issued to tavern-keepers to separate on fast days those who ate meat from those who did not. These regulations provoked infinite ribaldry, and resentment. Most injurious of all to non-catholics was the established custom of requiring the consent of the Catholic bishop to the establishment of non-catholic alms-houses and schools allowed under the law of toleration. Endless postponements of the decision in such cases created not only constant complaints, but infinite dissension with the church. Bohemia is Catholic only from the lips outward.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BOHEMIA FROM 1782 TO 1848.

The imperial concessions of 1782 recognized a ferment of public opinion that had already made itself felt. The principles alluded to in those concessions, much more than those expressed, warmed up the feelings that on many occasions created alarm in Vienna. That city itself partook of the general restiveness. Scarcely had men's political eyes become accustomed to the new light when the terrible flash of the double revolution in America and in France awed all beholders by its menacing brilliancy. In that terrible glare men saw much that had never before been so awfully revealed. The light though momentarily blinding spread a lasting illumination over the political heaven. Electric enthusiasm shook the nations. Men perceived in what darkness they had been sunk, and with hands fevered by emotion they grasped the new treasures spread before them. The violent frenzy of France could not be felt in Austria. But some of the same spirit was diffused there. Into Bohemia the light penetrated through the partially closed windows of the Hall of the Estates. The march of armies over the surface of the country between 1792 and 1806 was merely the passage of strangers over a sepulchre. But the tread shook the nation. At Austerlitz, December 2nd, 1805, fell Austria fatally, and the German empire was no more. July 12th, 1806, arose the Confed-

JOSEPH DEBROVSKY.

eration of the Rhine; August 6th, the emperor Francis abdicated the imperial crown of Germany; and the inexplicable title of Austrian empire sounded in men's ears. Of all the claims to sovereignty put forth by the ruler of Austria that of king of Bohemia was the highest; and he did not possess that by right until legally crowned. May 21st and 22nd, 1809, on the Marchfield, the memorable scene of Otakar's defeat and death, near Aspern and Esslingen, the political death of Austria was accomplished. Znaim saw the last struggle of this campaign; the Dalmatian provinces were ceded to France; and to complete the humiliation of Habsburg the very ramparts of Vienna were blown up. But Bonaparte disgraced his name forever by the military execution of the gallant Tyrolean leader, Hofer. The following year Count Metternich, lately ambassador to France, became leader of the Austrian cabinet. During the brief interval that bound Austria with galling chains to her conqueror's chariot, the comatose body of Bohemia exhibited symptoms of vitality. In 1791, the diet held at Prague obtained the erection of a chair of instruction in the Bohemian language in the university. At the moment this creation seemed to be merely an educational measure. Assuredly it was that, and much more. Dobrovsky resuscitated the history, the antiquities, the revered and sacred memories of Bohemia. In fact he made Bohemia known to Europe. At once the study of the Bohemian tongue became respectable, then fashionable, and at last by force of public opinion imperative socially. Puchmayer, Nejedly, Hnevkovsky, Klicpera, Celakovsky, Macha, Tyl, Presl, Safarik, Palacky and others, and especially Jungmann the lexicographer, touched the national mind in the

school that grew up from these beginnings. The Bohemian diet of 1811 exhibited much ebullition of national feeling; but the exhaustion of the kingdom, of men for the military contingent required by Bonaparte, and of money in the utter bankruptcy of the empire, that by a sweeping decree of Count Wallis struck eighty per cent off the value of one thousand and sixty millions of bank paper, deprived Bohemia of all power to stir. Two further years of strife,—1813, 1814, found war surging angrily around the frontiers of Bohemia, and saw great armies enrolled within her borders. In the treaty of alliance of 1814, the European sovereigns combined against Napoleon and formally recognized "the strictest obedience to the maxims of popular right." Only the expectation of that recognition had kept their subjects obedient and in the field. The violence of Napoleon seemed to be the destruction of those rights. But after 1815 the great powers of the continent, by the Holy Alliance, again reverted to their former policy of inflexible absolutism. The incarnation of this principle ruled Austria in Prince Metternich.

Although the Bohemian estates for one hundred years simply enjoyed the form of their ancient prerogative, yet that form had been retained more closely than elsewhere in the empire. The provincial officers of the estates stood at the head of provincial administration. The appointees to any of these offices, if not members of the estates, were by an abuse of power invested with the incolate and required grade of nobility by the sovereign; but this tyrannical device kept alive the memory both of privilege and of function. The march of events was too strong for the allied sovereigns. By the treaty of 1815, Bohemia

was violently introduced into the Germanic Confederation, although her relation to that empire had been purely international. Bohemia was a Slav and not a German country. That act of the emperor combined all minds in Bohemia against the arbitrary act. The soul of the nation was quickened. In 1818 was founded the Museum of Prague. The "Prague Museum Review" soon followed. The glories of the national history were spread before all minds. Popular works and a national theatre farther expressed native thought. Jungmann, Kollar, Celakovsky and other learned writers in prose and poetry appealed to the national ear and heart. Prague became the center of Slav revival. The feelings and sentiments long dormant in the rural population now spread through all classes. At that juncture Greece, Belgium, Poland awoke also. Russia by assisting Greece strengthened the general cause that Greece represented. Even Spain showed strong signs of vitality. The Hungarian diet of 1825 felt a thrill of reviving national life, and Bohemia yielded to a stronger hope. The year 1821 is memorable as the birth year of Charles Havlicek the chief promoter of renewed nationalism openly advocated in Bohemia. Born in Bohemia but for a time tutor in the family of the Russian Prince Chevyref, Havlicek became a journalist in 1844, first on the staff of the "Bohemian Bee," and next the "Gazette of Prague." For years Havlicek wrought only by aid of devices and stratagems; as the life of a journalist was not then at all popular with Austrian censors. By a mistaken analogy of political conditions Havlicek compared Bohemia to Ireland; and "Repeal," became his watchword.

From 1826 to the revolution of 1830 in France was

but a brief step. This incident passed with but little commotion, and Bohemia only "nursed her wrath to keep it warm." The country continued very tranquil but deep discontent swelled in every heart. The feeling of her wrongs grew in intensity daily; and Bohemia had fixed with precision her present and her coveted relation to the empire. The insurrection in Poland in 1831, and the absorption of the little republic of Cracow by Austria created uneasiness and sympathy; and demonstrated the forced but unnatural quiet of Europe. A new life arising out of the improved social and educational conditions had spread; but had not acquired strength to break through the military absolutist crust that compressed its dangerous elasticity. Gallicia followed in 1846, and exhibited the same subdued disquiet.

During this precise period the actual condition of Bohemia is well exhibited by the statements of a casual, and disinterested eye-witness; the only one who during more than half a century gave the world a glimpse of the real state of affairs. His statements are based on observation during a tour on foot through the country in 1837. Let it be remembered that only since 1782 was the exercise of any profession permitted to a non-catholic. The Bohemians were mere hewers of wood and drawers of water During the tremendous struggle with Napoleon the energy and presence of mind of the country had not had time to recover consciousness. The resources of Bohemia were drained to the utmost to maintain that struggle; and the regiments that fought at Austerlitz and at Kulm, and every other sanguinary battle of that war, contained representatives of Bohemian manhood so long as a man re-

Joseph Safarik.

Joseph Jungmann.

John Kollar.

Francis L. Celakovsky.

mained. By the year 1837 a new generation had grown to manhood; and the mind of the nation looked sullenly at its past and its present. "Perhaps there is no city in the world," says our observer,* "which by the air which attaches to all its arrangements more completely separates you from the present and carries you back into the past than Prague. There is nothing in or around it, there is no separate building, nor street, nor square within its walls which is not more or less connected by the strong link of association with the mightiest and the most enduring struggle of principle in which the christian world was ever engaged. Go where you will your eye rests on something which speaks to you of a time when Prague was indeed a capital. Here in the Alt Stadt stands—noble in its decay—the old palace of Könighof the favorite residence of Charles IV. There is the Tyne or Thein church, within which Hus, himself but the successor of Milicius and Stickna, and even Janovius the Parisian, denounced the corruptions of Rome; here the same townhall, where by the gallant burghers, the doctrines of the Reformation were first avowed, and within which after a long and desperate effort to maintain them, they were abjured, not I suspect forever. * * * At a period when every political means is employed to efface and subdue the national character, when every act of social life to be innocent must be Austrian, it is well that there is a power and a spirit in these unshaken walls, and perennial customs, which must needs keep the memory of their great origin and former energy fresh in the hearts of the Bohemian people." These reminiscences, our author might well have added, are forced upon the people.

* The Rev. G. R. Gleig, Chaplain-General of the British army.

Nothing else is left to them. They are compelled to live in and gloat over the memories of the past, for they are denied a present and a future. Our author adds: "Among the watchers over the temporal and spiritual prosperity of Bohemia, St. John of Nepomuc holds a conspicuous place. Being now in an especial manner the guardian of bridges, his position here is more honored than that even of the virgin herself; he occupies the very center of the pile,* and may be distinguished from the rest by the five stars which glitter in their gilding around him; yet is his canonization an event of little more than a century's growth. He was set up by the Jesuits in 1729 in opposition to St. John Hus, to whom the Bohemians, for many years after the suppression of the protestant worship among them, continued to pay saintly honors; and he continues to this day, in the reverence with which he is everywhere greeted—a sort of galling and vexatious, because constantly recurring memorial, of the system of mental thraldom under which Bohemia has long groaned." Again;—"Here is the audience room, for example where the emperor holds his levees, or receives such petitions as his loving subjects may find an opportunity of presenting. Here likewise is the hall of assembly of the states—a plain apartment adjoining the audience chamber, and communicating with it by a private door. For the states appear to go through the form of meeting at appointed seasons, and of voting—all the privilege which they now enjoy,—such a sum as the crown may think fit to require." Again;—"Education in Bohemia as well as in the other provinces of the Austrian empire goes on

* Supposed to be the spot where the traitor was thrown from the bridge. But in fact that spot did not exist at that time.

under the strict and unceasing surveillance of the police. The clergy in spite of what travelers assert to the contrary, have no control over it at all except so far as they may possess influence enough with the government to recommend such text books as are adopted in the various seminaries. * * * As the nomination to vacant chairs in the university is vested in the board of education at Vienna, so by the head of the police it is determined by what process eminent philosophers, and divines, and lawyers, shall be fabricated. * * * It is worthy of remark that not a single lecture is delivered in the vernacular language of the country. German is indeed employed, where Latin may have grown into disrepute; but the Bohemian is a dialect of which the use seems restricted to the very lowest and most despised of the peasantry." "It would be idle to conceal that the extreme vigilance of the government in these respects, and still more, its bigoted hostility to everything which might recall the recollection of Bohemian independence has given great umbrage to the thinking portion of the people. I have conversed with persons of every rank and I found none who spoke of it except in bitterness." The author then describes the extreme precautions necessary to deliver a copy of Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, and a number of the foreign "Quarterly Review" to a gentleman of rank in the country. "Neither did we fail," again says our author, "to form acquaintance with the people as well of the humbler as of the more exalted stations, of which the result in every instance was that the favorable impression which had been made upon me while wandering among the mountains, suffered no diminution. I found them to be—in the city not less than among the villages – a kind-hearted,

industrious and most patient race. The higher orders spoke, too, indignantly of the centralizing system, of the ban that had gone forth against their beloved language, of the extinction of their privileges, and the efforts that are making to blot out the very remembrance of their nationality. 'But it will not succeed,' was the usual termination of such harangues. 'We have no idea of shaking off the yoke; * * * but we shall never be content till the laws are everywhere administered in a language which is intelligible to the people, and we and they be permitted to exercise some control over our own affairs.' * * * I ventured to ask whether the sentiments to which he gave utterance were generally entertained in Bohemia. 'By all orders and degrees of men,' was his answer; * * * 'You may depend upon it that we feel our degradation acutely.' * * * My companion bid me look out. I did so and saw two or three groups of cuirassiers lounging about. 'These are the emperor's sureties for our good behavior,' observed he with a smile; 'twelve or fourteen thousand men at Prague, three or four thousand at Königgratz—a regiment at Tabor, and squadrons scattered as you see through the villages."*

These statements are here introduced as in all respects sustaining the detailed narrative of the preceding pages. Our readers will be all the better prepared for the events of 1848, and the following years.

Our traveler was not likely to penetrate beneath the surface; and if he did his official position would have prevented him from criticism. But at that precise date began those contentions between the Bohemian

* Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M. A., vol. II., pp. 289, 292, 299, 328, 351. 362, etc.

estates and the government that have not yet been finally removed. The emperor Francis died March 2nd, 1835. The transition to a new sovereign, and another minister afforded an opportunity for the seething discontent of Bohemia to reveal itself. For a long period the estates had attached no importance to the proceedings of the diet. In fact even the form of voting the taxes had lain dormant for a generation. The suggestion of the emperor sufficed. Even the supposed consent of the diet had frequently been anticipated, although such conduct amounted to an open usurpation. The duty of obtaining the consent of the diet belonged to the chief Burg-graf, who during the later years of the emperor Francis, in the person of Count Chotek, enjoyed the confidence of both. But under a new emperor, and amid the growing strength of public opinion, the estates presented a statement to the court at Vienna. Their explanations were favorably heard; and contests with the chief Burg-graf became established. The estates complained of other infringements of their privileges, the appointment of officers not qualified, as in the case of Count Salm, successor of Count Chotek. The estates had not dared to remonstrate in 1811, when the same usurpation had been committed. Count Salm was compelled to qualify by property in Bohemia received from his brother. This victory led to remonstrances of the misapplication of the domestic fund; next to claims over the distribution and allotment of direct taxes. These proceedings were materially strengthened by an order from the united court chancery to the estates, to make regular parliamentary decrees, to connect their claims with the votes for taxes, and to defer the decree, as well as the levying of the taxes, to

the time when their claims should be recognized. Here, without any intention, the entire constitutional rights of the estates were recalled, and insisted on by the government itself. The entire question of national sovereignty as represented by the estates was reopened and pressed on the attention of Europe. The cup of Tantalus had been long held to the lips of Bohemia. Now a little of the contents was tasted and the thirst for more became maddening. During these disputes the emperor was constantly reminded of his coronation oath. As on several previous occasions this boldness was encouraged by influential persons in Vienna, and in fact by the ruling classes. Hence it was disregarded. Abusive speeches were explained away as directed against foolish councillors. Thus encouraged, the public discontent intensified. The bureaucracy received all the odium as they had claimed a commission as universal providence. The foreign press praised the states; and this body soon enlarged their complaints. They chose a commission to examine their archives in support of their demands. Here was dangerous ground, where every step led to a volcano. They next extended their revision to matters that affected the country at large, and assumed the attitude of representatives of the people. Every step tended to undermine public confidence in the government. The national spirit was aroused. Even those persons who scarcely understood Bohemian assumed the character of national advocates. Bills of fare in all hotels and taverns were expressed in the Bohemian language; invitations to parties were also issued in that speech; although every man and woman who received them habitually used German. The streets were rebaptized in Bohemian. The common employ-

ment of both languages had smoothed down all feelings against the Germans. The children were encouraged to learn both languages; and the present divergence was based solely on a design to weaken the central administration. This silent battle had continued for twelve years; and in 1847 at length led to an open rupture. Among the tyrannical devices adopted after 1620 to reduce the stubborn townsmen and impoverish them was a system compelling them, especially the royal towns, to defray the constantly increasing expenses of the criminal courts out of their own funds. At first the criminals to be punished were the reformed pastors and people; but as this class disappeared from sight the abuse continued in the cases of other malefactors, and these grew increasingly numerous. These towns now protested against this exaction. The amount reached 50,000 florins annually and was felt with especial severity as the current coin was worth only 20 per cent of its face. No authority whatever in law could be produced for this extortion; and the government, unable to continue it in that form, proposed to transfer the burden to the domestic fund. Here again the government was defeated, as the charge belonged directly to the state. But the error was committed of adding the required amount to the direct taxes of Bohemia. The extra charge was successfully carried through the parliament in 1845 and 1846, not without opposition; but no title was given to this item as it had not been customary to explain to the estates the allotment of the taxes. In 1847 the position of the diet before the country emboldened them to ask the government by what authority the additional amount, now demanded for 1848 had been imposed since 1845. This challenge accused

the authorities of usurpation and tyranny since 1630; and placed the estates in the position they had occupied under the regular constitution. Bohemia in her proper person spoke again. The government required the allotment of the taxes in the same proportion as hitherto. The estates refused in order to maintain their principle; but afterwards consented in the interest of the public service. Thus the government came into direct conflict with every provincial body of estates. The authorities imposed the taxes by the chairman of the estates with the assumed privity of the estates themselves. The taxes were assessed in fact in the office of the estates without parliamentary sanction. These proceedings inflamed the national feeling all through the empire. The committee appointed to investigate the subject in the archives had prepared a voluminous report, and deposited it in the archives for future use.

This report recalled, revived, resuscitated, and resurrected all the fundamental rights, privileges, and jurisdiction of Bohemia, as already set down in these pages. It asserted first the right of the nation to elect its own king in case the present dynasty should become extinct. This right has recently been asserted in open parliament. The report also demanded that the imposition of taxes should depend on the previous consent of the estates; and that their advice should be accepted on every law and regulation affecting the nation. This boldness betokened a consciousness of strength at home, and support abroad. In fact the community of purpose existing in all the departments of the Austrian dominions was perfectly well ascertained. Bohemia, Lower Austria, Hungary and Moravia had combined. The last two centuries

had created a wide chasm between the privileged and unprivileged classes; and this space the estates now strove to abolish.

The government next attempted to effect a compromise by creating a special department in the united court chancery to regulate these subjects on the basis of supposed equity. The proposal came too late. Bohemia knew perfectly well that the estates of the kingdom never owed their origin, their power, or their position in the government to any king, or emperor. They had always been the national constituency formally co ordinate with the executive; that instead of being created they were the source of royal prerogative and power; that they were the nation in its essence. The recovery of this dignity became now the basis of the dispute, and will always be such basis so long as Bohemia exists. The memory of similar privileges enjoyed by Lower Austria now created very strong feeling and popular excitement in Vienna. The materials for revolution being thus inflammable in Austria the match was applied by the revolution of February, 1848, in France. The news reached Prague early in March at the moment when the estates were preparing for the anticipated struggle on the meeting of the diet. The people of Prague heard with bated breath the exciting thunder from Paris, as if the sound should reach them through the air. Everywhere apprehension—expectancy. General sentiment in Prague was well prepared as the city was and is proud of her ancient glory. The flight of King Louis Philippe created not even a flutter of excitement.

Bohemians felt the current of events far better than their rulers who thought only in cannon,

and despised the needle gun, and popular sentiment infinitely more formidable than either. Taught by terrible experience Austria hesitated to crush. Monarchs in Europe felt alarmed. Germany demanded reforms, and Bohemia breathed easier. Some constitutional principles were conceded in other nations, and Bohemia expected the same benefits. But Austria, really only a slave of Rome, dared not forsake her rigid adherence to obsolete political superstitions. The proletariat of Paris was pointed to, and its possible excesses, even greater than those witnessed, were made the excuse for hesitancy. The initiative denied by official stupidity devolved of necessity on the bourgeois.

CHAPTER XXX.

BOHEMIA FROM 1848 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

One bold and persistent advocate appeared,—Peter Faster—keeper of a coffee-house in Prague. In this retreat the journalists and politicians assembled. From the moment when Faster became proprietor of this establishment—"The Golden Goose," it became historical. Faster was a sturdy bourgeois. He boasted no nobility; he had too much sense to do so. He was an earnest man of affairs, straightforward, honorable, and persistent. His character and his hostelry both invited the progressive thinkers of the city. Faster's intellectual calibre was far above the level of his modest business, and he speedily acquired foremost rank among the practical politicians engaged in promoting the national cause. An association in the form of a club grew up; and all prominent citizens, German and Chekh, received invitations to join. March 11th, an evening meeting was held at Wenzel's Bath and an attempt was made to compose a petition to the emperor Ferdinand for necessary administrative reforms. The police,—for the first time in centuries,—did not interfere. But revolution seemed imminent, and military and cannon were held in readiness. Dying absolutism was nevertheless powerless to prohibit. Force would set Europe ablaze. The great hall was full. Burghers, students, notables thronged the chamber Faster opened the meeting,

explained its object, and detailed the reforms required. His speech was delivered in Bohemian and was translated into German by Troggau. The petition was laid before the meeting, and the following reforms were asked for:

I. National equality of Bohemians and Germans in schools, courts of justice, and all authorities, and the appointment of officials from both equally.

II. Renewal of the political relation of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, with a parliament at Brünn and Prague alternately.

III. A free communal constitution, burghers and farmers being represented, and the election of town magistrates.

IV. Equality of all religions.

V. Independence in the courts and publicity in the proceedings.

VI. Freedom of the press with regulations against its abuse.

VII. A responsible central administration.

VIII. Abolition of feudal burdens, and privileged courts, and of enforced labor for the lords (robota).

IX. Abolition of the tax on articles of consumption.

X. Alteration of the stamp and tax laws.

XI. Universal liability to military service. Recruiting by ballot. Four years military service.

XII. Security of personal liberty. No imprisonment but by a judicial sentence.

These rights were those which the Bohemians had always claimed as of fundamental institution under their laws, although in some respects their primitive procedure had not embodied them in formal *habeas corpus* acts and *bills of rights*. Their national system

had not required scientific expression of these enactments. In the above demands both Bohemians and Germans combined; and the expression "Bohemians and Germans are one body" became universal through the country.

The meeting elected a committee to present this petition to the emperor. It was composed of twenty-seven persons of different ranks and professions, Bohemian and German, and was denominated the St. Wenzel's committee. The president was Adelbert, Count Dejm, one of the few remaining national nobility working with the national party. The meeting was in all respects orderly and organized and was dismissed soon after 10 P. M. The government at Vienna felt the general menace abroad, and the movers of these proceedings, who only a few short months before would have disappeared in dungeons, were left unmolested and free. But had the events been different scaffolds would have been reddened. In Vienna itself the effect of these movements was felt likewise, and on March 13th, reforms were demanded. The iron absolutism of Metternich still predominated. Vienna witnessed strife and bloodshed; but Ferdinand submitted and Metternich was dismissed. The emperor also promised a constitution—an empty promise based on mental reservation. On the same day the censorship was abolished and a national guard permitted. The emperor still further promised to convoke a national assembly not later than July 3rd, to prepare a constitution. All these tidings diffused joy and quietness through Bohemia. When the telegram announcing the last concession was received in the theatre, where the governor, Rudolph Stadion announced it, it created intense enthusiasm. A torch-

light procession was organized under the leadership of Prince Kamil Rohan. All was joy and peace. Next day the streeets of Prague were gay with national cockades of white and red. Every man wore one. The petition to the emperor was presented for signatures in many places, and signed. A national guard was organized and received arms from the government armory. Some students originated an academical legion, and some eccentric costumes were exhibited. Peter Faster received the soubriquet of King of Bohemia and henceforward enjoyed the title undisturbed and uncrucified. Every symptom of tumult was easily composed by the national guard; and companies of this body were organized by the artizan and labor population.

St. Wenzel's committee was promoted to the dignity of Committee of Public Safety, and to Faster was assigned the honorary position of arbitrator or dictator. The city officials appointed by the emperor lost all jurisdiction, and Faster's orders were universally obeyed. He was judicious and prudent, and exhibited in his proceedings the true national sentiment for which alone Bohemia had ever contended,—national liberty in education, religion and government; and social order to enjoy and perpetuate national institutions bequeathed by national rights.

Notwithstanding these joyous and grateful demonstrations the decree of March 15th, amounted to little more than a mockery. It ran as follows:

MOST HIGH DECREE,

We, Ferdinand the First, by the grace of God, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the fifth of the name; King of Lombardy and Venice, of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Gallicia, Lodomeria, and Illyria; Archduke of Austria; Duke of Lorraine, Salzburg,

Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, Upper and Lower Silesia; Grand Duke of Transylvania, Margrave of Moravia, Princely Count of Habsburg and Tyrol, etc., etc., have now adopted such measures as we have deemed necessary to satisfy the wishes of our loyal people.

The freedom of the press is by our declaration of the abolition of the censorship established in the same manner as in all other states where it exists.

A national guard constituted on the basis of property and intelligence already discharges its salutary duties.

The necessary steps have been taken for a convocation of representatives of all the provincial estates, and of the central congregations of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom in the shortest possible time, in order with an increasedrepresentation of the citizens and paying regard to the existing provincial constitutions, to co-operate in the constitution of the country which has been determined on by us.

Accordingly we expect with confidence that men's minds be tranquilized, that the studies (of the universities) will resume regular course, that trade and peaceful commerce will again revive.

We entertain this hope the more, because having been among you to-day, we have convinced ourselves, with feelings of emotion, that the loyalty and attachment which for centuries you have uninterruptedly paid to our ancestors, and also to ourselves upon every occasion, inspires you now as heretofore.

Given in our imperial residence and capital City of Vienna. March 15, 1848, the fourteenth year of our reign.

Ferdinand (L. S.).

CHARLES COUNT VON INZAGHI,
High Chancelor.

FRANCIS BARON VON PILLERSDORF,
Aulic Chancelor.

JOSEPH BARON VON WEINGARTEN,
Aulic Chancelor.

In obedience to his Imperial and Royal apostolic majesty's high express commands,

PETER RITTER VON SATZGEBER,
Imperial and Royal Privy Councilor.

March 19th, the deputation proceeded to Vienna. Crowds applauded them. The streets shone with profuse decorations. A mass was served at the statue of St. Wenzel by Archbishop Schrenk. The church hastened to assume a new rôle,—new indeed in Bohe-

mia. Germans and Bohemians in Prague cordially co-operated. It was the honeymoon of the revolution. Slowly the enthusiasm subsided as all these hopes proved to be only expectances. A separate organization called Svornost or Concord was effected in the national guard; and the red cross adopted as emblem. Some acts exhibited ill feeling toward the Jews and a mob assembled in the Jews' quarter. But the Svornost easily restored order. This body, however, soon fell into disfavor. In the rural districts, where in days of old the principles of liberty had been not only understood but hereditary, the people now imagined that liberty meant community of goods. In a few places they killed game and wondered when punished therefor.

The deputation was welcomed at Vienna; but disappointed at court. The government constitution was only paper. The Bohemian and Moravian nobility sent a counter deputation; both received an ambiguous answer; and returned March 27th. The sealed answer was conveyed to the Wenzel Platz, Te Deum sung—answer read. Some parts of the petition had been already allowed, it said; others were more important and were delayed. Only one was granted at once—the purchase of robota. Each man was allowed to buy out for himself according to his obligations—some one day—others more to the civil or ecclesiastical lords. The government temporized. The most important reforms were delayed. Bohemia was only a province, they said, and did not need more self-government than it had. But Bohemia had found a voice, and now demanded of the crown recognition in its national character on the standpoint it had by national rights founded on agreements not yet destroyed.

They wanted these compactata revived and put in force. Dissatisfaction prevailed at the delay and apparent insincerity of the court. St. Wenzel's committee convened a new meeting on March 28th, when a new petition was prepared. In this second document they asked the union of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia under a common representative system, where not only the nobility but all the people without any distinction should be represented. They desired the calling of a constitutional convention for the first purpose; they claimed also their own ministry of the interior for Bohemia; and a more definite and clear declaration of national equality in schools, in courts etc. Count Stadion was invited to sign this petition. At first he refused, but was induced to sign it; and on March 31st, a new deputation proceeded to Vienna.

These proceedings stimulated the enemies of Bohemia to action. A journal at Reichenberg denounced the Bohemians as anarchists, as Chekh ultras, and attempted to drown them in ridicule. Only Germans were encouraged to unite for German purposes.

Up to this date,—March 31st, complete harmony reigned between the two nationalities in Bohemia. But this journal, the "Reichenberg Advertiser," continued its attacks. The journalists of both races in Prague accordingly held a meeting and agreed to conduct the discussion in an amicable, orderly manner. The government officers did not offer any obstacle to these proceedings. Some nobles forwarded a petition of their own in harmony with that of the other citizens. Accordingly young Francis Joseph, nephew of the emperor, was dispatched to Bohemia as imperial governor, April 6th, but no progress was made.

The national party needed a journal capable of ex-

plaining and sustaining the national wants. All this as late as A. D. 1848! "The National News," *Narodni Noviny*, with Charles Havlicek as editor was founded. This publication advocated equality of both nationalities, unification of the kingdom, equality of all before the law, the jury system, a responsible ministry, a national assembly, national guard, reform of the schools and public service. St. Wenzel's committee was enlarged and now became the national committee.

April 8th, the emperor's cabinet rescript was received permitting and promising concessions of those points of the petition perviously refused:—

Perfect equality in the use of the Bohemian and German languages in all branches of general administration and public instruction; in the place of meeting of the Bohemian estates shortly to assemble, a proportionate representation of the people, including all interests, formed upon the broadest basis of representative and elective qualifications; with a right to take part in debating and determining all the affairs of the country; the establishment of a responsible central board of officials for the kingdom of Bohemia in Prague, with a wider sphere of operation; the appointment of persons conversant with both languages to public and judicial offices; the free right of petition. The number of the diet was increased; one member was provided for each town of 4,000 inhabitants, two for a town with 8,000 and two members for each circle. Elections to be direct, and every person, not a criminal, of twenty-five years of age, who paid taxes possessed the right to vote. Every Bohemian was eligible as a representative.

This cabinet order was published in the official part of the "Vienna Gazette," April 11th.

CHARLES HAVLICEK.

The unification of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia was referred to the imperial parliament. This last proposal was regarded as an insult to Bohemian national rights. But no open protest was made. Palacky offered an explanation of this grievance, but its form was not acceptable to the authorities.

The national committee began preparations for the new elections, and propositions for the institutions expected. But disturbances in the empire again intervened. The Hungarians had presented demands in Vienna, March 15, after the proclamation of the constitution, asking for an independent ministry of their own. Lombardy and Venetia attempted a separation from Austria. At Cracow the Poles revolted but were crushed by a bombardment. At Frankfort the representatives of all the German nations assembled to combine the German race under one imperial parliament. The small governments necessarily yielded. The parliament was assembled at Frankfort and began the work of a constitution for the German empire. As the Austrian provinces belonged to the German Union the Germans there asked to be united to Germany. German students at Vienna pressed the German tricolor into the hands of the emperor. Palacky was invited to appear at Frankfort but he refused saying that it did not become a Bohemian and Austrian to present himself there to take part with them. But the ministry at Vienna proclaimed elections in all Austrian lands for the parliament to assemble at Frankfort. This measure created profound dissatisfaction, and some disturbances in Bohemia. The national committee refused to hold an election and presented their protest at Vienna. At this point the German members of the committee withdrew from it, and establish-

ed another of their own, which they called the constitutional union, inimical to Bohemian nationality. The ministry regardless of the protest ordered elections throughout Bohemia. Some commissioners from Frankfort appeared at Prague and finding the Bohemians averse to their proposals threatened open war unless representatives were sent to Frankfort. These threats incited the people and students at Prague; and a Slavonic committee was organized to invite all Slav peoples in Austria to a convention "on the 31st of May in the ancient city of Prague to take counsel for the interests of their race, and especially to counteract the absorbing influence of the Germanic body about to meet in Frankfort."

During these effervescences of politics Bohemia was disturbed in many places. Officers were without power, and courts were disorganized. Count Leo Thun was sent as governor. He was an excellent man and a devoted Bohemian patriot. But popular passion and disorder largely thwarted his efforts. The weakness and vacillation of the ministry, the insincerity of the court, "willing to wound and yet afraid to strike," created this disorder.

Absolutism, or the nearest possible approach to it, formed in fact the only system they would tolerate unless under compulsion.

Pillersdorf the premier, under the pretense of meeting the wishes of the students and agitators in Vienna, abandoned his project of calling the assembly of the different nations, and prepared a new constitution that disregarded all the constituent kingdoms, and concentrated all legislative power in the central parliaments. But the Bohemians lost all patience and confidence in the court when weeks elapsed and no con-

stitutional convention was called. At this juncture, May 15th, the excited students and national guard of Vienna broke into revolt, and compelled the emperor to rescind the constitution of April 15th. Ferdinand, imbecile and alarmed, fled on the night of May 17th to Linz and Innsbruck. Hence a panic all over Austria. The election to Frankfort fell utterly—only three votes polled. Lombardy was insurgent. Hungary was ruled by its own ministry as if Austria did not exist. The Croatians and Serbians fiercely opposed Hungary through antagonism of race and traditions. They were led by the Ban Jelacic and patriarch Rajacic, and resented the rule of Hungarians which they regarded as oppressive usurpation. Vienna itself was in the hands of the committee of safety consisting of students, burghers, and national guards and the ministry was powerless.

At Prague Count Leo Thun organized a provisional government loyal to the throne, consisting of the chiefs of the national committee. Two of the members, Rieger and Count Nostic waited on the emperor at Innsbruck; but Pillersdorf's ministry, as might be expected, took deep umbrage at this action.

June 2nd, the Slav congress consisting of three hundred deputies assembled at Prague, and included the chief persons of all the Slav nationalities in Austria,—Bohemians, Moravians, Slavonians, Poles, Russians, Croatians, Serbians. Palacky* the deservedly renowned historian presided; Safarik, the vice-president, delivered the address in Bohemian. His language, while guarded, was stimulating. He denounced government by means of bayonets and spies; repudiated the calumny that Slavs did not possess the same rights

* Pronounced Palatsky.

of liberty and self-government as other nations; asserted their capacity to think for themselves as well as Germans in Frankfort could think for them; denounced the tyranny that treated all efforts for political amelioration as treason; and declared that by such false pretenses of those in authority the Slavs universally had been reduced to political, and largely also to social bondage. Szafarik further encouraged unity among the Slavs, and demanded courage in the impending contest.

This congress has formed the object of unceasing ridicule by the Germans. It did not propound any definite plan or principle, because the fraud and violence of the Austria court, and the impatience of the Bohemians, created fatal interruption of its proceedings. The congress, however, resolved to publish a pronunciamento to all Europe; to present to the emperor a memorial containing their complaints and wants; and finally to co-operate constitutionally in regaining their national equality. The congress in fact announced that the reign of the ballot was approaching, and that they had the votes and the determination to use them. The debates, warm, able, and earnest, conferred much valuable political education.

A momentous series of events destroyed their plans and hopes for the time. The people at large were excited and impatient, the soldiers of Prince Windisch-Grätz deliberately insulting, for the purpose of provocation, as on many previous occasions. As in the days of Otakar I. and II. many of the nobles enticed by court distinction disarmed popular sympathies and leagued themselves with German intrigues. Every eminence including the citadel bristled with cannon. The burghers and students expressed their apprehen-

sions to the prince and asked that these menaces be removed. Disdain was their only answer. The 12th of June a popular fete was organized in the open air before St. Wenzel's statue. Here the students and citizens renewed their pledge of unity. A large crowd of curiosity seekers were also present, not knowing that in the midst of that quiet throng were hired emissaries sent to provoke a breach of the peace in the very presence of the garrison headquarters. Instantly the troops in readiness charged the unarmed multitude with bayonets. Many fell dead; the crowd dispersed. A cry was raised, "To arms! Barricades." In half an hour a hundred street obstructions were erected. The troops in solid column marched to the Museum. Here were preserved the public records, archives, books, national memories, all that related the history of the country. Here also the Svornost* kept its armory; and here the congress assembled and preserved its records. Fire was opened at once on the building on pretense of a pistol shot from a window. Fire was also directed against the Blue Star hotel and the Black Horse hotel, where lodged the Polish members of congress. The Polytechnic school, and the Clementinum resisted. Ten thousand Austrians were hurled against these points and shells fired into them. Courtiers had invited help from the suburban districts. They arrived but were repelled at the gates and assured that all was now peaceably arranged. The conflict raged four days, until the houses bombarded blazed over the heads of the defenders. Only when the barricades were threatened from the rear did the Polish combatants desist.† Proscription, prison, perse-

* Meaning Concord—the citizens' legion of national guard.

† See L'Histoire de la Revolution de 1848, par M. Garnier Pagés.

cution. Four hundred and eighty-three persons died in hospital. The actual number of the slain is not known. A large part of the city was destroyed, as the Austrian artillery on Mount Petrin and the Belvidere, as well as on redoubt Marie absolutely commanded the defenseless edifices. It is said that Windisch-Gräetz sickened at the butchery but was compelled to continue the bombardment by express orders. Bohemia again fell prostrate at the feet of her persecutor, as remoseless in heart as before, but this time far less capable of cruelty.

The results of this sudden and unprepared insurrection were the breaking up of the Slav congress, the revocation of the constitutional convention, and the dissolution of the national committee.* Soon afterward the elections were held for the general Bohemian assembly. The program of the representatives included the defense of national rights and constitutional liberties, and the preservation of undivided Austria against the German and Hungarian program that consisted of the division of Austria into two parts the German and the Hungarian. Germany proposed to absorb all the western part of Austria, and Hungary the eastern portion, and all Slavs in Austria would be subject to the one or the other.

Before this congress could assemble in Bohemia, minister Pillersdorf was forced to resign and the new ministry was formed with Doblhoff and Bach at their head representing the Frankfort party in Vienna.

But this party was speedily found to be impossible in Austria as it must result in anarchy and chaos, and

* Faster retired to private life and died in 1868 proprietor of a brewery at Brevnov. Havlicek was banished to Tyrol; and died in 1856 not without strong suspicion of poison.

FRANCIS PALACKY.

the ministry accepted the political program of the Bohemians. This parliament abolished the robota totally, and prepared the new constitution. During this interval the Ban Jelacic in defending Slavic interests in Hungary against the government of Buda Pesth approached the capital and the Hungarians sent to Vienna for assistance. Their messengers were not heard in parliament. On the contrary Count Latour was dispatched with some troops to aid Jelacic whose undertakings were regarded as favorable to the preservation of undivided Austria. During the absence of the military the Viennese mob became violent. October 6th, Minister Latour was attacked and killed and his body hung to a lamp-post. Bach saved himself from a similar fate by flight. The parliament was beleaguered and powerless; and the Bohemian and other representatives abandoned Vienna to its fate. Hearing of these violences the Ban Jelacic from one side and prince Windisch-Gräetz from the other invested the city; and after a desperate struggle seized it, and advanced against the Magyars.

At the announcement of the murder of his minister, Latour the emperor Ferdinand fled to Olmütz. In order to withdraw the assembly from revolutionary influences he prorogued the diet, October 22nd, to meet the following month at Kromieriz (Kremsier) a small town in Moravia. Here the sittings were resumed November 22nd; a new cabinet under Count Schwartzenberg, formerly ambassador to St. Petersburg and Naples and a fierce supporter of absolutism, having in the meantime been installed. He was assisted by Count Stadion former governor of Gallicia. At this period the prospects not only of the empire but of the dynasty were being most seriously debated

at a series of family councils where only the most trusted ministers were admitted; and these favored ones were Windisch-Grätz and Jelacic. On the 1st of December, the emperor resolved to abdicate. The archduke Francis Charles renounced his right of succession; and by pragmatic consent Francis Joseph, son of the archduke, succeeded to the throne. The following day December 2nd, the diet was convened in extraordinary session. Here the unexpected announcement of the dynastic change was published. The assembly could only ratify the proceedings and accept the new sovereign.

Perhaps with sincerity Francis Joseph declared and believed himself to be constitutional monarch. His ministry spoke of a constitution. But his first proclamation wherein he declared his hope "to be able to make all the nations and all the races of the empire one compact state," and the influences by which he was governed, demonstrated a fixed purpose of autocratic centralization. His choice lay between avowed absolutism, dualism, and federalism. The Slav provinces demanded the last of these three for obvious reasons. The principal obstacle to this form arose from the ambition and effort of the Germans to advance their political power toward the east. Their motto "*Drang nach Osten*" "Advance to the East" had been enforced for centuries. In pursuance of this policy the party of Greater Germany had insisted on the exclusion of Austria from the Germanic union. The Austrian cabinet combated this position by declaring the Austrian empire independent and indissoluable. Emboldened by German opposition to federalism Schwartzenberg in 1851 had declared "the constitution of the 4th of March only a foundation where-

on to build up the authority of the throne." We have seen this declaration acted on during the ten years that followed. We have seen the same irreconcilable war of centralizing absolutism against the nationalities of the empire. On this basis the assembly was expected to conduct its proceedings. Palaçky's plan of a constitution providing for four chief ministers, war, marine, finance and exterior, conferring complete autonomy on each province, with power to elect deputies to the central diet, became adverse fundamentally to the imperial program. Of the provinces seven were named, German, Bohemian, Polish, Italian, Jongo-Slav, Magyar and Valaque. Each of these was to be represented by a special chancery. This proposal required the assent of Hungary; but Hungarian deputies never arrived. The conflict became limited to Germans and Slavs. The partizans of Frankfort beheld in imagination a German empire extending from the Baltic to the Adriatic, from the Rhine to the Vistula. A certain Bismarck was present. The policies of the diet consorted ill with imperial ideas; and under pretense that the absence of Hungary rendered the proceedings nugatory, the emperor announced, on the 6th of March, 1849, to a certain number of deputies specially convoked, that he had decided to provide a constitution for his people himself. The Chekh deputies demanded the constitution of April 8th preceding. All in vain. The following day the hall of assembly was in possession of the military; and the assembly had no choice but to disperse. Thus Hungary three times within two years entirely destroyed the efforts of Bohemia.

On the publication of this supposed constitution, which was a mere paper decree, and might be utterly

abrogated at any suitable moment, as all similar decrees had been, the emperor dismissed the illusion at Frankfort, pacified Hungary in the manner publicly known to mankind, crushed Venice, received Georgia's capitulation, and being now a mere subordinate of Russia proceeded with the most oppressive re-actionary measures in details. The constitution did not extend to Bohemia; but the severities penetrated everywhere. Count Stadion, now mentally helpless, was replaced by a Viennese lawyer named Bach, a jurist of the Jeffries variety. No prescriptive right, no national claim however just, no individual liberty however necessary for the ordinary exercise of human faculties, no social requirements, however salutary and demanded by commerce and the essentials of national life, obtained the least respect from this anarchistic jurisconsult. He openly declared that all the imperial promises and obligations of the previous year had been only pretense, and never seriously intended. Here he probably spoke the truth. A war without pity or remorse at once began against all signs and semblances of popular or national liberty. Every detail of self government in any department, religious and municipal, at once disappeared. Every appearance of Slavism was trampled out to make room for German persons, principles, customs, language and official recognition. Hungary remonstrated seriously on her own account; and secured some rights. Bohemia asked simliar concessions, especially the restoration of Moravia. At this period the press of Bohemia existed almost solely in the face of persecutions and prosecutions intended to annihilate its existence. Military power ruled supreme. December 31, 1851, the emperor declared himself liberated from all constitu-

tional restraint. Tedious years succeeded. The Bohemian nation again disappeared from the eyes of mankind. America was blinded by the glare of Louis Kossuth, and totally lost sight of the Slavs whom Kossuth had endeavored to subjugate. England worshiped the Austrian idol almost as in 1810. Bureaucracy reigned as it had seventy years previously. Austria believed she rested on a solid foundation. She "sat upon bayonets" and supposed the atttiude comfortable and permanent. In reality the empire quivered on the thin crust of a scarcely concealed volcano. The constitution of March 4, 1849, was formally suppressed by letters patent January 1, 1852, and absolutism again proclaimed throughout the empire.

In 1853 Schwarzenberg died and left the recreant and reactionary Bach supreme. The election of municipal bodies was suspended, the equality of German and Chekh languages was violated. Havlicek, although acquitted by a jury was exiled to Brixen in Tyrol. The liberty of the press was at an end, and not a single newspaper was permitted in the Chekh language. The motive for all this, independent of the persistent absolutism of church and state, arose from the settled policy to secure and extend Austrian influence in Germany. To this end the German party was favored by the oppression of the Slavs. For a short time this policy seemed successful; but the Bohemians had recovered heart and hope and public opinion; and the national elasticity reasserted itself. The government and the church confederated in this system. In 1849 the Austrian prelates assembled in Vienna had denounced national movements. They were declared to be "a remnant of paganism;" and

"differences of language" reprobated "as the consequence of sin and the fall of man." The government resolved to extinguish the last remnants of *Josephism*. Hence the Concordat of 1855. This agreement declared Roman Catholic worship privileged, authorized the publication of all pontifical documents without reference to the civil power; subjected all education public and private to the control of the bishops, and forbade the circulation of any book not sanctioned by them. This in 1855. The result was intellectual torpor. The treasury was bankrupt and for seventy years had always exhibited a deficit. In this year, 1855, the deficiency amounted to 158,319,900 florins. Paper money in enormous quantities had been issued and notes were in circulation down to the face value of five cents.

By the loss of Lombardy in 1859, not only the Austrian power but the Austrian system was crushed in Italy. The incapacity of Napoleon III. and his fear of Germany prevented still greater humiliation. The populations rejoiced over their oppressor's fall. In Bohemia men said "If we are beaten we shall have a constitution; if we conquer we shall get the inquisition." The empire seemed on the eve of dissolution; the emperor saw his blunder and Bach was dismissed. The absolutist machine in Austria as in Spain and elsewhere proved to be ruinously expensive. It was an imitation of the old stupidity that pretended to govern by destroying the nation's capital in taxes and extortions, without permitting those free energies necessary to accumulate capital. This system has always of necessity withered every region it touched, and has often been adopted in the Austrian dominions, in order to work the financial ruin of those whom the civil and

Bohemian National Theatre.

ecclesiastical authorities desired to crush. The government became a political gambler and borrower. Austria's resources diminished, her extravagance became greater each year. Every expedient was adopted to procure money,—except the right one. August 15, 1859, the emperor in the last extremity of humiliation before his ancient enemy issued a manifesto promising again to consider better the necessities of his peoples, and their prosperity. But he still claimed the position of a deputy providence appointed to do for them what they could do infinitely better for themselves. Golichowsky succeeded Bach. This imbecile forbade the Bohemians even to print their own political newspaper. This in A. D. 1859!* Rieger presented a petition to the emperor with success. Still the same reluctance to take a single step forward except by fierce compulsion. October 20th, 1860, appeared the important diploma that constitutes a semblance of Magna Charta for Bohemia. This new Lettre de Majesté is expressed as follows;

TO MY PEOPLES:

When I succeeded to the throne of my ancestors the monarchy was exposed to violent shocks.

After a contest that was deeply painful to my paternal feelings, there appeared in my countries, as almost everywhere in the violently shaken dominions of the European continent, in the first place the necessity of a severe diminution of the governing authority. The public weal and the security of the majority of the peaceful inhabitants of the monarchy also demanded this; the excited passions and the painful memories of the most recent past rendered the untrammeled action of the recent contending and hostile elements impossible.

I desired to be informed of the needs and desires of the several

* Only in October 1866 did it become allowable to telegraph in Bohemian.

countries of the monarchy, and therefore I have through my open letter of March 5th, established and convoked the imperial parliament in greater strength,

In considering the propositions presented by it to me I found myself called upon to issue this day and to announce this diploma with regard to the establishment of the state rights of the monarchy, the rights and positions of the several kingdoms and countries, as well as the renewed security, settlement, and representation of the states union (staats—rechtlich) of the entire monarchy.

I perform a ruler's duty in uniting in this way a principle of equality, the recollections, the opinions of right, and the claims of right of my countries and peoples with the practical necessities of the monarchy, and in entrusting the prosperous development and strengthening of the institutions bestowed, or revived with complete satisfaction of mind, to the ripened knowledge and patriotic energy of my peoples.

I hope for a fruitful blessing upon them through the protection and grace of the Almighty in whose hands repose the destinies of princes and of nations, and who will not deny His blessing to my profound and conscientious paternal care.

Vienna, October 20, 1860,

FRANZ JOSEPH, M. P.

This patent was completed by that of February 26th, 1861. This latter instituted two chambers, upper and lower; the latter consisting of 340 members, thus distributed:—Hungary 85; Bohemia 54; Moravia 22; Gallicia 38; Austria 28; Transylvania 26; Venetia 20. By the diploma of October 20th, the ministers of the interior, of justice and of worship were suppressed. By the patent of February they were revived. Of so little account are paper constitutions! Needless to state that the kingdom of Bohemia took serious umbrage at this contemptuous rejection of her claims to autonomy on the ancient basis. The representatives above referred to were to be elected by the several diets; and this parliament should take cognizance of all subjects except foreign policy. The greater number of countries protested, and refused to elect deputies. But

Bohemia complied. Seduced by the delusive policy of inviting the emperor to be crowned at Prague the deputies attended at Vienna. But the evasion of this ceremony has continued to this day. It would recognize obligations that Austria had determined to abolish. The diet saw assembled only 200 deputies instead of 350. But in Bohemia the recovery of a modified and yet extensive liberty of the press at once conferred a peaceable means of expressing the wishes and wants of the nation, as created by the inherent necessities of its commercial, social, educational and national life and energy. At once the political element of the press assumed a great development. The spirit of Havlicek revived in Gregor, Sladkovsky, Vausa, Tonner, Palacky, Rieger, Skrejszowsky and others. But while the former system of notification had been abolished, the new subordination to the courts, acting in all cases without any jury system, fell heavily on the journalists. In the short space of three years in Bohemia and Moravia fourteen Slav journals have had imposed on their writers sixty-one months imprisonment with or without hard labor, the latter involving irons and deprivation of food, and 21,450 florins in fines. But the nation exhibited the most intense attachment to its own literature. The university still continued in the hands of Germans; and loud complaints arose of that injustice.

The Hungarians peremptorily refused to discuss their interests in common with the other states. Only with them did the Reichsrath exercise full powers. Among the others whose jurisdiction was limited the right of voting was so dexterously managed that the German minority controlled the assembly. The distribution of members also conferred a larger representa-

tion on the German than on the Slav populations. The German hamlet of Parchen with 500 inhabitants had one deputy; the Slav town of Kladno with 8,000 had none. Sullen discontent and opposition in Hungary and open resistance in Russian Poland in 1863 created excitement in the Austrian provinces. In 1865 the emperor dismissed Schmerling; and adjourned the reichsrath until the Hungarian and Croatian diets could decide on the terms of their connection with the empire. The Hungarian diet opened December 14th, 1865, and demanded the absolute restoration of the laws of 1848. The debates were interrupted by the war with Prussia and Italy. The successes of Austrian arms at Lissa and Custozza were terribly offset by the defeats at Jicen and Nachod, June 26 and 29; and by the crushing blow of Sadowa July 4th, 1861. Prague and a great part of Bohemia were at once occupied by the Prussians. Peace was signed at Prague August 3rd, and the Slav city which had witnessed and suffered untold cruelty and oppression from Austria for centuries now beheld with genuine exultation the expulsion of her oppressors from Germany and Italy. In order to secure preponderance in these two countries Bohemia had been systematically beaten down.

After the rout of Sadowà the condition of Austria was chaotic. The king of Prussia had distributed copies of a proclamation in which he stimulated Bohemian national feeling to the utmost tension by allusions to a "proud kingdom," its past history and its recognized rights. The Austrian officials being expelled the Chekh read with avidity millions of revolutionary pamphlets distributed through the districts held by the Prussians. Austria as a last resource was

compelled to invite a German statesman, Count Beust from Dresden, to extricate her from the deadly peril that menaced her existence. The status of Hungary was promptly decided on. The diet was immediately convened; and June 28th following, the charter of Austro-Hungary was approved. Although the name of Francis Deak shall be forever held in honor for his great services to his country yet the Magyars deliberated only for themselves. A formal distinction of the portions of the empire as "Cisleithanian" and "Transleithanian" was now adopted from the river Leitha, an affluent of the Danube, a little below Vienna. Hungary was included under the latter title and its ministry assembled at Pesth; under the former term are included the other groups. These diets had been convened at the same time as that at Pesth but were not consulted on their relations with the "other countries belonging to his majesty;" but were simply invited to send deputies to a reichsrath soon to assemble at Vienna. In this dual system the Bohemians and other Slavs beheld a Germanizing policy and they refused to attend the reichsrath. This persistent demand for national recognition was falsely interpreted as a dislike to parliamentary institutions.

December 21st, 1867, was passed in the reichsrath a fundamental law defining the rights of the kingdoms and countries represented. It confirms the rights of all citizens as equal before the law, the inviolability of domicile, the rights of association, the freedom of conscience and includes one article,—No. 19, that deserves a place:—"All the races of the empire are on a footing of equality, and each one of the nations universally has a right that the inviolability of its language and nationality shall be secured. The equality

of all languages used in the empire for purposes of administration, for schools, and public life is recognized by the state. In those countries which are occupied by different races, all public educational establishments ought to be so arranged that every citizen may be able to make use of all the means necessary for instruction without being obliged to learn a second language."

The first parliamentary ministry of Cisleithania formed December 30th, 1867, at once abolished the Concordat that had cursed Austria since 1855. Civil marriage was established; and jurisdiction over questions of marriage limited to the civil courts. Education was released from the authority of the church; the subject of mixed marriages was regulated; May 1868 trial by jury restored, even in cases affecting the press.

As soon as the right of public assemblage was conceded, enormous meetings were held in Bohemia. The national party claimed their ancient privileges; and Francis Joseph was constrained to proceed to Prague to confer with the leaders of the national party, Palaçky, Rieger, and Clam Martinetz. But at this period before the jury law was enacted no mercy was shown to the press in Bohemia; now under the jury system juries in Chekh towns always acquitted their countrymen; and the government, still retaining its old rancorous spirit where it dared, transferred newspaper prosecutions to German towns where not one word of the articles complained of could be read.

August 22, 1868, the Chekh deputies issued a declaration that still expresses their claims:

I. Between Bohemia and the sovereign there exist mutual rights and duties which are equally binding on both parties.

II. Austria is not one undivided kingdom. The kingdom of Bohemia is attached to the rest of the empire by a purely personal tie.

III. No alteration in this state of things can be made except by a new contract between the kingdom and the dynasty.

IV. No assembly, reichsrath or chamber of deputies, foreign to Bohemia can impose on the kingdom the debts of the empire or any other public burdens.

V. The Hungarians have a right to treat with the sovereign concerning their own interests, but not those of Bohemia.

VI. Cisleithania is a division of the country which has no historical foundation, and Bohemia is not bound to send deputies to a Cisleithanian assembly.

VII. The constitutional questions now pending between the sovereign and the Bohemian nation ought to be regulated by common agreement and the representatives of the political Bohemian nation shall be chosen on the basis of a just electoral law and an honest election.

The Slav deputies of the Moravian diet published a similar declaration a short time afterward. "The dual government," they said, "is founded neither on historical nor political rights. No deputy from the margravate of Moravia has had any right to enter into an arrangement with the reichsrath on behalf of this land, nor to surrender the legislative power and political rights of the Moravian diet to the diet of any other country. The constituent power of the reichsrath is based on a palpable violation of ancient law, and its decrees are null and void. No arrangement is possible unless it is founded on our historical rights, and is concluded by the sovereign in

agreement with our lawfully constituted and elected diet." The Chekh deputies declined to attend a diet held at Brünn (Brno) as they considered it an illegal body. The national party persistently rejected the existing constitution; and this condition of things continued down to the Franco-German war.

July, 1868, the fifth centenary of the birth of Hus called out strong exhibitions of national feeling; and the government considered the occasion serious enough to proclaim Prague in a state of siege; and the city so continued until April, 1869. The signers of the declaration were again elected; and the government eventually changed the mode of election to the reichsrath from the diets to the electors; but this measure did not succeed.

After Sadowa Austria continued under the control of the German majority who strongly sympathized with Prussian victories; and still dreamed of the absorption of the entire empire by the Greater Germany.

In February, 1871, the emperor resolved on a federalist policy; and Count Hohenwart became leader of the cabinet. He placed himeslf in consultation with Rieger and Palaçky, and proposed to the Reichsrath a new measure that conferred enlarged powers on provincial diets, and granted them the initiative in legislative affairs. His proposal was rejected. September 14th the Bohemian diet was opened with a royal message. The Chekh attended, as for the first time in years the government had not falsified the returns, and the Chekh majority was conceded. The speech from the throne promised full recognition of the rights of the kingdom of Bohemia, and that a coronation should take place; and invited the diet to ascertain the means whereby a cordial agreement could be

effected between Bohemia and the remainder of the monarchy. "Recognizing the political importance of the crown of Bohemia, and calling to mind the renown and glory which that crown has conferred on our predecessors, and filled with gratitude for the fidelity with which the Bohemian nation has sustained our throne, we are prepared to recognize the rights of the kingdom, and to repeat this recognition by coronation oath." Such was the repetition of the delusive promises always at hand in Austria to enable the sovereign to obtain a present advantage. The ministry perfectly well knew that no suggestions coming from Bohemia respecting their relations with Hungary would be acceptable to that country. Fundamental articles were drawn up in the direct interest of federation. But this was precisely the condition which the Germans and Magyars repudiated. The secret of the resolute opposition of the Germans in Bohemia to any scheme of federation is found in the fact that Slav nationality interposes between Berlin and Vienna, and the realization of the Greater Germany is prevented.

Under the treaty of Prague whereby Austria was expelled from Germany, Prussia seems to have avoided binding herself not to interfere in Austria. Berlin has continued to devote much attention to Germans on the Elbe and the Danube. The strong influence of German and Magyar has been concentrated against Bohemia. Bismarck and Andrassy joined hands; and in order to conceal the projects intended the Austrian government declared that the Fundamental Articles must be submitted to the reichsrath where German and Hungarian policy preponderated. Bohemia protested at Vienna ineffectually. Hohenwart resigned, and Beust was respectably exiled as envoy to Lon-

don. A new German ministry under Auersperg overruled the promises made to Bohemia and the diet at Prague was invited to send deputies to the reichsrath. The Slav press again became subjected to severe prosecutions; and the police publicly destroyed the imperial manifesto that solemnly pledged the recognition of the rights of Bohemia. The Bohemian diet rejected these insidious proposals that had been repeatedly renewed; and with the other Slav assemblies was at once dissolved November 25, 1871.

Still, under the constitution of 1867, many rights were secured, as that of individual liberty, the security of the household, the right of association and public assembly, civil marriage and the liberation of education from ecclesiastical control. All these rights though yet imperfect, and liable to be infringed by the caprice of two sovereigns meeting at Gastein or elsewhere, are not old in Bohemia. Nevertheless for a thousand years Bohemians have fought and bled and endured untold martyrdoms first to defend and next to recover these rights and others that all civilized men maintain as fundamental; and because Bohemians have done all this they have been and they still are denounced by the clericals as an outcast and base people, their very name a symbol of reproach. No other nation has ever so stoutly maintained the rights of man, and no other has been so reviled and persecuted for doing so.

Austria's calculating neutrality during the Franco-Prussian and Russo-Turkish war received its stipulated recompense in the annexation of Bosnia. Germany probably has an interest in forcing Austria to the East, partly as an obstacle in the way of Russia, and partly that her hold over the Germans in her wes-

tern dominions may be loosened. By the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Austria has been enabled to dominate Servia, and almost to hold that kingdom in her grasp. Austria and Prussia by a secret treaty concluded in 1879, but not then published, have agreed to defend each other in case of attack by Russia. Another element fertile in disunion being thus introduced into the empire, and Austria becoming thus more and more Slav and less German, conciliation of national feelings has been felt increasingly imperative. The reactionary Auersperg ministry fell at once and Count Taafe who succeeded announced a nationalist policy to the deep chagrin of the so-called constitutionalists or German party of Cisleithania. By judicious alliances with the Chekh and the appointment of a Moravian deputy as minister of justice, M. Prazak, Count Taafe succeeded in inducing the Chekh party to take their places in the reichsrath. A national university was conceded, and proved a great success. It supplied an opportunity for the exercise of Bohemian intellect denied for three centuries. By this institution and the national theater Bohemian life revived; and the free mind of the nation bids fair to triumph over the cruelty of councils and priests, the tyranny of absolutists and public plunderers, and the despotism that struggled with ferocity and blood and carnage to crush free thought among mankind.

The complete equality of the Chekh and German languages was not only proclaimed but secured. The reduction of suffrage qualification enabled the Chekh to secure a majority in the diet of Prague. The Germans have refused since 1886, to take part in the deliberations. They now demand a dual government for Bohemia. The German party has failed to secure

a proclamation of German as the official language in Cisleithania; and in 1885 lost fifteen votes in the reichsrath. The different sections of the nationalists known locally as the Young Chekh and the Old Chekh are represented in the diet of Prague; and although the pristine rights of the kingdom have not yet been formally regained the material substance is now largely secured. Paper constitutions, and deceitful promises, and Lettres de Majeste are obsolete. Institutions have become interwoven again with the life of the nation. Austria has discovered the falsehood, the folly, the inhumanity of her persistent attempts to crush out human aspirations, human private judgment, and human preceptions of right and wrong by the fierce rapacity of church or council. Men must be governed as men, and not as insensible machines at the instance of insatiable despots.

The troubles in Bohemia during the present year, 1894, arise from the long established and persistent effort of the Germans to separate the German districts of the country from the Chekh districts, and place them under an independent jurisdiction. It is a thoroughly secession movement. If it should succeed the Kingdom of Bohemia as a unity would be destroyed forever. Hence the passionate attachment of the Bohemians to their undivided kingdom with its ancient prerogatives would receive precisely that fatal blow desired by Austria, and struggled for by the Germans. The effort has been and is manifested by many signs: such as the obliteration of all Bohemian names from streets, the abolition of the Bohemian language; the creation of separate local jurisdiction and legislation; and other acts subversive of Bohemian national laws. The attempt is most insidious, and favors the cry, "Drang nach Osten."

APPENDIX.

DOCUMENTORUM.

XVII.

GOLDAST.

Investitura de Regno Bohemiæ, et Marchionatu Moraviæ, et in feudatio Ducatus Austriæ, et Marchionatu Stiriæ anno 1262.

Richardus Dei gratia Romanorum Rex Semper-Augustus, Illustri Ottocaro Boëmiæ Regi, charissimo Principi suo gratiam suam et omne bonum. Cum Regalis dignitas potestatis quandam quodammodo divinæ in terra Majestatis imaginem repræsentet: et quanto quis sua voluntate innititur, tanto copiofioribus gratiæ suæ donis et insignioribus illustratur; decens et congruum æstimamus, ut ad imitationem illius, qui omnibus dat, et nulli improperat, illi nostra benignitas gratiosior atque benigniosior semper illuceat, qui nostræ beneplacitæ voluntatis cum majori liberalitate et promtitudine se conformat. Hinc est, quod cum nullius gratificationis muneribus, sed propriæ duntaxat virtutis et liberalitatis instinctu pellectus, liberalitatis ad nostri cultum Domini fi converfus, et promittas legaliter etiam deinceps nostræ devotionis obsequiis et mandatis constanter et fideliter inhærere: Nos te ob hoc condignioribus honoribus et gratiosioribus beneficiis prosequi cupientes, te de Principatibus Regni Bohemiæ et Marchionatus Moraviæ ac omnibus feudis dictis duobus Principatibus attenentibus, quos et quæ claræ memoriæ pater et progenitores tui, juste et rationabiliter ab Imperio tenuerunt, auctoritate præsentium investimus, tibique dictos Principatus et feuda simpliciter auctoritate Regia confirmamus.

Et quia non multum gratiæ tantæ potentiæ et claritatis viro per ista videmus impendere, quæ constituit claros progenitores tuos officiosis

laboribus et gloriosis actibus meruisse: Nos te pro tuæ devotionis meritis plenius et insignius honorare volentes, tibi et tuis legitimis hæredibus, qui tibi in bonis feudalibus secundum jus et consuetudinem Sacri Imperii de jure poterunt et habebunt succedere, pro nobis et successoribus nostris Imperatoribus et Regibus Rom., illos duos nobiles Principatus, Ducatum videlicet Austriæ, et Marchionatum Stiriæ, ad manum Imperii et nostram de jure libere devolutis; cum omnibus feudis ad dictos duos Principatus pertinentibus, ab Imperio debitis et consuetum teneri, integraliter et simpliciter in feudum concedimus et donamus, tibique et legitimis tuis hæredibus, quemadmodum est præscriptum, jure et titulo feudali perpetuo possidentes. Nulla igitur persona, sublimis vel humilis, ecclesiastica vel mundana præsumat hujus nostræ investitionis, confirmationis, et concessionis paginam infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Quod qui fecerit, ipso facto se noverit bannum Imperii et nostræ offensam Celstitudinis incurrisse. In istorum autem omnium testimonium et evidentiam pleniorem præfens inde conscribi, et sigillo Majestatis nostræ jussimus communiri. Datum Aquisgrani. IX., die Augusti, Indictione V. Anno Domini MCCLXII. Regni vero nostri anno VI.

XXXIII.

Caroli IV. Imp. Confirmatio investituræ Richardi Cæsaris super Regno Bohemiæ et Ducatu Austriæ, anno 1348.

Carolus Dei gratia Romanorum Rex, semper Augustus, et Bohemiæ Rex, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Innata cordi nostro benignitas, circa fidelium et devotorum nostrorum honores et commoda continuis intenta vigiliis, votis ipsorum annuere jugiter nos inducit, quoties poscentium vox est justa. In hoc enim liberalitatis nostræ non errat intentio: fed Regalis sceptri fastigium extollere salubriter arbitratur. Sane ad nostræ Celsitudinis, Venerabilis Archiepisc. Pragensis, et Olomucensis, et Luthomuschelensis, Episcopi, nec non Illustres Joannes Carinthiæ Comesque Tyrolis et Goritiæ, Germanus noster charissimus ac Nicolaus Oppaviæ et Ratiboriæ Duces, Prælati, Duces, Principes, Barones, Proceres, et Nobiles regni nostri Bohemiæ et pertinentiarum ejusdem, præsentiam accedentes, nobis humiliter supplicarunt: ut quasdam literas Ricardi Divi Romanorum Regis Præ-

decessoris nostri nobis per ipsos exhibitas, quarum tenor et series sequitur in hœc verba: Richardus D. G. Romanorum Rex semper Augustus universis Christi et Sacri Imperij Romani fidelibus, ad quos prœsentes literas pervenire contigerit, habere notitiam rei gestæ. Cum regalis dignitas potestatis quandam quodammodo divinœ in terris Majestatis imaginem reprœsentet, et quanto quis divine voluntati magis innititur, tanto copiosioribus illustratur, decens et congruum œstimamus: ut ad imitationem illius, qui omnibus dat et nulli improperat, illi nostra benignitas gratiosior atque benignior semper illuceat, qui nostræ beneplacito voluntatis cum majori liberalitate et promtitudine se conformat. Hinc est, quod, cum Illustris Ottoc. Bohemiæ Rex, nullius gratificationis muneribus, sed propriæ duntaxat virtutis et liberalitatis instinctu pellectus, liberaliter ad nostri cultum Dominij sit conversus, et promittat legaliter, deinceps nostræ devotionis obsequiis et mandatis constanter et fideliter adhæfurum. Nos ipfum ob hoc condignioribus honoribus et gratiofioribus beneficiis prosequi cupientes, nosse vos volumus universos: quod eundem Regem, de Principatibus Regni Bohemiœ et Marchionatus Moraviœ, ac omnibus Feudis dictis duobus Principatibus attinentibus, quos et quœ claræ memoriœ Pater et progenitores ejusd., juste et rationabiliter ab Imperio tenuerunt, authoritate prœsentium investimus; eique dictos Principatus et Feuda simpliciter authoritate Regia confirmamus Et quia non multum gratiæ tantæ potentiœ et claritatis viro per ista videmur impendere, quœ constat claros progenitores suos officiosis laboribus et gloriosis actibus meruisse, Nos ipsum, pro fuœ devotionis meritis, plenius et insignius honorare volentes, eidem Regi et suis legitimis Heredibus, qui ei in bonis Feudalibns secundum jus et consuetudinem sacri Imperij de jure poterunt et habebunt succedere, pro nobis et nosiris successoribus Imperatoribus et Regibus Romanis, illos duos nobiles Principatus, Ducatum videl. Austriœ, et Marchionatum Stiriœ, ad manum Imperij et ad nostram de jure libere devolutos, cum omnibus feudis ad dictos duos pertinentibus Principatus, ab Imperio debitis et consuetis teneri, integraliter et simpliciter in feudum concedimus: eique et hujusmodi suis Heredibus in perpetuum prœsentis scripti patrocinio stabilimus, ab ipso et suis Heredibus, quemadmodum est prœscriptum, jure et titulo feudali perpetuo possidendos. Nulla igitur persona sublimis vel humilis, ecclesiastica vel mundana, prœfumat hujus nostrœ Investitionis, Confirmationis et Concessionis nostræ paginam infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Quod

qui fecerit, ipsofacto se noverit bannum Imperij et nostræ offensam Celsitud., incurrisse. In istorum autem omnium testimonium et evidentiam pleniorem, præsens scriptum exinde conscribi, et sigillo Majestatis nostræ jussimus communiri. Datum Aquisgrani, Nona die Aug. Indictione quarta. Anno Domini Millesimo, Ducentesimo, Sexagesimo secundo. Regni vero nostri sexto.

Nostra confirmare authoritate regia dignaremur: Nos utique præfatorum Prælatorum, Ducum, Principum, Baronum, Procerum, et Nobilium, quos bonorum et felicis status Romani Regni, et sacri Imperii fideles et sollicitos præ cæteris novimus Zelatores, ipsumque Regnum Bohemiæ, Romani regni membrum fere nobilius, supplicattonibos benignius inclinati, præfatas literas ac omnia ac singula contenta in eisdem laudamus, ratificamus, approbamus, confirmamus, et de novo, ex certa sententia, de nostræ Romanæ regiæ plenitudine potestatis damus, tenore præsentium conferimus et donamus, volentes de uberiore dono gratiæ Romanæ regiæ, et concedentes expresse: quod tam in judico quam extra, ubicunque necessarium fuerit, aut etiam opportunum, nostris præsentibus, velut prædictis originalibus literis, adhibeatur ab omnibus et singulis plena fides: nostrasque præsentes dictis æquipollere originalibus per omnia, decernimus, præcipimus, et mandamus. Hujus rei testes sunt: Gerlacus Archiepiscopus Mogunt. S. Imperii per Germaniam Archicancellarius; Rodulphus senior Dux Saxoniæ, S. Imperii Marescalcus: Rodulphus junior et Fridericus de Deck Duces; Joannes Burggravius Nurmbergen: Ulricus Lantgravius de Luiktenberg: Fridericus de Orlemund: Ulricus de Helffenstein: et Rodulphus de Werthem, Comites; Petrus de Hery, Crafto de Hohenloch: Gotfriodus de Pruneczk: Eberhardus de Walkse; Fridericus de Walkse: Egolff de Friberg: et Burchardus de Etlbach Romani Regni præfati Principes et Barones. In quorum omnium testimonium, et ad certitudinem pleniorem, præsentes fieri jussimus, et nostræ Majestatis sigilli appensione communiri. Datum Pragæ, Anno Domini, Millesimo, Trecentesimo, Quadragesimo octavo. Indictione prima. Septimo Idus April. Ragnorum nostrorum Anno secundo.

The foregoing have been selected from a very large number of State documents all illustrative of the history set forth in the text of this volume. Only very few can find space here.

"Saint John Nepomuk."

The name of this fabulous person, as given in the text, is that of the supposed saint canonized in 1729 under Benedict XIII, The traitor thrown into the Maldau by order of Wenzel was named John of Pomudk. For two centuries the event was forgotten. But in the seventeenth century when the Jesuits desired to supplant, in the veneration of the Bohemians, John Hus, who was universally known as Mistr Jan, they concocted a new legend, containing John with the name Nepomuk attached to it. This they called Mistr Jan; and when the Bohemian literature had been destroyed this Mistr Jan took the place of the real Mistr Jan; and the canonization was effected to complete the substitution, His images, with a halo, and a crucifix instead of a Bible, were set up in all the houses, and those of Hus destroyed. The only John of Nepomuk that ever lived was of the reformed faith and died for it. This person was confounded with Pomudk. As no possible merit could be assigned to the fictitious Nepomuk the Jesuits attached the name to the story of the drowning; and set up a statue in a place that did not exist in 1393. The bridge was not constructed at that time. See a valuable brochure on this subject by O. Abel, Die Legende vom heiligen Johann von Nepomuk, eine geschichtliche Abhandlung, Berlin, 1855-80.

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